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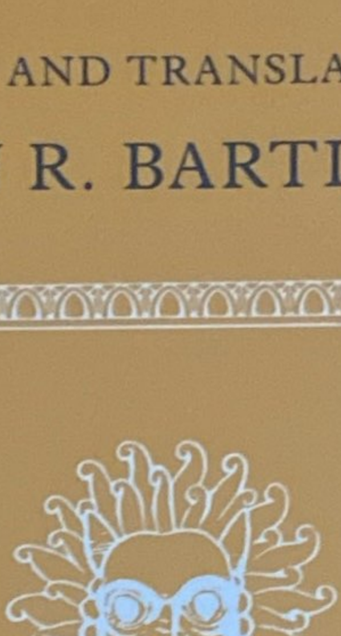
Burchard of Mount Sion, OP

Descriptio Terrae Sanctae

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
JOHN R. BARTLETT



In his ‘Description of the H[illegible]l’, written in Latin around 1283, the [illegible]an Burchard explores the land in a series [illegible]aries starting from Acre in the north, and then from Jerusalem in the south. His particular concern is to identify and describe towns and other sites mentioned in the Bible as an aid to pilgrims and biblical scholars. He treated the evidence of the Bible and other sources carefully, he used the evidence of place names preserved from antiquity, and he knew the land from personal observation, not simply from the writings of his predecessors. His identifications (e.g. of Dan and Beersheba) are not always supported by modern archaeological evidence, but he understood the importance of it, as shown by his explanation of the survival below ground level of early Christian sites, and his discussion of the site of ancient Jerusalem.

Burchard’s work exists in both a longer and a shorter, abbreviated, version. This book contains the Latin texts of both versions, drawn from selected manuscripts, complete with apparatus criticus, and translations. The Introduction covers what is known of Burchard and his career, the manuscript evidence for his two versions of the *Descriptio* and their relationship, an account of the different printed editions of Burchard’s work, a study of his presentation of the geography of the land, and a discussion of early maps showing knowledge of his work. Further sections explore the churches visited by Burchard, and his use of Scripture and other written sources.

Burchard names over four hundred places; the identification of biblical places is central to his work. Consistency in the spelling of biblical place names deriving from ancient Hebrew or Greek and handed down via Latin, Arabic, and through many biblical translations in different languages, is well-nigh impossible. This book includes a list of the Latin names used by Burchard, together with their English equivalents as commonly used by modern scholars, and also as found in the historical maps of the *Atlas of Israel* (2nd edn., 1970). Palestine Grid coordinates have been added for ease of precise location on the map. Eight maps have been included to illustrate Burchard’s knowledge of the Holy Land and the Egypt described in his final chapter.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS STUDY OF the thirteenth-century Dominican Burchard of Mt Sion derives from my interest in the history of the mapping of the region east of the River Jordan. This interest resulted in the publication of my book *Mapping Jordan through Two Millennia* (London, 2008), which includes a short section on Burchard's work, and although he has relatively little to say about the historical geography of the Transjordan, he made an important contribution to the historical geography of the Holy Land as a whole. He was the George Adam Smith of his time.

It is well known that Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* exists in two versions. Over sixty manuscripts of the longer version and some thirty of the shorter version (mostly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) are known to survive. This study began from a comparison of the two versions, as known from J. C. M. Laurent's 1864 edition of the longer version and H. Canisius's 1604 edition of the shorter (both editions based on comparatively late manuscripts). By scholarly consensus, the shorter version was deemed the earlier, and the longer version an expansion of the shorter. After comparing the two versions closely, I became convinced that the longer version was the older version, the shorter being a précis, possibly by Burchard himself, written to meet the needs of religious communities (see 'Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: The early revision', *PEQ*, cxlv (1) (2013), 61–71). I began to look more closely at the manuscript tradition of the *Descriptio*, and prepared to present an edition which would set the longer and shorter texts on the page for comparison side by side, in the manner of a gospel synopsis.

At this point, I read Professor Paul Harvey's newly published book *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London, 2012), with its detailed discussion of early maps based on Burchard's *Descriptio*. I approached Professor Harvey, who encouraged me to think of preparing an edition of the *Descriptio* for Oxford Medieval Texts, and kindly introduced me to its editors. This led to a realization that what was needed was a completely new edition of Burchard's *Descriptio*. Laurent had based his edition (1864) of the longer text on the late fourteenth-/early fifteenth-century Codex Petri 30b from the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg, with some help from the incomplete Codex 46 from the Burgerbibliothek, Bern. The present edition draws on six manuscripts, from Berlin, Lilienfeld, London, Paris, Padua, and Zwettl. Canisius

(1604) took his text of the shorter *Descriptio* from one late manuscript from the library of the monastery at the foot of the bridge at Regensburg; Neumann's edition of the shorter text (1880) drew on Canisius's text, together with manuscripts from Melk, Uppsala, and Vienna. This new edition of the shorter text draws on seven manuscripts, from Berlin, London, Melk, Uppsala, Wrocław, and Vienna; thus for both longer and shorter texts a much wider range of manuscripts has been used than was available to Canisius, Neumann, or Laurent. (Laurent and Neumann were both well aware of the need of further manuscript evidence, and corresponded on the problem.) That Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* existed in two versions, the longer and the shorter, that manuscripts of both versions were widely disseminated throughout Europe through the fourteenth century, that there is evidence of cross-fertilization between the shorter and longer texts, that with the advent of printing in the fifteenth century the text appeared in paraphrased forms, all reveal the fluidity of the textual tradition and the need of yet more extensive future textual research.

The introductory chapters give an account of what little is known of Burchard, of the manuscripts used for the longer and shorter texts, of the relationship of these two versions, and an account of the printed editions of Burchard's texts. Subsequent chapters discuss Burchard's view of the geography of the Holy Land, the medieval maps based on the *Descriptio* (I gladly acknowledge my debt here to Professor Harvey), the churches of the Holy Land in the late thirteenth century visited by Burchard, his use of Scripture, and lastly a discussion of other written sources used by Burchard.

A particular concern of this book, visible in the notes to the text, in the list of toponyms in the Appendix, and in the accompanying maps, is Burchard's identification of places mentioned in the biblical texts. This was obviously the especial concern of Burchard himself. He was clearly a biblical scholar well versed in the topographical texts of the Bible, especially those of the Old Testament. He had a keen eye for geographical features, and in particular he had an archaeologist's understanding of the stratigraphy of a site, as evidenced by his explanation of why major Christian sites like churches at Nazareth and Bethlehem and Jerusalem were in his time to be seen in underground crypts. He had an understanding of the evidence provided by city walls and other major structures, as seen in his argument that the site of Jerusalem had not changed between the time of the crucifixion and the thirteenth century. Burchard identifies biblical sites on the basis of internal biblical evidence, from personal exploration of sites, and from comparison of biblical and thirteenth-century names. He discusses the topography with local Arab-speaking Saracens in the land (it seems likely that Burchard as a Dominican working in the Holy Land understood Arabic). He took the trouble to tour the land in a series of journeys first from the Dominican centre at Acre and then, it seems, from Jerusalem itself.

Burchard's site identifications are not always correct. For example, he identifies biblical Dan with Banias and biblical Beersheba with today's Bet Guvrin/Bayt Jibrin; but then he did not have the advantage of modern historical criticism and modern archaeological evidence, which locate the former at Tel Dan/Tell el-Qadi, and the latter at Tell es-Seba'. A list of the toponyms used in both the longer and shorter versions of the Latin text is given in the Appendix; with each name is given the RSV's modern scholarly version of the biblical name, a reference to the appropriate paragraph(s) of the longer version, the name as it appears in the historical maps of the *Atlas of Israel* (2nd edn., 1970), a reference to the appropriate footnotes to the Latin text, and (where appropriate) the co-ordinates enabling the reader to locate the site on modern 1:250,000 Survey of Israel maps.

Burchard's text of the Scriptures was the Latin text of the Vulgate, and his scriptural place names were thus from the Latin Vulgate. Where Burchard's text offers a direct quotation from the Vulgate, the English translation follows the sixteenth-century Douai–Reims translation's version and spelling of the name. But Burchard never knew the Douai–Reims translation, and his Vulgate gave Latin transcriptions of barely known Hebrew place names; as our concern is with those original Hebrew place names and their identification with modern sites, we use modern scholarly versions of the Hebrew place names in cases where Burchard refers to any biblical place without directly quoting the Vulgate. We choose the RSV as reflecting modern scholarship and as widely familiar to biblical scholars and others throughout the English-speaking world. Such a common denominator is necessary in the world of Bible translation where the original Hebrew names are variously presented in Greek (the Septuagint), Latin (the Vulgate), through modern French, German, and other languages in scholarly periodicals and publications, and often with reference to modern Hebrew and Arabic versions of the name.

The identification of biblical sites has a long and wide-ranging history in scholarship. One thinks in early Christian centuries of the *Onomastikon* of Eusebius, and Jerome's edition of it; of the travels of Egeria; of the *De locis sanctis* of Adamnán and Bede; in the second millennium of map-makers like Mercator, Ortelius, Blaeu, Speed, Reland, and Warren. Most importantly, we come to the pioneering work of Edward Robinson and Eli Smith in their *Biblical Researches* of the mid-nineteenth century, the popularizing but scholarly work of George Adam Smith at the beginning of the twentieth century, and then the indispensable two-volume study *Géographie de la Palestine* of F.-M. Abel (Paris, 1933, 1938), which for knowledge of both texts and terrain has never been bettered. In 1962 Yohanan Aharoni published in Hebrew a historical geography of the land of Israel, valuable for his profound knowledge of both terrain and Hebrew texts; an English translation by A. F. Rainey, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* appeared in 1967, with a revised edition in 1979. In 1991 there appeared the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by D. N. Freedman, which incorporated the findings of biblical scholars, historians, and archaeologists through the previous century, with considerable attention to topographical and textual detail, and this too has become an indispensable tool. Another important aid to the study of Burchard is Denys Pringle's *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1993–2009), a work of detailed scholarship based on first-hand examination of the sites and relevant texts.

The study of the Holy Land in the writings of medieval travellers is not new. The foundation of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865 marked an important stage in nineteenth-century study of the Holy Land; in the 1870s the Fund conducted the great Survey of Western Palestine under the leadership of C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, and in the 1880s–90s the Fund was responsible for the publication of the volumes of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, which include an English translation of Burchard's *Descriptio* (using Laurent's Latin text) by Aubrey Stewart, with geographical notes by C. R. Conder (London, 1896). John Wilkinson's translation of *Egeria's Travels* (1st edn., London, 1971; 3rd revised edn. 1999), his *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), and (with J. Hill and W. F. Ryan), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London, 1988) filled an important gap by providing little-known texts and references for both general and scholarly readers. Denys Pringle's *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2012) provides translations of a number of texts, but is especially valuable for its site identifications; but Pringle's translation of Burchard's work, like Stewart's, is limited to using Laurent's text of the longer *Descriptio*, which does not contain the later sections on travel to Egypt and perhaps beyond (see pp. xxxii–xxxvi). Pringle offers no translation of the shorter version.

It is important to note that research into the contribution of Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* to historical geography is even now only in its early stages. Most of the manuscripts of Burchard's work appear to remain unexamined; recently Jonathan Rubin brought to our attention the extended contents of the *Descriptio* in the British Library Add. MS 18939 ('Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: A newly discovered extended version', *Crusades*, xiii (2014), 173–90), and it is clear that much may yet be discovered among the hundred or more manuscripts of the *Descriptio* scattered through the libraries of Europe and beyond. This present work continues the initial work of Laurent and Neumann in the nineteenth century, and I hope that it will be a spur to the researches of future scholars in the twenty-first.

It is a pleasant duty to thank a number of people. The technology of the internet has made it possible to see on one's own computer screen images of manuscripts held in libraries across the world, and I am most grateful to librarians, administrators, and technicians from the following institutions: the British Library in London; the Bibliothèque nationale de France; the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin; the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna; the Stiftsarchiv at Lilienfeld; the Stiftsbibliothek, Zwettl; the Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile in Padua; the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wrocław; the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg; Uppsala University Library; and the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota. The late Dr Charles Benson and the staff of the Department of Early Printed Books, Trinity College, Dublin, deserve especial thanks for their expert assistance with early editions of Burchard's work. Dr Bernard Meehan of the Department of Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin, gave welcome help with the decipherment of one particular passage. Professor P. D. A. Harvey of Durham University gave much support and encouragement at a crucial stage of my research. Dr Graham Davies, Fellow of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, and Felicity Cobbing, Executive Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, gave valuable help with access to various books and journals. I am grateful to Dr Rosalind Love of Cambridge and Dr Bonnie Blackburn of Oxford, whose scholarship and editorial expertise have saved me from a number of pitfalls. The Revd Dr C. A. Empey and Dr M. Daly-Denton gave generously of their time and scholarship in the later stages of preparing the book for publication. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my editors, Dr J. W. Binns of the University of York, whose eye for errors and typographical infelicities is unfailingly sharp, and Professor David d'Avray of the

Department of History, University College, London, who in scholarly manner and with great patience steered me through the many complexities of preparing this work for publication. My daughter, Dr J. M. Bartlett of the Open University, Milton Keynes, gave expert assistance with word processing problems and with the index. Above all I am grateful to the patience and support of my wife Olivia, who suffered the demands laid upon her by the author's preoccupation with Burchard of Mount Sion over this last decade. *Mulierem fortem quis inveniet... os suum aperuit sapientiae et lex clementiae in lingua eius.*

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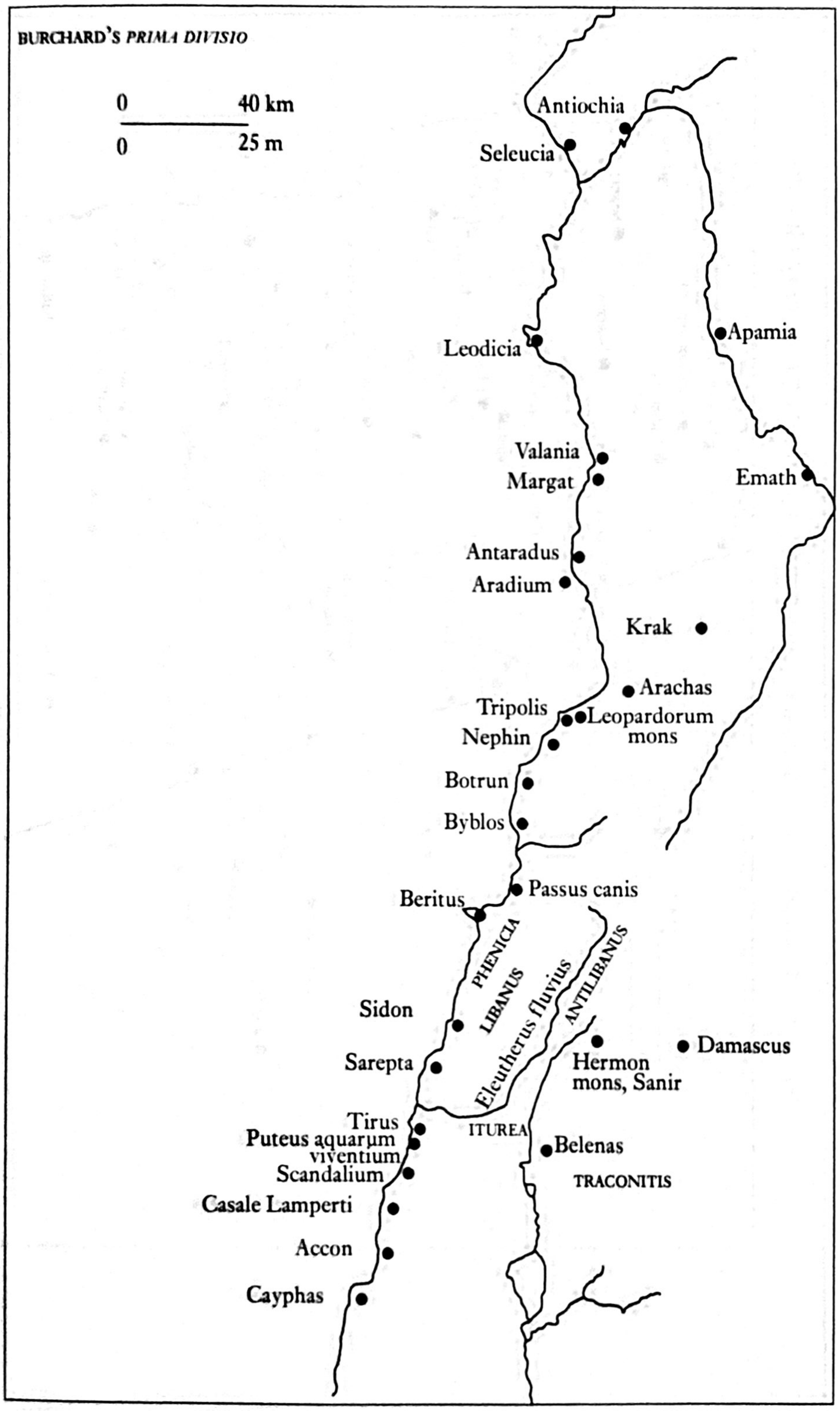
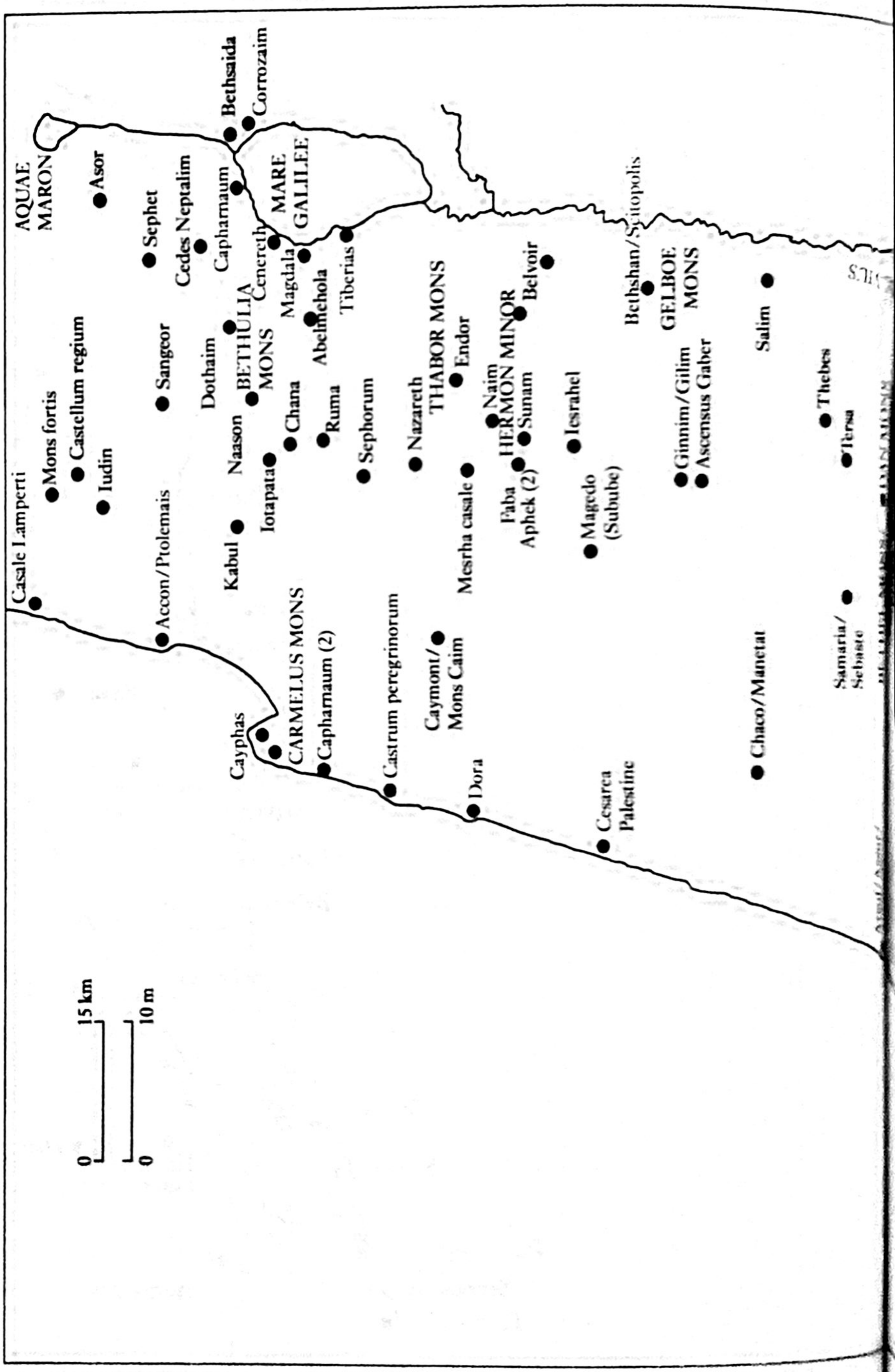
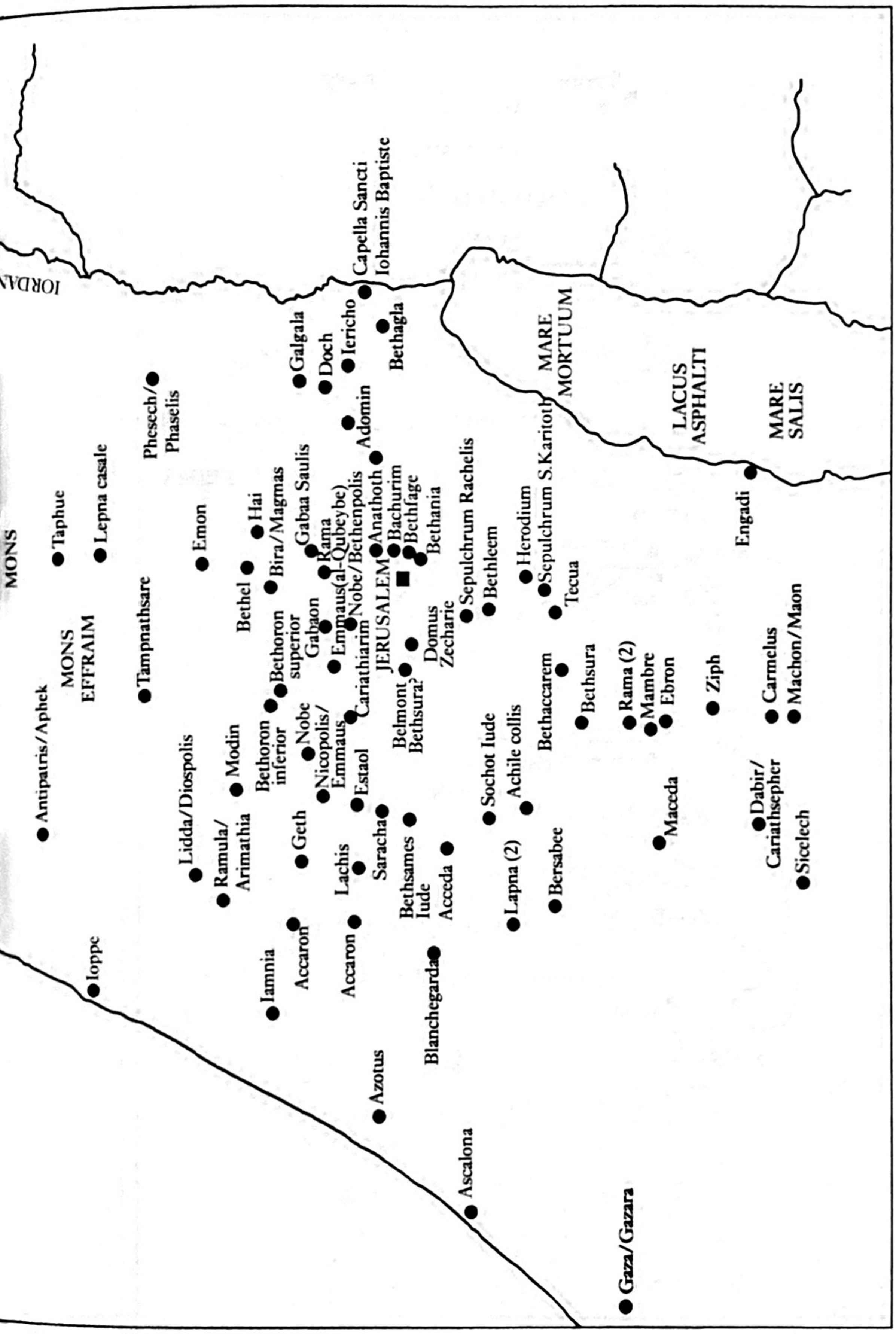
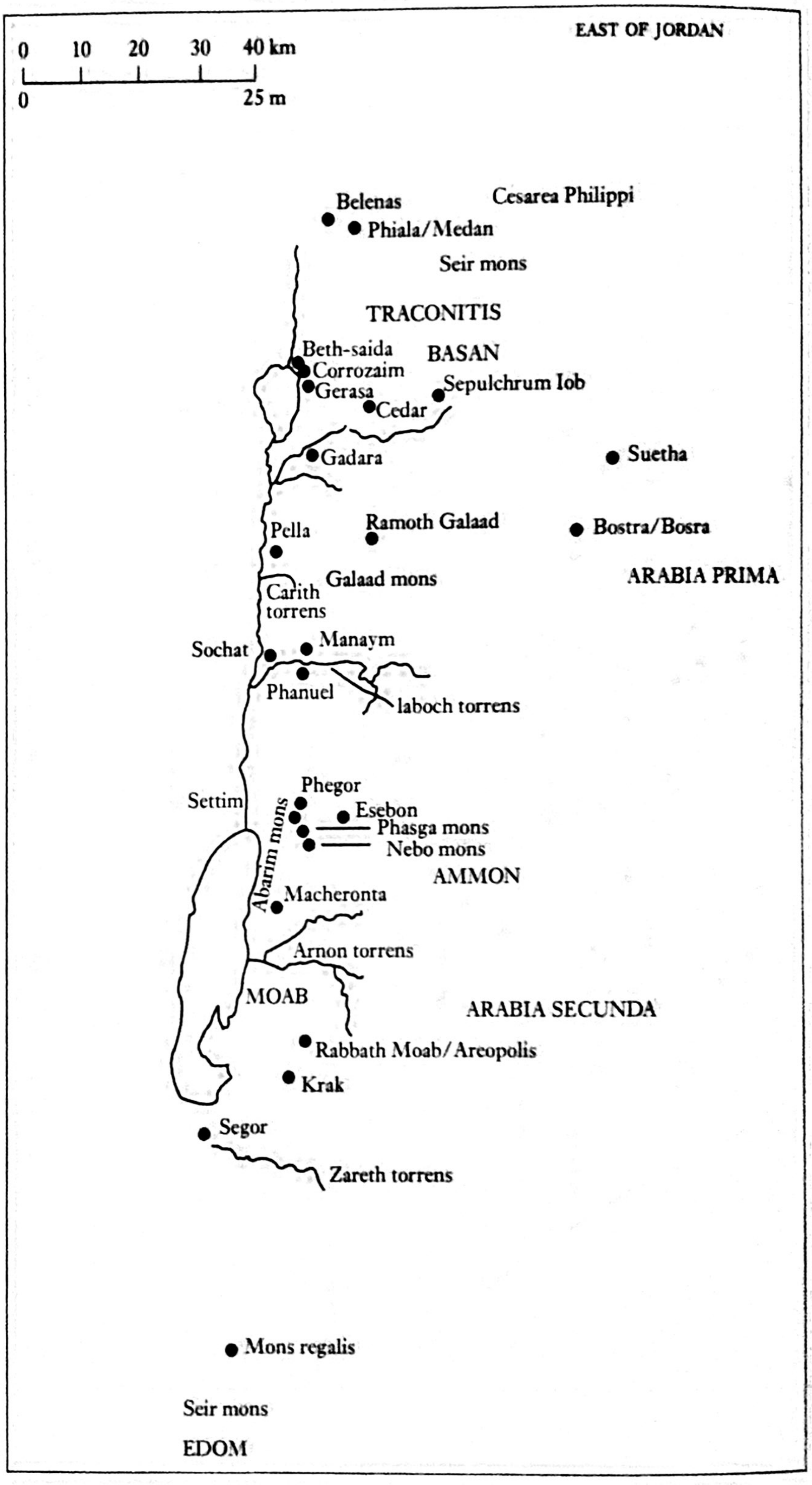

BURCHARD'S *PRIMA DIVISIO*
0 40 km
0 25 m
Antiochia
Seleucia
Apamia
Leodicia
Valania
Margat
Emath
Antaradus
Aradium
Krak
Arachas
Tripolis
Leopardorum mons
Nephin
Botrun
Byblos
Passus canis
Beritus
PHENICIA
LIBANUS
Eleutherus fluvius
ANTILIBANUS
Sidon
Sarepta
Damascus
Hermon mons, Sanir
Tirus
Puteus aquarum viventium
Scandalium
ITUREA
Belenas
TRACONITIS
Casale Lamperti
Accon
Cayphas

MAP 1. Burchard's *Prima Diuisio*, north from Acre

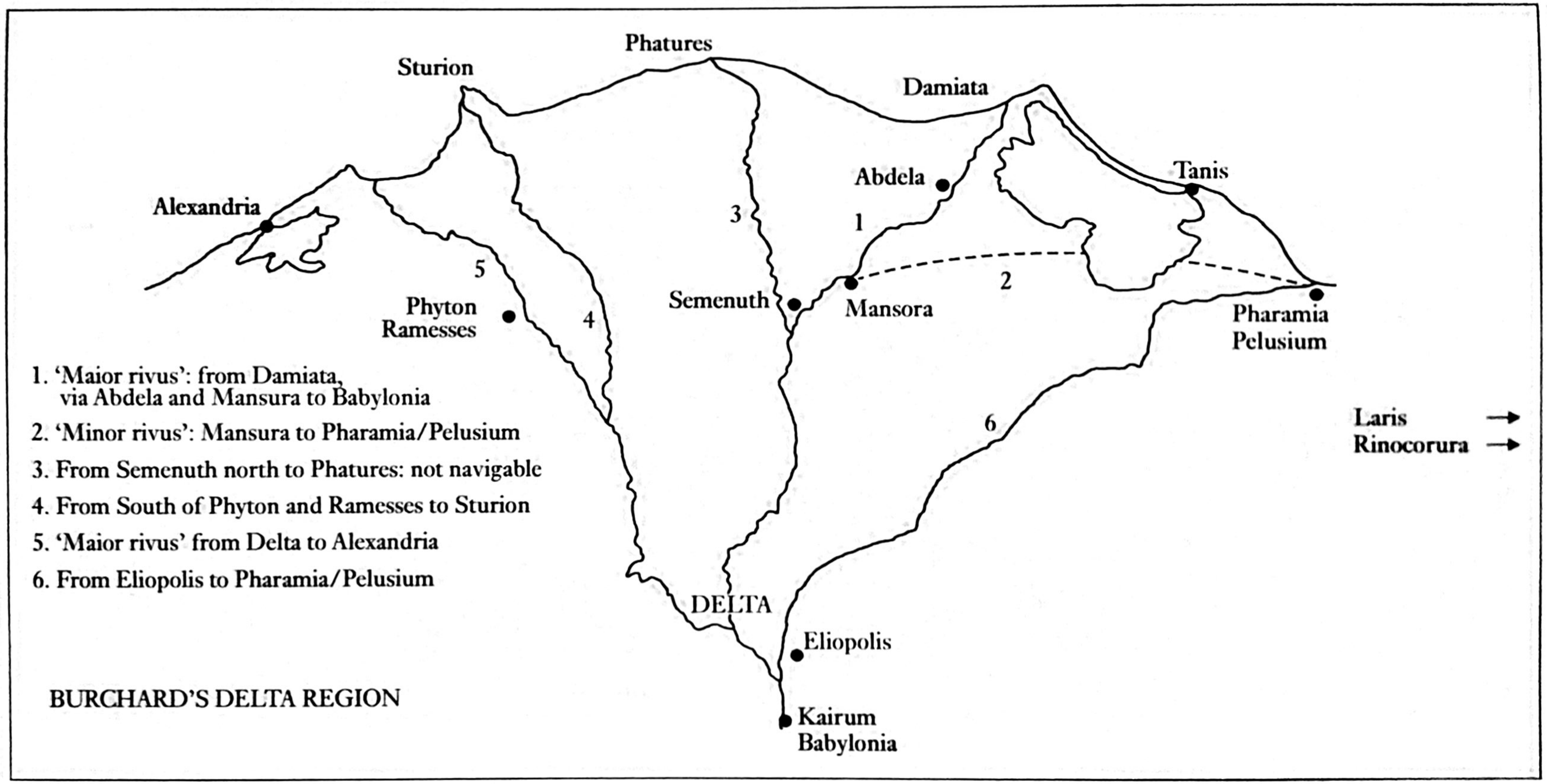

AQUAE MARON
Asor
Bethsaida
Corrozaim
Sephet
Cedes Neptalim
Capharnaum
MARE GALILEE
Cenereth
Magdala
Tiberias
Abelmehola
BETHULIA MONS
Dothaim
Sangeor
Castellum regium
Mons fortis
Casale Lamperti
Iudin
Accon/Ptolemais
Kabul
Naason
Iotapata
Chana
Ruma
Sephorum
Nazareth
THABOR MONS
Endor
Naim
HERMON MINOR
Sunam
Belvoir
Faba
Aphek (2)
Mesrha casale
Iesrahel
Magedo (Subube)
Bethshan/Scitopolis
GELBOE MONS
Ginnim/Gilim
Ascensus Gaber
Salim
Thebes
Tersa
Samaria/Sebaste
Chaco/Manetat
Cesarea Palestine
Dora
Caymont/Mons Caim
Castrum peregrinorum
Capharnaum (2)
CARMELUS MONS
Cayphas
0
15 km
0
10 m


IORDAN
MONS
Capella Sancti Iohannis Baptiste
Iericho
Bethagla
Doch
Galgala
Phesech/Phaselis
Taphue
Lepna casale
Adomin
Anathoth
Nobe/Bethenpolis
Emmaus(al-Qubeybe)
Rama
Gabaa Saulis
Bira/Magmas
Hai
Emon
Bethel
MONS EFFRAIM
Tampnathsare
Antipatris/Aphek
Bachurim
Bethfage
Bethania
JERUSALEM
Sepulchrum Rachelis
Bethleem
Herodium
Sepulchrum S.Karitoth
Tecua
Cariathiarim
Gabaon
Bethoron superior
Bethoron inferior
Modin
Lidda/Diospolis
Ramula/Arimathia
Nobe
Nicopolis/Emmaus
Estaol
Geth
Lachis
Saracha
Domus Zecharie
Belmont Bethsura?
Bethsames Iude
Acceda
Sochot Iude
Achile collis
Lapna (2)
Bethaccarem
Bersabee
Bethsura
Rama (2)
Mambre
Ebron
Maceda
Ziph
Carmelus
Machon/Maon
Dabir/Cariathsepher
Sicelech
Engadi
MARE MORTUUM
LACUS ASPHALTI
MARE SALIS
Ioppe
Iamnia
Accaron
Accaron
Blanchegarda
Azotus
Ascalona
Gaza/Gazara

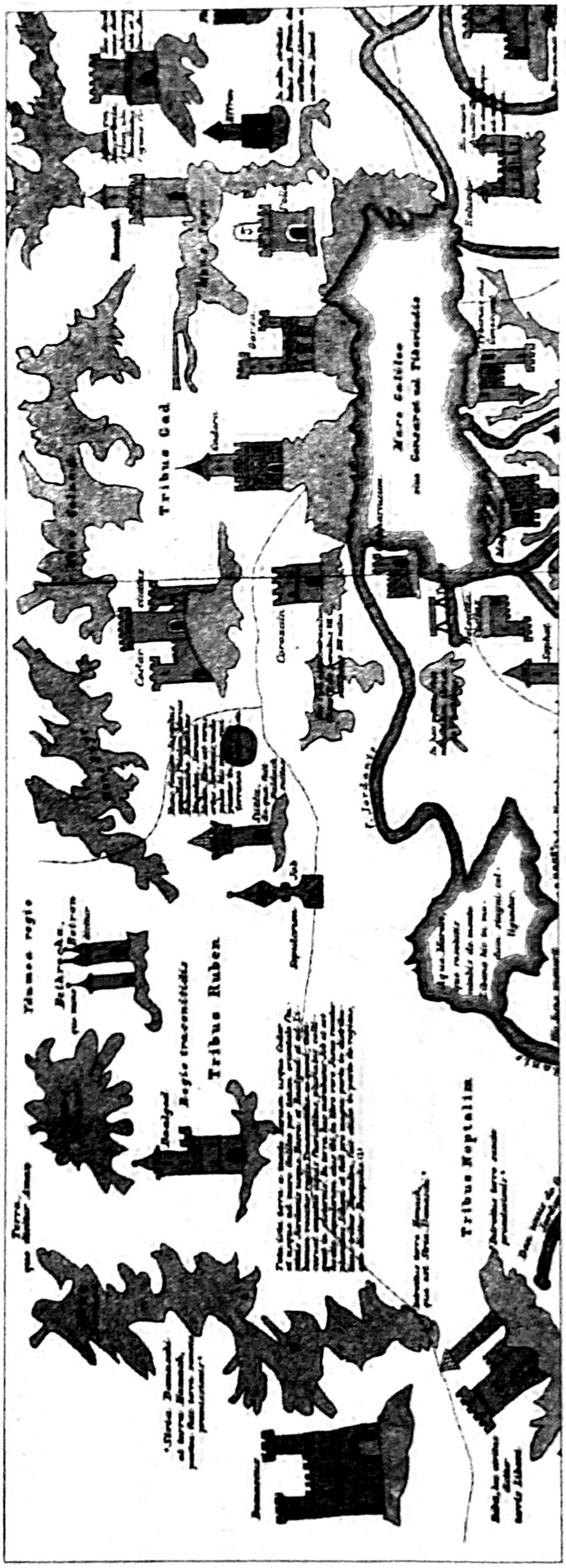
MAP 2. Burchard's identification of places in the Holy Land west of the Jordan


EAST OF JORDAN
0 10 20 30 40 km
0 25 m
Belenas
Cesarea Philippi
Phiala/Medan
Seir mons
TRACONITIS
Beth-saida
BASAN
Corrozaim
Gerasa
Sepulchrum Iob
Cedar
Gadara
Suetha
Pella
Ramoth Galaad
Bostra/Bosra
Galaad mons
ARABIA PRIMA
Carith torrens
Sochat
Manaym
Phanuel
Iaboch torrens
Phegor
Settim
Esebon
Phasga mons
Nebo mons
Abarim mons
AMMON
Macheronta
Arnon torrens
MOAB
ARABIA SECUNDA
Rabbath Moab/Areopolis
Krak
Segor
Zareth torrens
Mons regalis
Seir mons
EDOM

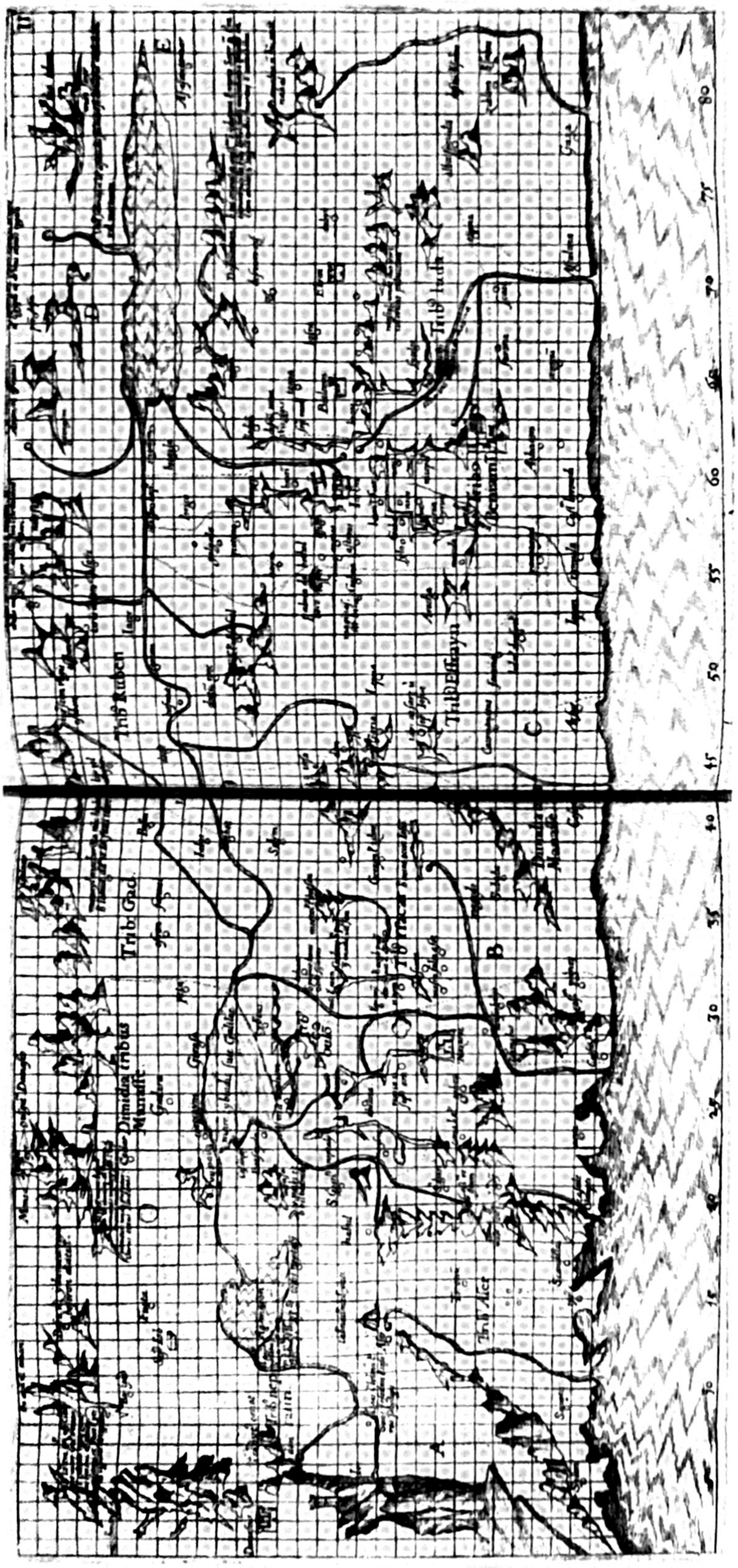
MAP 3. Burchard's identification of places east of the Jordan


Sturion
Phatures
Damiata
Tanis
Alexandria
Abdela
1
3
5
2
Semenuth
Mansora
Phyton
Ramesses
4
Pharamia
Pelusium
Laris →
Rinocorura →
6
1. 'Maior rivus': from Damiata, via Abdela and Mansura to Babylonia
2. 'Minor rivus': Mansura to Pharamia/Pelusium
3. From Semenuth north to Phatures: not navigable
4. From South of Phyton and Ramesses to Sturion
5. 'Maior rivus' from Delta to Alexandria
6. From Eliopolis to Pharamia/Pelusium
DELTA
Eliopolis
BURCHARD'S DELTA REGION
Kairum
Babylonia

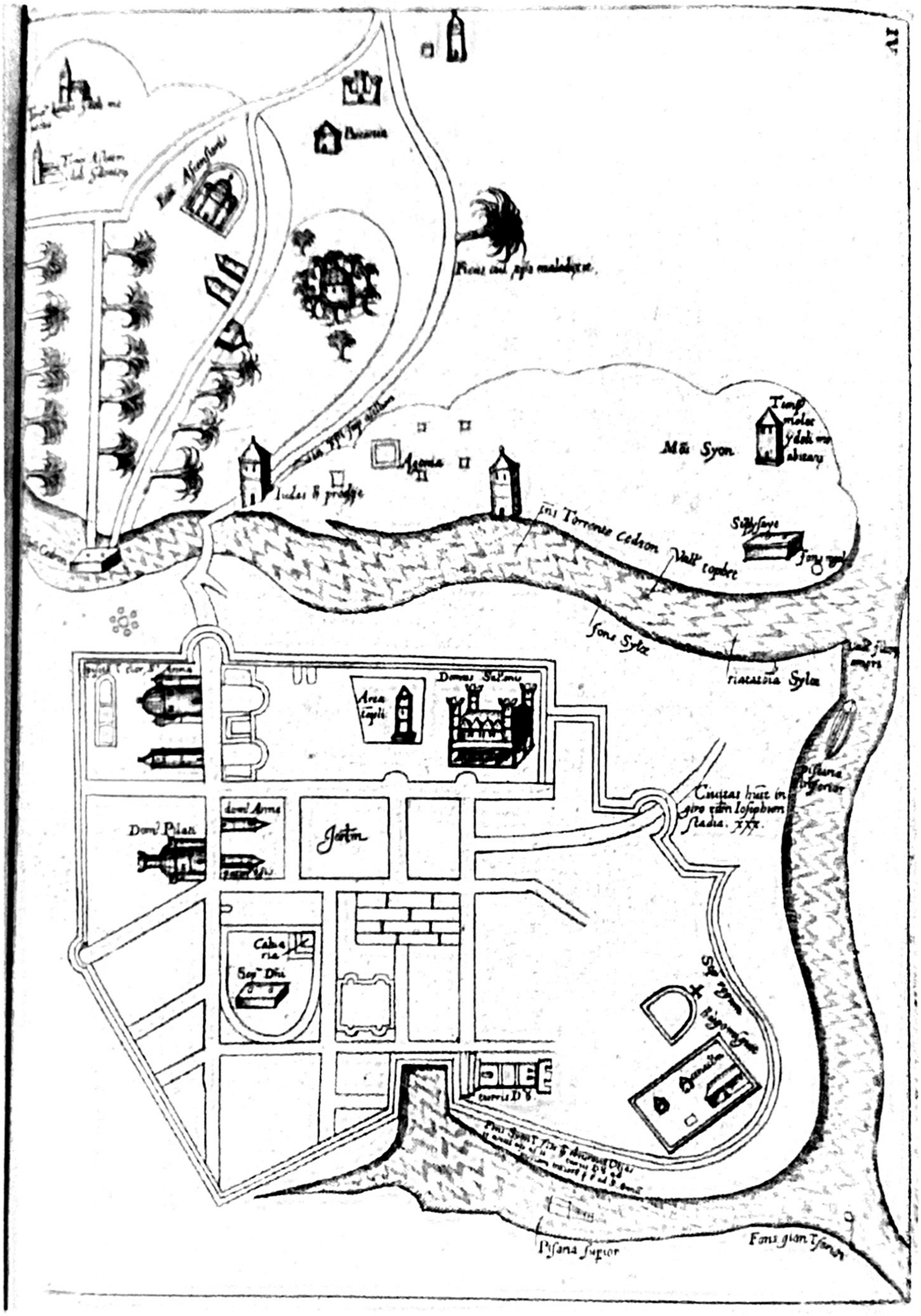
MAP 4. Burchard's Delta region in Egypt


Tribus Gad
Tribus Ruben
Regio traconitidis
Idumea regio
Mare Galilee sive Genesaret vel Tiberiadis
F. Jordanis
Tribus Neptalim

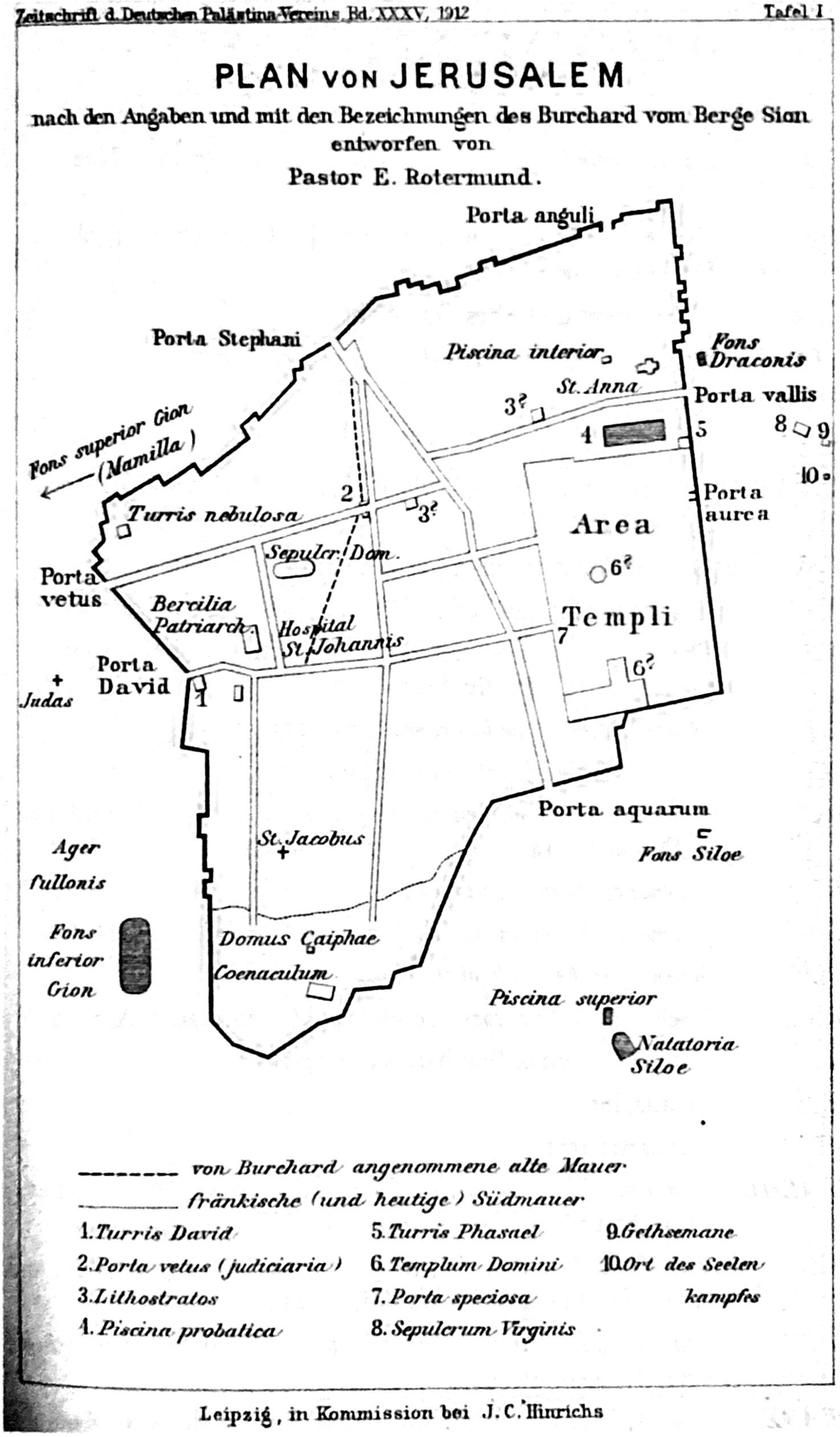
MAP 5. Section of Florence map of *c.*1300, from Röhricht, 'Karten und Pläne', Tafel i


Trib Ruben
Trib Gad
Dimedia tribus Manasse
Trib Iuda
Trib Beniamin
Trib Effraym
Trib Aser
A
B
C
D
E
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80

Map 6. Sanudo–Vesconte map of Holy Land, from Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii (1611), between pp. 282 and 285


IV
Bethania
Ficus cui ipse maledixit
Mõs Syon
Agonia
Iudas se prodit
Torrens Cedron
Vall' topbet
fons Sylo
natatoria Sylo
Cedron
Domus Salomonis
Area templi
Dom' Pilati
dom' Anne
Calvaria
Sep^m Dñi
turris D
Civitas huic in giro estim Iosephum stadia. XXX
Pisana inferior
Pisana superior
Fons gion

MAP 7. Sanudo–Vesconte map of Jerusalem, from Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii (1611), between pp. 282 and 285


Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins Bd. XXXV, 1912
Tafel I
PLAN VON JERUSALEM
nach den Angaben und mit den Bezeichnungen des Burchard vom Berge Sion
entworfen von
Pastor E. Rotermund.
Porta anguli
Porta Stephani
Piscina interior
Fons Draconis
St. Anna
Porta vallis
3?
4
5
8
9
10
Fons superior Gion (Mamilla)
2
Turris nebulosa
3?
Porta aurea
Area Templi
6?
Sepulcr. Dom.
Porta vetus
Bercilia Patriarch.
Hospital St. Johannis
7
6?
Porta David
1
Judas
Porta aquarum
Fons Siloe
St. Jacobus
Ager fullonis
Fons inferior Gion
Domus Caiphae
Coenaculum
Piscina superior
Natatoria Siloe
von Burchard angenommene alte Mauer
fränkische (und heutige) Südmauer
1. Turris David
2. Porta vetus (judiciaria)
3. Lithostratos
4. Piscina probatica
5. Turris Phasael
6. Templum Domini
7. Porta speciosa
8. Sepulcrum Virginis
9. Gethsemane
10. Ort des Seelenkampfes
Leipzig, in Kommission bei J. C. Hinrichs

MAP 8. Burchard's Jerusalem, according to Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard vom Berge Sion', p. 57)

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D. N. Freedman (6 vols., New York, 1992)
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (3rd edn., Princeton, 1969)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1966–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout, 1953–)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig, 1847–1946)
HLF	*Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1733–2008)
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IHC	*Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)*, ed. S. De Sandoli (4 vols., Jerusalem, 1978–84)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
Loeb	Loeb Classical Library (London and Cambridge, MA, 1912–)
LV	Longer Version of Burchard's *Descriptio*
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NEAEHL	*New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (5 vols., New York and Jerusalem, 1994)
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (4th edn., Oxford, 2012)
ODCC	*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. E. A. Livingstone (3rd edn., Oxford, 1997)
OEANE	*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. M. Meyers (4 vols., New York and Oxford, 1997)

OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
OVKT	*Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie*
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (167 vols.; Paris, 1857—66)
PL	Patrologia cursus completus, Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (221 vols.; Paris, 1844–64)
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1884–96)
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RSV	*The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version*
SHAJ	Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan (Amman, 1980–)
SV	Shorter Version of Burchard's *Descriptio*
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (Tübingen, 1977–94)
Vulg.	*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, recensuit R. Weber (4th edn., Stuttgart, 1994)
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
add.	added
conj.	conjectured
marg.	margin
om.	omitted
+	and other sources

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION, OP

BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION'S *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, originally written in or about AD 1283, has received much less attention from modern scholars than is its due. In 1864 J. C. M. Laurent published an edition of the longer version of the *Descriptio*, and in 1880 W. A. Neumann an edition of the shorter version. These editions drew on limited manuscript evidence; Neumann's work was barely noticed and remains hard to find. Translations of the longer text appeared in 1896 (Aubrey Stewart) and 2012 (Denys Pringle); for details and discussion of these works see below, pp. lxix–lxxiii. I know of no English translation of the shorter version. This present edition provides a new Latin text, with *apparatus criticus*, of both the longer and shorter versions that brings out the fluidity of the transmission, together with new English translations; introductory chapters discuss what is known of Burchard, the manuscript evidence for Burchard's work, the several early printed editions of the *Descriptio*, the relationship of the longer and shorter versions, Burchard's understanding of the geography and topography of the Holy Land, the evidence for early maps based on Burchard's work, the churches Burchard visited in the Holy Land, and Burchard's sources, including the Scriptures. Burchard made an important contribution to Western knowledge of places mentioned in the Bible, but his contribution has been largely neglected. This book attempts to fill a large gap in scholarship, and to provide a useful springboard for further research.

What we know of Burchard comes to us for the most part from the headings to the various manuscripts of his work, and for the rest from the internal evidence of the *Descriptio*.

The codices of the longer text of Burchard's *Descriptio* begin with a *Prologus*, and with the words *Cum in ueteribus historiis legamur*. In some cases a simple heading precedes the prologue, as in the case of the fourteenth-century manuscript Lea 4 (Codex 60) from Philadelphia University Library, which gives *Tractatus de terra sancta*, in red ink. Among codices of the longer text, the Hamburg Codex Staphorstianus (= Cod. Petri 30b) is of little use, for its opening words have been rubbed away over the centuries and are unreadable. The sixteenth-century manuscript copy (Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. geogr. 59, fos. 10–71—Laurent's *Apographum Hamburgense* (h.)) has the inscription

Itinerarius terre sancte valde bonus, editus a fratre Borchardo de Berghe, ordinis praedicatorum. The London manuscript BL Add. MS 18929 adds to the beginning of a sentence in the prologue (fo. 2^{ra}) the words *ego Burchardus ordinis predicatorum*, and later refers to the presence of *fratres* (brother monks) at Sancta Sabina in Monte Averno and Sancta Maria in Minerva, both Dominican houses (fo. 48^{rb}), and to the master of the order—most probably the Dominican order—at Bologna, who received Burchard kindly but refused him permission to travel to Germany (fo. 48^{v}), and to his reception by members of his order (*in domo fratrum nostrorum*) in Cyprus, probably at Nicosia (fo. 49^{vb}). A fourteenth-century codex from Florence (Biblioteca Laurentiana Plut. LXXVI.56) has the heading *Fratris Brochardi ordinis praedicatorum libellus de Terra Sancta*, and an editorial postscript *Explicit libellus editus a fratre Brochardo Theologo ordinis praedicatorum de descriptione et terminatione terrae sanctae, quam ipse totam perambulavit et uidit et ibi diu stetit*. The same words (with *discritione* for *descriptione*) are added to the end of the manuscript from Magdalen College, Oxford. This editorial evidence, together with the evidence from the London manuscript, links Burchard with the Order of Preachers; in the London manuscript Add. MS 18929 (fo. 44^{vb}) the author describes a giraffe as having a neck so long that the animal could lick the roof 'of your church in Magdeburg', which surely suggests that the author is writing to a colleague there. The late copy from Hamburg mentions a place called Berghe, but whether this is to be identified with the Barboy (modern Barby) near Magdeburg, which (according to Laurent)[1] is mentioned in the Canisius edition[2] of Burchard's *Descriptio* (see below), is not clear.

The shorter version of the Burchard *Descriptio*—for example, as witnessed in the codices from Melk (Melk 46), Uppsala (C.14, fos. 1–15), Wrocław (IV. F. 191, fos. 142–50)—begins differently from the longer versions quoted above. The Wrocław and Uppsala texts have the heading *Incipit descriptio terrae sanctae* ('Here begins the Description of the Holy Land'), and all three continue with *Dilectissimo in Christo Iesu patri fratri Burchardo lectori fratrum ordinis praedicatorum in Magdeburch, frater Burchardus de monte Syon cum omni deuotione orationes in Domino Iesu Christo* ('Brother Burchard of Mount Sion to his beloved father in Christ Jesus, Brother Burchard, Lector of the Brothers of the Order of

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[1] *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. Laurent, p. 3. In this edition, when quoting from Laurent's Praefatio (pp. 3–18) I have followed his orthography.

[2] *Descriptio terrae sanctae ... nunc primum in publicum data ex bibliotheca monasterii canonicorum regularium S. Magni ad pedem pontis Ratisbonensis*, in Heinrich Canisius, *Antiquae Lectiones*, vi. 295–322.

Preachers in Magdeburg, offers his prayers, with all devotion in the Lord Jesus Christ'). One should note that here it is the addressee, not the author, who is described as belonging to the Order of the Preachers. It is the shorter version which mentions Magdeburg, here in the opening sentence, but also later in the text in the description of Jerusalem (B44), where the Wrocław manuscript (and similarly the Uppsala, Melk, and Munich clm 26636 manuscripts) gives *uidetur autem mihi... quod Jerusalem amplior multo sit et longior, quam antiqua ciuitas Magdeburgensis, quam includit murus circumiens de sancto Georgio usque ad nouam ciuitatem exclusive* ('but it seems to me... that Jerusalem is much wider and longer than the old city of Magdeburg, which is fully encompassed by the wall running round from St George as far as the new city'). (Laurent[3] quotes what appears to be a different reading from the Canisius text, giving *Ambrosio* in place of *Georgio*; he does not indicate from which manuscript or edition this reading comes.) The author is here comparing the size of Jerusalem with that of Magdeburg.

Laurent[4] notes a reading in the Canisius edition (i.e. of the shorter text) which mentions the distance between Acre and Nazareth as being equivalent to the distance between Magdeburg and Barby (*Distat autem* (Nazareth) *ab Accon per septem leucas. Quod spacium melius estimare potui, quia sepius illuc pertransiui. Videtur michi esse sicut de Magdeburg in Barboy*) ('Nazareth is distant 7 leagues from Acre. I have been able to reckon this distance better, because I have often passed through there. It seems to me to be just like the distance from Magdeburg to Barby'). Barby is about 16 miles (25 km) south-east of Magdeburg; in fact Nazareth is about 20 miles (32 km) from Acre, so the comparison is a little inaccurate, but perhaps near enough given that Burchard had no means of accurate measurement and in any case had to rely upon his memory for the comparison. If the words quoted by Laurent are genuinely Burchard's, then they connect Burchard with Magdeburg and Barby, but do not suggest that Burchard came from Barby—only that he knew it; but Laurent gives no reference for this quotation apart from 'Canisius', and I cannot find the words in either Canisius's edition of 1604 or in Basnage's edition[5] of 1725, or in the manuscripts from Melk, Regensburg, Wrocław or Uppsala noted above. It is a further question how this name 'Barby' relates, if at all, to the 'Berghe' of the sixteenth-century Hamburg copy, and from what source the Hamburg copy got this name. In short, there are few certainties here; perhaps the best that can be said is that internal evidence from the shorter text suggests Burchard's link with Magdeburg and its region.

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[3] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 4.

[4] Ibid. p. 3.

[5] *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum, siue Henricii Canisii Lectiones antiquae*, ed. Basnage, iv. 1–26.

Magdeburg's foundation goes back to Charlemagne in 805; by the thirteenth century it was an important trading city, a member of the Hanseatic League, with wide trade connections. The Dominicans established themselves there in 1224,[6] where Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg gave them land in 1225; Burchard is known to have been in the Holy Land in 1283, and if he travelled there from the Dominican community at Magdeburg, he presumably was active in Magdeburg in the middle of the century, a generation or so after the foundation there of the Dominican community. Unfortunately Burchard tells us nothing of that community, except (if we accept the shorter version of the text as his) that it had a Lector also called Burchard to whom Burchard gave a copy of the short version of his *Descriptio*, presumably some years after his return from the Holy Land. It was at this Lector's command and request (*iussione et petitione*) that Burchard had written his account; the Lector was therefore Burchard's superior, but nevertheless one who respected Burchard's comprehension and experience of the Holy Land.

Burchard is commonly known as 'Burchard of Mount Sion', and the name needs explanation. It is often suggested that he received this title because he had stayed at the Augustinian abbey of St Mary on Mount Sion where he wrote his book,[7] but Pringle[8] has observed that the Augustinians left this monastery in 1187 to settle in 1191 in Acre. Laurent[9] suggested that the Dominicans replaced Burchard's family name (perhaps 'Count Burchard of Barby') with a religious name 'of Mount Sion'; if so, his new name, one might suppose, would reflect not so much that he lived at a monastery on Mount Sion (in any case it was not a Dominican house) but that he was known for his concern for the Holy Land, for which the appellation 'of Mount Sion' was an apt symbol.

The dates of Burchard's stay in the Holy Land have been much discussed. Burchard must have written after Baybars's destruction of the castle of Safat (25), which he ascribes to treachery, in July 1266, and of Belfort (Beaufort) (13), in April 1268; Burchard similarly mentions Krak (Krak des Chevaliers, 18) in the past tense and Mons Fortis

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[6] Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, pp. 32, 210.

[7] *Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, trans. Stewart, p. v; Grabois, 'Christian pilgrims in the thirteenth century', p. 290, n. 21

[8] 'Description of the Holy Land (1274–85)', in Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, p. 48.

[9] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 3.

'nunc penitus est destructum' (Montfort) (**21**), which fell in February and June of 1271 respectively. On the other hand the castle of Margat (**14**, **20**) is apparently still standing (it survived until May 1285). Burchard (**114**; see Laurent XIII. 4)[10] refers to the Greek Christians who returned to the Roman obedience at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. Burchard's presence in the Holy Land must fall between 1274 and 1285. Laurent[11] argues that Burchard visited the kingdom of Armenia and Cilicia after its king Leo III (Pringle[12] names him as Levon II) had made peace with Sultan Baybars of Egypt in 1282, and sees Burchard's visit as following his work in the Holy Land in 1283–4. Pringle qualifies this by noting that peace between Armenia and Egypt was made only in 1285, and suggests that Burchard might have gone from Cilicia to Damietta in Egypt (see Burchard's account of his journey in **126**) as part of the peace process. Pringle notes also the possibility that Burchard visited the Holy Land after his visit to Cilicia and Egypt; but if this visit was part of the peace negotiations, and Burchard is writing before the fall of Margat in 1285, there is perhaps not much time between those events for Burchard's stay in the Holy Land, especially as it is clear on internal evidence (see **27**)[13] that he must have spent over a year there. The years 1283–4 remain the most likely dates for Burchard's travels in the Holy Land and for the writing of his account.

Pringle hints that Burchard may have played some diplomatic role in relations between the Sultan of Egypt and the king of Armenia, and Rubin has underlined the evidence for Burchard's standing at both courts.[14] Both the Paris manuscript n.a.l. 288 (fo. 20^{r}) and the London manuscript BL Add. MS 18929 (fo. 21^{vb}) say that Burchard was sent (*missus*) to the Sultan (though they do not say by whom), and make clear that he was a privileged guest, being given access to the balsam groves. The whole account of Burchard's visit to Armenia (**118–25**) makes clear that he had privileged access to the king and his court and to senior churchmen, and the version of Burchard's travels presented by the London manuscript BL Add. MS 18929 reveals that Burchard had particular business with the kings of both Armenia and Cyprus (see below, pp. xxxii, xxxv–xxxvi).

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[10] Ibid., p. 89, n. 649; see n. 679 on the text.

[11] Ibid., p. 91, n. 654.

[12] Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 50.

[13] See *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 36, nn. 169, 170.

[14] Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 50.

The extent of Burchard's travels after his visit to the Holy Land has been explored recently by J. Rubin,[15] who examines 'a completely unknown continuation of Burchard's work' in fo. 44^{va} (*De Babylonia recedens* ...)–49^{vb} (... *sollempniter procurabar*) of the British Library late fourteenth-/early fifteenth-century manuscript BL Add. MS 18929. This continuation of the *Descriptio* gives some further information about Burchard's visit to Egypt, and then describes his further travels via Sicily, Naples, Rome, Bologna, Lucca, and thence back through Rome and Naples, and via Crete, Rhodes, Antalya, to Tyre and Acre. Burchard then seems to have travelled north up the Mediterranean coast past Tyre, Sarepta, Sidon, Beirut, Nephin, Tripoli, Archas, Margat, Baniyas, Latakia, Antioch, and finally to the kingdom of Armenia and Cilicia, apparently with letters of introduction from the king of the Romans (Rudolf of Habsburg). The king of Armenia and Cilicia, forewarned of Burchard's coming, had written on Burchard's behalf to the brothers of the Hospital of St John in Mallota near Tharsus, and similarly also to the Teutonic order at Mamistra. The king apparently also provided Burchard with a soldier and horses, and expenses, and with seventy Saracen prisoners *in subsidium negocii pro quo veneram* ('in aid of the business for which I had come') (but what this business was is not explained). The narrative makes clear that Burchard was treated with great respect and generosity until he was sent on his way from the port of Ayas (modern Yumurtalik). At Seleucia his ship was attacked by sixty pirates (Seleucia was notorious for pirates) but 'after they had seen us and saluted us they went away' and were later captured and hanged by the king of Cyprus. Burchard travelled on to Salamis in Cyprus, where the king (Henry II, ruled 1285–1324) received him well, and he stayed in a Dominican house, probably in Nicosia.[16]

On the basis of three dates given only by the London manuscript BL Add. MS 18929, Rubin reconstructs the dating of Burchard's visit to the Holy Land and subsequent visits to Egypt, Sicily, Italy, return to Acre, and thence to Armenia and Cilicia. The first date is in BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 5^{rb}, where Burchard refers to a chapel built in 1283 by the Lord of Tyre, dedicated on the Third Sunday in Lent (21 March) and to celebrating mass three times before Palm Sunday (11 April of that year). The second date is from BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 17^{r-v}, where Burchard's visit to Mount Gilboa is dated to St Martin's Day,

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[15] Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*' underlines the evidence for Burchard's standing at both Egyptian and Armenian courts', 178–80.

[16] For this text and notes on it, see ibid., pp. 183–90.

11 November, 1283. The third date is in BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 42^{rb}, where Burchard's departure for Egypt (after his visit to Armenia) is dated to the Kalends of September, and his entry to Egypt at Pharamia to the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September), 1284. Thus Rubin proposes the following chronology:

21 March–11 April 1283	Present in the vicinity of Tyre
11 November 1283	Visits Mount Gilboa
6 May—20 July 1284	Visits Armenia
1 September 1284	Boards a ship in Acre
8 September 1284	Enters Egypt
(November	Reaches Messina
Winter 1284–5	Visits Italy; returns to Messina)
2 April 1285	Leaves Messina
25 April 1285	Arrives in Acre
13 May 1285	Sarepta Sidoniorum
24 June 1285	Armenia

The dates for 1285 derive from Rubin's 'continuation'. BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 46^{rb} shows Burchard reaching Messina in autumn 1284 and wintering there; leaving Messina in spring 1285 he journeyed via Italy back to the Holy Land, which he reached in twenty-three days in time for Pentecost (fo. 49^{ra}). He was at Sarepta (Sarafand) by 13 May. On John the Baptist's Day (24 June) Burchard was celebrating mass in the kingdom of Armenia.

Rubin's reconstruction is plausible, but it must be noted that he is relying almost totally on the one manuscript BL Add. MS 18929, the dates which it alone gives, and the 'continuation' narrative section, so far known only from this manuscript. However, this manuscript itself needs further examination. It is important to observe that fos. 1–33 are in what appears to be the same hand, and that suddenly at fo. 34^{ra} a completely new hand appears, which goes on to complete the text of the *Descriptio* at fo. 50^{v}. Further: after fo. 33, three leaves have been cut out from the manuscript, and the appearance of a completely new hand is probably not unconnected with this. But more: fos. 1–33 closely follow what might be called the 'standard' text, in agreement with the other manuscripts used in this edition; but at fo. 34^{ra} this changes, and from this point onwards the scribe produces a new text which frequently paraphrases the 'standard' text, with new omissions and additions. This scribe goes his own way; he is not copying strictly a standard base text, as was the case with the scribe of fos. 1–33. He is deliberately altering course, perhaps replacing what existed before. It is easy to note that he does not follow the order of the 'standard' text: thus in **99–102** (Laurent's ch. X) (*Prima diuisio quarte australis*), in addition to abbreviating and paraphrasing the material, the scribe rearranges the order of paragraphs to 1–5, 8–13, 17–19, 6–7, 14–16 (fos. 34^{v}–36^{r}). He sets **103–6** (Laurent's ch. XI) (*De longitudine et latitudine terre sancte*) at the end of the *Descriptio* (fos. 49^{vb}–50^{vb}), putting the introductory paragraph at the end and closing this section with new material. Laurent's ch. XII (**107–10**) (*De fructibus et animalibus terre sancte*) has been freely paraphrased and much material—especially about viticulture in the Holy Land—omitted. The scribe freely rewrites the opening sections of **111–14** (Laurent's ch. XIII) on foreigners in the Holy Land, the Saracens, the Syrians, and the Greeks, omitting much material, but follows the 'standard' text more closely in the later paragraphs of that chapter dealing with the Bedouin and the Armenians and others; though in discussing the royal court of Armenia he adds an interesting paragraph about the exercises taken by the court between lunch and dinner (see pp. cxlii–cxlvii). At the end of his description of Armenia, this scribe introduces a new paragraph (with more place names than the 'standard' text) describing Burchard's journey from the port of Ayas via a number of places including Mallota, Tharsus, Seleucia, Cyprus, Tyre, Ptolemais, Haifa, Dothan (an error for Dor?), Castrum Peregrinorum, Caesarea Palestine, Antipatris, Joppa, Yavneh, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, and the Gulf of Larissa, and Mons Casius, finally reaching Pharamia (fo. 42^{r}). The scribe follows this travel section with the description of Egypt known to us from other manuscripts (Paris n.a.l. 288; Bodleian MS Lat. Hist. e.1; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MS Lat. qu. 466; Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Codex 74; Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 354 Helmst., and the lost Paris manuscript n.a.l. 781; see below, pp. cxxxviii–cxxxix). This scribe seems to know the 'standard' text, but to have little hesitation in adapting it to his purpose, whatever that may have been.

It is not clear what this might mean for our understanding of the 'continuation' of Burchard's travels. The first scribe of the London BL Add. MS 18929 followed the 'standard' text closely, with a few small additions; the second scribe, from **99** (Laurent's ch. X) onwards, seems deliberately to have followed a different policy or source, or both. He must have known the 'standard' version from which he suddenly deviates; his wording is often precisely close to that of the 'standard' version (as in the description of Egypt). But he adds new and different material (as in the travelogue from Armenia to Egypt), and then in the 'continuation' (fos. 44^{va}–49^{vb}) he adds what (to the best of our knowledge to date) is a completely new travelogue, describing Burchard's journey from Egypt to Sicily, Italy, Acre, and then back to Armenia. Where did the scribe get this very detailed travelogue from? Further research is needed to discover if this appears in any other manuscript of the *Descriptio*. Rubin suggests that this material is evidence of 'the processes by which the text was edited and re-edited by Burchard, as well as by later scribes and publishers'.[17] This is surely correct, though unless the London manuscript is very early indeed, it seems unlikely that this scribe is Burchard himself editing his own work (why would he start at fo. 34?).

The account of a double visit to Armenia, involving a grand tour of Italy and long sea travel between the two visits, does raise questions. It is not impossible that Burchard should visit Armenia in early summer 1284, travel via Egypt to Messina, arriving in November 1284, spend the winter travelling via the Lipari islands, Puteoli, Naples, Rome, Florence, Bologna, through Italy, returning via Rome to Messina the following spring, then travelling by sea to Acre via Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus in twenty-three days, and so return to Armenia, where on St John the Baptist's Day (24 June) he celebrated mass before high Tartar officials.[18] Even so, this was a major undertaking, involving extra danger and considerable expense, almost certainly involving political or ecclesiastical diplomacy. Burchard went to Armenia for the second visit armed with letters from the Roman Emperor. The king of Armenia and Cilicia wrote on Burchard's behalf arranging hospitality for him with the brothers of the Hospital of St John in Mallota and with the Teutonic House in Mamistra, and later gives Burchard personal hospitality, supplies him with an escort and horses, pays expenses, and with the representative of the Tartars attends mass celebrated by Burchard and dines with him, and finally sends him on his way. Burchard is clearly an important visitor. Burchard sails from Ayas along the Cilician coast via Mallos, Tharsus, Corycos, meets pirates off Seleucia, reaches Salamis in Cyprus, where the king receives him well and provides for his stay at the Dominican house, perhaps in Nicosia.

This last journey of Burchard from Armenia to Cyprus is very similar to that described earlier, immediately after Burchard's first visit to Armenia (BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 42^{ra}). That the same route should be followed is not surprising; but it is surprising that on the first call at Cyprus the text should note (fo. 42^{rb}) *peractis negotiis apud regem Cypri nauigaui in Syriam* ('when business with the king of Cyprus had been completed, I set sail for Syria'). What business had Burchard with the king of Cyprus on this visit? We are not told, but it is significant that such business is mentioned in connection with Burchard's first visit to Cyprus. Now on the second visit, we read that his arrival in Cyprus was immediately reported to the king, who immediately sent horses to collect him, and who settled him into the Dominican house and provided for him (*de curia regis sollempniter procurabar*). We are not told that after this second visit to Cyprus Burchard went on to Acre and the mother house of the Dominicans in the Holy Land, but it would be surprising if he had not so concluded his travels.

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[17] Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*', p. 182.

[18] See ibid., p. 190, n. 59.

The 'standard' version of Burchard's activities suggests that he visited Armenia from the Holy Land, returned via Cyprus (where he had business with the king) to Acre, and then travelled to Egypt. The 'continuation' adds that Burchard travelled from Egypt to Italy and then back to Acre; then returned to Armenia and the royal court; and then returned by the same route along the coast and through Cyprus (where Burchard had clearly had business with the king)... and probably returned to Acre. There must be at least a suspicion that there was originally only one visit to Armenia, one visit to Cyprus; that somehow the story has been reduplicated. Is this second visit to Armenia and to Cyprus a doublet of the first? From Cyprus and Acre Burchard went on to Egypt, and thence via Sicily and Italy to Rome, Florence, and Bologna—and perhaps ultimately home to Germany. (It is strange that the Master of the Order at Bologna refused to allow Burchard to return to Germany, which was thus clearly Burchard's intention, and one suspects that this prohibition is the scribe's editorial way of allowing for a second visit to Armenia.) This makes much more sense than a second trip round the Mediterranean, back to Acre, and thence again to Armenia and Cyprus. The fact that the story ends in Cyprus without telling how Burchard proceeded from there is itself suggestive.

The fact is that the manuscript evidence witnesses to at least three different endings to the *Descriptio*. Some major manuscripts include a *descriptio Egypti* at the end after Burchard's return from Armenia. Some (four manuscripts from Austria) omit this, though referring to Burchard's arrival in Egypt, at Damietta, and adding biblical references. The London manuscript offers a heavily revised version of the Armenian visit and adds a new travelogue and a different version of an

Armenian visit. It is unlikely that this variance goes back to Burchard himself. It seems more likely that these versions belong to the history of transmission and are the work of subsequent historians and scribes, probably from a Dominican context.

We know nothing of Burchard's further life and further travels (if any). We do not even know the date of his death. If he returned to the Dominican house at Magdeburg, he probably died there, but we have no evidence.

MANUSCRIPTS OF BURCHARD'S *DESCRIPTIO TERRAE SANCTAE*

One of the first scholars to make a systematic study of the manuscripts and published texts of the *Descriptio* was Johann Beckmann in 1809.[19] Beckmann lists the manuscripts from (1) Hamburg (now Petri 30b); (2) Magdalen College, Oxford; (3) Basle; (4) Florence (now Bibl. Laur., Plut. LXXVI.56); (5) Cologne (used by Adrichomius); (6) Melk; (7) Leipzig, Paulina (= Röhricht, 19). J. C. M. Laurent in 1864 produced a Latin *catalogus* of twenty-six codices of the *Descriptio*, complete with descriptive notes.[20] Laurent was subsequently in contact and correspondence with Prof. W. A. Neumann in Vienna,[21] who in 1879 produced for the Société de l'Orient latin a text of the shorter version 'ad fidem cod. mss. Mellicensis, H, 17, Viennensium: 509 (W a), 4739 (W b), Upsalensis, 14, antiquae versionis germanicae saeculi XIV et editionis Canisianae'.[22] In 1890 Reinhold Röhricht[23] presented a very full list of manuscripts at fifty locations, each designated by its library and catalogue number. This catalogue, though outdated in that some manuscripts have changed location and sometimes their catalogue reference, remains a basic tool for research. Finally, to date, Th. Käppeli published in 1970 a useful list of manuscripts of Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in which manuscripts are designated either as 'A. rec. prior' (by which Käppeli indicates the shorter version, which he takes to be the earlier) or 'B. rec. prolixior' (by which Käppeli indicates the longer text).[24] The list below is based on Käppeli's, though adding cross-references to the lists of Laurent (L) (*Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, pp. 5–11;

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[19] Beckmann, *Litteratur der älteren Reisebeschreibungen*, ii . pp. 31–70.

[20] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 5–11.

[21] Stigler, *Wilhelm Anton Neumann, 1837–1919*, pp. 42–4.

[22] Burcardus de Monte Sion, *Liber de descriptione Terrae Sanctae* (Textus conferendus), ed. Neumann, pp. 92–117.

[23] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, pp. 56–8.

[24] Käppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, pp. 257–60, entry no. 707.

1864) and Röhricht (R) (*Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, 56–8; 1890) with their reference numbers.

Manuscripts of the Longer Text

Basle, Universitatsbibliothek, A.V.17, fos. 2–20 (R. 3b)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. Lat. fol. 464, fos. 46–54, 88–9 (R. 4a)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. qu. 466, fos. 36^{vb}–62^{vb}
Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 46, fos. 1–18 (fragm.) (L. 7; R. 5)
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 739, fos. 143–75 (L. 9; R. 8a)
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 9177, fos. 25–43 (L. 8; R. 8b)
Chicago, University of Chicago Library, Special Collections, MS 707
Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott. 580, fos. 400–4 (excerpta)
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. LXXVI. 56, fos. 94–101 (L. 12; R. 13a)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, C. 8. 2861, fos. 1–26 (R. 13b)
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, F.4.733, fos. 29^{ra}–43^{vb}
Gdańsk, formerly Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien, F. 152, fos. 167–226 (R. 11a)
Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Cod. Geog. A. 59, fos. 10–71 (L. 2; R. 14a)
Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Cod. Petri 30b (Codex Staphorstianus Hamburgensis), fos. 249–75 (L. 1; R. 14c)
Klagenfurt, Maria Saal Stiftsbibliothek, 15, fos. 134–55
Klagenfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Pap. 152, fos. 15–46 (R. 16)
Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, 722, fos. 1–40 (R. 17)
Leiden, University Library, BPL 69, fos. 99–115
Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 525 (anno 1353–4), fos. 58–75 (L. 14)
Leningrad, The National Library of Russia, St Petersburg Codex Petropolitanius, Lat. Q. v. IV. 6; post 1922, Zaluski Library, Warsaw, Razn. F. XVIII. 174; destroyed in Second World War (L. 20; R. 44)
Lilienfeld, Stiftsarchiv, 145, fos. 174^{ra}–192^{rb} (R. 20)
Lindau, Stadtbibliothek, P. I. 1, fos. 129–61 (R. 21)
London, British Library, Add. MS 18929, fos. 1^{ra}–51^{r} (R. 23c)
London, British Library, Harleian 3995, fos. 141–58 (L. 15; R. 23e)
Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, O. III.34, fos. 32–60 (L. 11; R. 12)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 219 inf., fos. 83–108 (R. 24a)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 223 inf., fos. 1–34 (R. 24b)

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Trotti 500, fos. 89–132
Nancy, Bibliothèque universitaire Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université de Lorraine, 1082 (anno 1517), fos. 89–177 (R. 30)
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuale III, VIII. D. 10, fo. 6 (opening damaged) (R. 31b)
Oviedo, Biblioteca capitular, 18, fos. 245–75
Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 43, fos. 24–43 (L. 18; R. 33)
Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Cod. 74, fos. 1^{ra}–27^{va} (Pb) (R. 34b)
Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, 1027, fos. 64–134 (L. 19; R. 34a)
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 288, fos. 1^{ra}–45^{rb}
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 781, fos. 1–50 (missing, but see Omont, 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de sir Thomas Phillipps', 498–553)
Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Codex 60 (formerly Lea 4), fos. 1–42
Prague, Metropolitní kapitula (Metropolitan Chapter Library, St Vitus Cathedral), A.106.2, fos. 324–51 (R. 36a)
Prague, Uniwersytet knihovna (University Library), III. H. 15 (L., 21; R. 36e)
Prague, Uniwersytet knihovna (University Library), XIV. C. 16, fos. 31–56 (R. 36b)
Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunga, D. IV. 116 (R. 38)
Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica, fos. 143–76
Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, H. I. 12 (L. 24; R. 45b)
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, C. 78, fos. 2–58 (R. 46b)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 1952, fos. 146–69
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 832, fos. 71–80 (R. 39a)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1358, fos. 1–36 (R. 39b)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 462, fos. 1–106 (R. 39d)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 393, fos. 1–16
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3759, fos. 37–62 (R. 39f)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4360, fos. 21–32 (R. 39g)
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1628, fos. 1–21 (R. 48c)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3341, fos. 1–15 (R. 48d)
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4852, fos. 191–200 (R. 48f)
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 9530, fos. 1–61 (R. 48g)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 354 Helmst., fos. 131–67 (R. 49c)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 391 Helmst., fos. 285–339 (R. 49d)
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 643 Helmst., fos. 196–211 (excerpta) (R. 49e)
Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 315, fos. 121–54 (R. 50)
Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 76, fos. 221–56

Manuscripts of the Shorter Text

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek (Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek), Codex II.1 fol. 105, fos. 73–85 (formerly at Harburg; see p. xliii)
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. Oct. 194, fos. 2^{r}–26^{v}
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl., XXII. 22, fos. 107–19
Kaliningrad, Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek (formerly Königsberg) (destroyed 1944), 382, fos. 72–6
Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 1305, fos. 31–43
London, British Library, Add. MS 15835, fos. 163^{ra}–200^{rb}
London, British Library, Royal 13. B. XIX, fos. 84–91 (R. 23a)
Maria Saal, Stiftsbibliothek, 10, fos. 172–88
Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 46, fos. 121–31 (L. 17; R. 26b)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 569, fos. 184–210 (L. 22; R. 29b)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 5307, fos. 92–120 (R. 29d)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14583, fos. 457–72, 476–8 (excerpta) (R. 29e)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16204, fos. 222–8 (R. 29f)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 26636, fos. 377–85 (R. 29g)
Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 672, fo. 102–15 (R. 29h)
Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, 805, fo. 71–7 (R. 29i)
Prague, Metropolitní kapitula (Metropolitan Chapter Library, St Vitus Cathedral), G.XXVIII, fos. 43–53 (R. 36c)
Prague, Národni knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic), III. H. 15, fos. 1–10 (L. 21; R. 36e)
Prague, Národni knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic), IV. H. 14, fos. 178–89

Prague, Národni knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic), VIII. A. 19, fos. 67–72
Toruń, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika (Nicolaus Copernicus University Library), 91 n.2
Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Cod. 14, fos. 1^{ra}–16^{ra} (R. 46)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 430, fos. 21–35 (L. 23; R. 39c)
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 509, fos. 3^{rb}–18^{va} (L. 25; R. 48b)
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4739, fos. 104^{r}–120^{r} (R.48e)
Vienna, Schottenstift, Stiftsbibliothek 51. b. 10, fos. 72–81
Wroclaw, Biblioteka Kapitulna 63, fos. 161–76^{v}
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I. F. 221, fos. 232–42 (L. 4; R. 6a)
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, I. F. 277, fos. 4–10 (L. 5; R. 6b)
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV. F. 191, fos. 142^{ra}–151^{vb} (L. 3; R. 6c)
Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R. 445, fos. 218–42

The list above includes sixty manuscripts of the longer version and thirty-one manuscripts of the shorter version, giving a total of ninety-one known manuscripts of Burchard's work. There are very few manuscripts which can be dated with any certainty to the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century. A codex from Florence (Bibl. Naz. Codex F. 4. 733) containing Burchard's *Descriptio* is of particular interest because Riccoldo da Monte Croce, near Florence (*c.*1243–1320) wrote on it, apparently in his own hand, 'Iste liber est fratris Ricculdi ordinis Praedicatorum'.[25] The Florentine Dominican Riccoldo apparently thus possessed by the early fourteenth century a copy of Burchard's work. Also important is Codex 145 from Lilienfeld, which was at least partly written by a Lilienfeld monk called Christianus Campililiensis who is known to have worked there in the first three decades of the fourteenth century.[26] This manuscript has remained at Lilienfeld since that date. This means that Burchard's longer version was copied at Lilienfeld almost certainly within a generation of its origin in the 1280s. The manuscripts from which Christianus and Riccoldo made their copies are not known to survive. These manuscripts, from Italy and Austria respectively, show that knowledge of Burchard's work must therefore have spread fast, doubtless through the monastic communities, in the final decades of the thirteenth and the early decades of the fourteenth century.

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[25] Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient*, ed. Kappler, pp. 15–16, n. 19; cf. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 57.

[26] See Haidinger and Lackner, 'Die handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld' , pp. 49–66.

Some twenty-five manuscripts of the longer version and six of the shorter version can be dated with reasonable confidence to the fourteenth century, and another thirty-four of the longer and twenty of the shorter to the fifteenth century. Not many of these manuscripts, however, can be dated with any precision. Laurent (1864) describes the Wrocław manuscript IV. F. 191 as 'seculo XIV (certe post annum 1317) scriptus';[27] Käppeli (1970) gives the date of the Leipzig University manuscript 525 as 'a[nno] 1353–4'.[28]

It is perhaps worth examining where these manuscripts have been preserved. It is obvious that not all of them have remained in their place of origin, some having been acquired in the passage of time by the greater libraries of the world like the Vatican Library and the British Library, or by university libraries in America like those of the Universities of Pennsylvania and Chicago, or by the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg, but it is interesting that most of the manuscripts of Burchard's work are to be found in northern and central Europe: in northern Germany at Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel (near Magdeburg), Berlin, and Leipzig; in southern Germany at Lindau, Munich, Regensburg, and Harburg; in Austria at Klagenfurt, Vienna, Klosterneuburg, Melk, and Zwettl; in Switzerland at Bern and Basle. A line can be drawn north-east from Prague (Czech Republic) through Wrocław, Toruń, and Gdańsk in Poland, to Kaliningrad in Russia on the Baltic coast. In the south, a number of manuscripts have reached Italian libraries at Turin, Milan, Padua, Florence, Rimini, Naples, and the Vatican in Rome. To the north, manuscripts have reached Copenhagen in Denmark and Uppsala in Sweden; to the west, Leiden in the Netherlands, Brussels in Belgium, Paris and Nancy in France, and Oviedo, Salamanca, and the Escorial (Madrid) in Spain. In the thirteenth century the Dominicans established themselves in many of these places—for example, Leiden, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Regensburg, Vienna, Prague, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Milan, Florence, Rome, Madrid—and reached Scandinavia in the north as well as the Holy Land in the near east. Burchard's work could be disseminated rapidly throughout Europe via the Dominican network, and, as we have seen, his *Descriptio* reached Christianus in Lilienfeld and Riccoldo in Florence within two decades of its first appearance.

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[27] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 6.
[28] Käppeli, *Scriptores*, p. 258.

The location of some of the manuscripts of the shorter version is suggestive. Neumann recorded that his text of the shorter version relied on the manuscript from Melk Abbey,[29] two manuscripts from Vienna (Nat. Bibl. 509, though Käppeli mistakenly lists this as 'prolixior',[30] and Nat. Bibl. 4739), Canisius's text, which represented the manuscript from a monastery by the bridge at Ratisbon (Regensburg; this manuscript is now listed as clm 26636 at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich), together with the Uppsala manuscript C.14. Another manuscript of the shorter version is at the Schottenstift in Vienna (MS 51.b.10); another at Harburg west of Regensburg (now at Augsburg), another at the pilgrimage church of Maria Saal in southern Austria, and others in Munich. This group of manuscripts, closely associated with monastic and ecclesiastical centres in Bavaria and Austria, suggests that the shorter version (probably an abbreviation of the longer version; see below, pp. xliii–lviii) was designed for the needs of Christian worshippers rather than pilgrims and academics,[31] and was well received and well known in this southern region. Regensburg, Melk, and Vienna are all on the Danube, which acted as an important highway through southern Europe. Manuscripts of the shorter version are also found in a geographical sequence from Prague through Poland north-east to Wrocław (Breslau), Toruń, and Kaliningrad. As the Dominican mission reached Prague, Wrocław, and Gdańsk early in the history of the Order, it is not surprising to find manuscripts of both versions of Burchard's *Descriptio* spreading through Poland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (the longer version appears at Prague and Gdańsk). The few remaining copies of the shorter version are to be found in libraries in London, Berlin, Uppsala, Florence, and Rome, to which they have obviously travelled over the centuries from their original monastic homes.

Clearly there is much further research to be done on the Burchard manuscript tradition, given the large number of manuscripts known, but a law of diminishing returns would operate as far as the present edition is concerned.

THE LONGER AND SHORTER TEXTS: THE PROBLEM OF PRECEDENCE

Many manuscripts of Burchard's *Descriptio* survive; lists have been compiled by Laurent (1864), Röhricht (1890), and Käppeli (1970) (see above pp. xxxvii–xli); these manuscripts fall into two groups, offering respectively a shorter and a longer text.[32] The standard view, expressed by the geographer C. R. Beazley, following Laurent,[33] was that the shorter version was the earlier, 'circulated privately, as a letter to friends, accompanied by a map; the success of this led to a revised and enlarged copy being issued later'. P. D. A. Harvey commented that 'in reading the two side by side, it is difficult to avoid the impression that the short version is an abridgement of the full text that was already written, with small alterations of additions here and there: its phrasing, what it includes and what it omits, all point this way'.[34] Both versions can be evidenced from late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscripts,[35] and therefore could go back to Burchard; the Lilienfeld manuscript seems more firmly dated, and makes it clear that the longer version is certainly early. The shorter version was first published by Henry Canisius in 1604 from a manuscript from Regensburg (now in the Staatsbibliothek of Munich, clm 26636, fos. 377$^{\mathrm{ra}}$–385$^{\mathrm{ra}}$);[36] the longer version first appeared in print in Lübeck in 1475, in *Rudimentum Nouitiorum*, fos. 164$^{\mathrm{v}}$–188.[37]

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[29] Burcardus de Monte Sion, *Liber de descriptione Terrae* Sanctae, ed. Neumann, title page.

[30] *Scriptores*, p. 259.

[31] Bartlett, 'Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: The early revision', pp. 70–1.

Close examination, section by section, of the differences between the two versions demonstrates clearly, with Harvey and against Laurent and Beazley, that the longer version is Burchard's original *Descriptio*, and that the shorter version is a précis.[38]

The First Division: North of Acre

The *prima diuisio* of the longer work (sections **5–20**; Laurent's ch. II)[39] describes the coastal region to the north of Burchard's central point of Acre, extending past Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Tripoli as far north as Tartus and Margat and the boundary of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem with the principality of Antioch.[40] The shorter version (sections **B5–16**) lacks a great deal from this *diuisio*; in the southern half, there is no reference to the Casale Lamperti (Imbert, Akhziv), the castle of Scandalion (Iskanderun), the castle of Beloford (Beaufort), Botrun, the castle at Nephin (Enfeh), and the descriptions of the Well of Living Waters, Tyre, Sarepta (Sarafand), Sidon, Beritus (Beirut) and Byblos (Jebail) lack biblical quotations, references to ruins, certain geographical notes, ecclesiastical details, and, crucially, references to Burchard's personal presence and exploration (as at the Well of Living Waters and Tyre). In the northern half there is no reference to Mons Leopardorum (the Mountain of Leopards), Arachas ('Arqa), Sinochim, Aradus (Arvad) and Antaradus (Tartus), Margat and Valania (Bāniyās in Syria); in short, there is no reference to any site north of Tripoli. The description of Tripoli says nothing of the varied population, or the silk trade and its value. It is clear that the author of the shorter version did not expect his readers to have much interest in this region north of Acre, and no interest at all beyond Tripoli. Clearly, too, the readers were not expected to have much interest in Crusader castles,[41] though some castles, or their ruins after Baybars's destructions in the 1260s, would still have been prominent in the landscape. Yet strangely this shorter version incorporates a paragraph (**B16**) on Laodicea (Latakya), well north of Tripoli, calling it 'the noblest and greatest city common to Christians and Saracens', following it with a reference to Antioch and Tarsus, Paul's birthplace. This is well beyond the Holy Land; the interest lies in the coexistence of Christian and Saracens.

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[32] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 5–11; Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 56–8; Käppeli, *Scriptores*, pp. 257–60. A version of this discussion (pp. xliii–lviii) was published in *PEQ* cxlv (1) (2013), 61–71 and is reproduced here with minor changes by permission.

[33] Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii. 384–5; *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 10.

[34] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 99.

[35] e.g. London BL Add. MS 15835, fos. 163–200, shorter; Lilienfeld, MS 145, fos. 174–92, written by Christianus von Lilienfeld *c.*1300, longer.

[36] Canisius, *Antique lectiones*, vi. 295–322.

[37] See below, pp. lviii–lxi.

[38] See Bartlett, 'Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*'.

[39] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 23–31.

[40] For the identification of place names in this section, see the list of Toponyms, pp. 287–305.

The Second Division: Northern Galilee

Burchard's *secunda divisio* (**21–4**; Laurent's ch. III)[42] covers the hill country of Upper Galilee and the upper Jordan valley, including the castle of Montfort, the castle of Toron (at Tibnin), biblical Hazor (Tall al-Qadaḥ), Banias, the sources of the River Jordan (Ior and Dan), and the mountains east of the Jordan—biblical Gilead, and biblical Mount Sirion (here identified with Seir), Mount Hermon, and Lebanon. The shorter version (sections **B17–19**) lacks reference to the two castles and to biblical Hazor (replacing this with a paragraph about Jotapata and Josephus). It reduces the section about Banias (for Burchard, Dan and Caesarea Philippi) and Beersheba by ignoring the reference to Elijah's presence at Beersheba (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19). In the description of Jor and Dan as sources of the Jordan there is no reference to the fountain of Phiala. The whole section describing the plain of Lebanon and the regions east of the Jordan is absent from the shorter version.

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[41] On Crusader castles in the Holy Land, see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*; Pringle, 'Crusader Castles', in Pringle, *Fortification and Settlement in Crusader Palestine*, pp. 205–13.

[42] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 31–4.

The Third Division: Lower Galilee

Burchard covers the land east of Acre towards the north end of the Sea of Galilee. The shorter version (**B20–2**) of the longer version's *tertia diuisio* (**25–9**; Laurent's ch. IV)[43] is even more abbreviated. Absent are references to the castle of Iudin (Jiddin) and Castellum regium (Kings' castle), or any description of the castle at Sephet (Safad); absent are the valley of Sennim (biblical Zaanannim) and Kabul, together with Capharnaum (Capernaum), Corrozaim (Chorazin), Mount Senir, Kedar (Cedar), Via maris (the Way of the Sea), Suetha, the tomb of Job, and Cedar ciuitas (Josephus' Gamala), Ituraea and Hus (the land of Uz). The shorter version seems interested only in Cedes Neptalim (Kedesh Naphtali), the home of Barak (Judg. 4 and 5), in Mensa Domini (the Lord's Table) near Safad where the Lord fed the five thousand, preached to his disciples and nearby healed a leper, and in the problems of water supply in Trachonitis; historical geography is not a concern.

The Fourth Division: To Mount Hermon; Southern Galilee; The Central Region

The longer version's *quarta diuisio* (**30–63**; Laurent's chs. V–VII)[44] covers the region between Acre and the Sea of Galilee to the east and across the Jordan towards Mount Hermon. This huge *diuisio* seems to be subdivided into three:

(i) (**30–6**) The first part (in the longer version) (Laurent's ch. V)[45] includes the castle of Sangeor, Naason, Dotaym (Dothan), Neptalim ciuitas (the city of Naphtali, here named Syrin and identified with Jotapata), Bethsaida, and Magdala, all of which appear in the shorter version (**B23–6**) but in a different sequence. The longer version adds a note on the Gerasene cities and a long section on the three Mount Seirs as far south as the regions of the Dead Sea and Paran desertum, the Wilderness of Paran); all this Transjordanian material is absent from the shorter version.

(ii) (**37–41**) The second part of the fourth division (Laurent's ch. VI)[46] in the longer version includes Chana (Cana of Galilee), Ruma, Abelmehola, birthplace of Elisha, Bethulia mons (Mount Bethulia), Tiberias, the Decapolis, Sephorum (Sepphoris, Zippori), Nazareth,

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[43] Laurent, ibid., pp. 34-38

[44] Ibid. pp. 38–63.

[45] Ibid. pp. 38–43.

[46] Ibid. pp. 44–8.

Mons Thabor (Mount Tabor), the village of En-dor, Cison torrens (the river Kishon), Belvoir castle, and Hermon minor (the little hill of Hermon) and Naim (Nain). The shorter version (**B27–32**) includes most of this but ignores Ruma, Abelmehola, and Elisha's birthplace, the Decapolis, En-dor and the meeting of Melchizedek with Abraham, and Belvoir castle. This version thus passes over Old Testament stories, Crusader castles (as earlier), and the Decapolis and other parts of Transjordan. One notes also that the shorter version (**B30**) significantly abbreviates material about Nazareth; it has nothing of Gabriel's message, the author's saying mass in the place, the rock-cut chapel, the synagogue, or Saltus Domini (the Lord's Leap).

(iii) (**42–63**) The third section of the *quartae orientalis* (Laurent's ch. VII)[47] appears to cover the central part of the land from Mount Carmel to the Mount of Olives, including important places like Magedo (Megiddo), Sunam ciuitas (Shunem), Bethshan (Beth-she'an), Mons Gelboe (Mount Gilboa), Iesrahel (Jezreel), Sebaste/Samaria, Bethel, Sichem (Shechem), Galgala (Gilgal), and Quarentena mons (the Mount of Temptation), Fons Helysei (the spring of Elisha), and Jericho, the Dead Sea, and Anathot (Anathoth). But in this section the shorter version (**B32–42**) lacks many places that appear in the fuller version, noticeably Mesrha (Mizra'), the castle of Faba (La Fève), the ruins of Aphek, Ginnim (Jenin), Taphue (the land of Tappuah), Lepna casale (Lebonah), Gabaa Saulis (Gibeah of Saul), Ramah, Emon, Phaselis, Doch castrum (the castle of Dok), Achor vallis (the valley of Achor), Bethagla (Beth-hoglah), the desert between Jerusalem and Jericho, the stone of Bohan, and Bethania (Bethany). It also lacks a number of Old Testament references: the deaths of Ahaziah and Josiah at Magedo (Megiddo) and the story of the Shunammite are greatly abbreviated; references to Sodom and Gomorrah are absent from the description of the 'valley called famous'. In the passage on Samaria there is no identification of the two churches, and no description of the Saracens' belief and Muhammad. At Mons Garizim (Mount Gerizim) there is no reference to Joshua's altar, and at Bethel there is no discussion of the location of Jacob's dream as in the longer version. At Elisha's fountain there is no reference to the further course of the stream. The description of the Dead Sea region does not give the sea's alternative names (Lacus asphalti, the Lake of Asphalt, and Mare salis, the Sea of Salt), does not mention the eastern shore and the regions of Ammon, Moab, Seir and Monreal/Petra Deserti/Krach, Areopolis/Ar, and does not tell the Balaam story, or describe the collection of and trade in bitumen. It is becoming clear from this section that the shorter version is less concerned with Old Testament history than the longer version, and, as elsewhere, has little place for crusader castles and other matters of historical interest.

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[47] Ibid. pp. 48–63.

Jerusalem

The section on Jerusalem (**64–87**)[48] stands at the centre of the longer version of Burchard's *Descriptio*, and is undoubtedly the climax of it. The longer and shorter versions open this section with almost identical wording, describing the distances of Acre, Sebaste, Sichem (Shechem), Nazareth, Joppa (Jaffa), Jericho, Bethlehem, Tecua (Tekoa), and Hebron from Jerusalem. The shorter version (**B43–54**) includes a revealing short sentence (in **B43**) about the gratitude of Christians for the salvific deeds done in Jerusalem. This immediately underlines the concerns and interest of the shorter version.

Mount Sion

Both versions (**64–6**; shorter, **B44–5**) continue by locating Jerusalem on Mount Sion and denying that it has changed position from earlier times, though the shorter version omits the evidence for this given by the longer version, noting instead, most interestingly, from personal observation that Jerusalem was broader and wider than the ancient city of Magdeburg as currently bounded by a wall from St George's church to the new city (**B44**). This is an important observation, and perhaps suggests the author's personal connection with Magdeburg. Next, both versions describe Mons Sion (Mount Sion) and its southern circuit to the Tower of David (by the modern Jaffa Gate) on the west (the short version omits reference to an infill on the south by the kings of Judah). The longer version describes two valleys, one which comes from the south and curves eastward past the Tower of David (presumably the Hinnom valley), and a second which divides from the first and continues north from the Tower of David (presumably the upper course of the Hinnom valley). The longer version next describes a valley descending from the Tower of David along the north side of Mount Sion to Mount Moriah, separating Mount Moriah from Mount Sion, and passing on down past the Water Gate to the Kidron Valley. This must refer to the Tyropoeon Valley, 'which today is filled up'. The shorter version offers a much compressed version of this description and ignores the topography of the Tyropoeon valley, though it seems clear that this valley passing the Water Gate separated Mount Sion from the city.

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[48] Ibid. pp. 63–76, ch. VIII; Canisius, *Antiquae lectiones*, vi. 311–16. On the topography of Crusader Jerusalem see Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard vom Berge Sion', and his 'Plan von Jerusalem' on p. 57; 'Crusader Jerusalem', in Pringle, *Fortification and Settlement*, pp. 105–13; see especially the maps in Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Palestine*, iv. 476–81; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*. For Burchard's Jerusalem, see especially the map of Jerusalem by Marino Sanudo (1321), in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos… Orientalis historiae tomus secundus*, liber iii, pars xiv, between pp. 282 and 285; Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas', Tafel iv. See Map 7, p. xx.

The north-west quarter

The longer version (**67–8**) continues with the northward extension of the valley, which formed the town fosse on the west, with a wall on the rock above. The shorter version (**B46**) ignores the fosse and goes straight to the wall which went past the Ephraim Gate, the Gate of the Corner, the Valley Gate, the Temple area, and the Water Gate (the shorter version lists the Gate of Ephraim and Benjamin, the Dung Gate, the Valley Gate), thus enclosing the city on the east. The longer version next describes the high north-west quarter of the city, including the tower called Nebulosa from which one could see Arabia and Jordan and the Dead Sea; this is absent from the shorter version. The longer (but not the shorter) version continues with the north-west wall from the Old Gate to St Stephen's Gate (the modern Damascus Gate), and notes the city's downward slope from west to east. Both versions end the circuit with reference to the Dung Gate, through which the city's filth is conveyed to the Kidron.

Mount Moriah

Both versions then turn to Mount Moriah, the site of the temple and the king's palace. The longer version (**69**) describes the area as once higher than the city (as shown by Josephus) but now, thanks to the Roman destruction, almost lower than any other part; it notes that the present temple reaches nearer the city wall than the ancient one. It describes the Valley (or Sheep) Gate and identifies an adjoining tower as Phasael, not Ananeel. The shorter version (**B47**) ignores Josephus, saying that Mount Moriah is now even lower than the Dung Gate (one wonders whether this is a matter of observation or exaggeration), and omits the antiquarian reference to the position of the temple building relative to the city wall. It identifies the tower as Ananeel, or Nebulosa, or Ophel (in this differing firmly from the longer version).

Water supplies

The two versions (longer, **70–1**; shorter, **B48**) now turn to describing the several pools (*piscinae*), beginning with the Sheep Pool.[49] The shorter version has no mention of the temple servants or of John 5: 2. Both versions describe the large inner pool (*piscina interior*) west of St Anne's Church made by Hezekiah, but absent from the shorter version is a paragraph about the waters of Gion near the Fuller's Field above the pools of Siloam as described by Isaiah, together with two further paragraphs which list four pools and explain the true position of the upper pool (*piscina superior*). Thus the shorter version appears less concerned than the longer version with the topography of the city's water supply.

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[49] See Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 'Water sources and the communal water supply', at pp. 171–7 and Fig. 18.1; Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas', Tafel iv.

The Valley of Jehoshaphat

Burchard now turns to the Valley of Jehoshaphat (72–4; shorter B48) and its monuments. The longer version quotes from Josephus (cf. *Jewish War*, iv. 263–4; vii. 1–4) the effect of Roman siege work on the valley, and Hadrian's later destruction of the temple area, both of which are absent from the shorter version. Both versions describe the church of the sepulchre of the Virgin, but the shorter version (B48) ignores the tomb itself and its underground surroundings subject to periodic flooding, and the Dragon's well of Neh. 2: 13. Both describe the nearby Gethsemane church, the shorter version without reference to the Lord's instructions to his disciples, or to the kiss of Judas. If this shorter version was written for the benefit of pilgrims, these last omissions may seem surprising, but the whole focus here is on the impressions of Jesus left in the rock and the impossibility of removing any of them by iron tools—that is, the miraculous nature of the site is emphasized. The editor of the shorter version is here as elsewhere uninterested in the history of the ruins and the topography of the church. The longer version notes the presence nearby in the valley of Josaphat of a royal tomb topped by a pyramid; the shorter version (B51) identifies it as 'the pyramid of Josaphat', separate from the tomb of Josaphat.

Siloam

Both versions then return to the *piscinae*. The longer version (75) describes (1) Hezekiah's diversion of the upper spring of Gion via the tower of David into the pool by St Anne's Church, and (2) his diversion of the spring of Gion (*fons Gion*) near the Fuller's Field into the upper pool (*superiorem piscinam*) and the bathing pool of Siloam (*natatoria Siloe*) lower down the Kidron valley. The shorter version (B51) describes the *fons Siloe* from which water is collected for the *piscina inferior*, identified with the *natatoria Siloe*. The shorter version is thus apparently describing the second system (but how do its *fons Siloe* and *piscina inferior* relate to the longer version's *fons Gion* and *piscina* *superior*?), omitting reference to the conduit supplying water to the pool near St Anne's Church.

The valley of Topheth

Both versions (longer, 75; shorter, B52) now mention the valley of Topheth, the stone of Zoheleth, the spring of Rogel and Adonijah's feast there (the longer version notes Isaiah's tomb there, which the shorter version ignores). The longer version describes the Mount of Offence, absent from the shorter version.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary

The longer version (76–80) continues with the centrepiece of Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary (*Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri tenet inter omnia haec principatum*, says the longer version (76)). The shorter version (B52–3) is very much briefer than the longer version on this whole area, so important to the medieval pilgrim. It omits all the architectural details; it says simply of the church that it is *rotunda* and Golgotha *oblonga*; similarly it describes the sepulchre itself with great brevity, omitting all description of its interior or antechamber—surely surprising if this version was ever intended for the use of pilgrims—though it mentions the stone rolled to the door. It describes briefly the distance of Calvary from the tomb, the place where the cross was fixed, and the place where the cross was found, but gives no description of Calvary, no description of the pillar where Jesus was scourged, no description of the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross or mention of Helena. Finally, both versions have a paragraph about the position of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross. The longer version has further paragraphs identifying where Mary of Egypt prayed, where James was beheaded, the house of Caiaphas, the lodging place of the Virgin, and the room of the Last Supper, but none of these appears in the shorter version.

The size of Jerusalem

The longer version (81) continues with an essay on the size of Jerusalem, based on the evidence of Josephus and a quotation from Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis* lx;[50] the shorter version ignores this.

The gates of Jerusalem

The longer version (82–5) continues with a description of the eight gates of Jerusalem, which appears at a later stage in the shorter version

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[50] Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale (Historia orientalis)*, ed. Donnadieu, pp. 240, 242.

(B60–7). On the first gate (*porta Dauid*), the shorter version (B60) does not describe the site, but adds a note describing how it is joined to a wall which was added *hodie*—in the writer's own time?—to include the Lord's sepulchre (the 'new wall' mentioned also under the second gate). On the second gate (*porta uetus* or *iudicaria*), the shorter version (B61) unusually adds an antiquarian note about the site of Pilate's tribunal, but makes no mention of the burial place of martyrs killed by the Persian king Chosroes. The notices of the third (*porta Effraym*), fourth (*porta anguli*), fifth (*porta sterquilinii*) gates are closely similar, though the shorter version of the fifth gate (B64) identifies the desert as that between Jerusalem and Jericho, now called the *desertum Quarentene*. On the sixth gate (*porta uallis*) the two versions are differently ordered; both include reference to an adjacent tower, Phasael in the longer version and Ananeel (or Nebulosa or Aphel) in the shorter (B65); the shorter version adds that Herod the Great called this Antonia in honour of the Roman Antony, another untypical antiquarian note. The two versions give a similar account of the seventh gate (*porta aurea*). On the eighth gate (*porta aquarum*), the shorter version (B67) uncharacteristically adds a brief note on the position of the gate, in the angle of two walls, where Mount Sion and Mount Moriah meet. That this section on the Jerusalem gates appears differently located in the longer and the shorter version, and that here the shorter version reveals unexpected antiquarian interests, together suggest that this section on the gates had a separate origin and history from the rest of Burchard's *Descriptio* before being incorporated into it.

The Mountains About Jerusalem

The longer version at this point incorporates a section (86) on the mountains surrounding Jerusalem, including the Mount of Olives, the Mount of Offence, with Topheth or Gehennon at its foot, on the west of Jerusalem Mount Gion, and north of the Mount of Olives a mountain where Solomon built a temple to Chemosh. This section, perhaps because it has little interest for the Christian worshipper, is completely absent from the shorter version.

Land West And South Of Jerusalem

There follow in both versions (in the longer version, Laurent's ch. IX)[51] sections describing the land north-west and west of Jerusalem (88–9), and then south of Jerusalem (90–8), but in the shorter version these sections (B54–9) are greatly abbreviated. The longer version begins with Mons Silo (Mount Shiloh), Gabaa Saulis (Gibeah of Saul), Gabaon (Gibeon), Emmaus, Bethoron inferior (Lower Bethoron), Cariathiarim (Kiriath-jearim), Lachis (Lachish), Bethsames Iude (Beth-shemesh), Arimathea (Ramula), Jaffa, and Iamnia (Yavneh), of which the shorter version lists only Mount Shiloh, Emmaus/Nicopolis and Arimathia (Arimathea), Mons Engadi, ignoring most Old Testament sites on the list. There follows a description of Bethlehem. The shorter version (B55) ignores its title as 'city of David'; it mentions Rachel's tomb but ignores the twelve stones nearby. It briefly mentions the angels and shepherds, but ignores the story of David's need for water, and abbreviates the story of the birth of Christ, omitting all reference to the Virgin. The longer version's description of the interior of the chapel below the Church of the Nativity is entirely absent. All this is indeed strange if pilgrims were the intended readers. The church itself with its columns and pavement is fully described as in the longer version (91), with the accompanying note about the Saracens' respect for churches of the Virgin. Both versions (longer, section 92; shorter, B56) tell the story of the miracle of the Sultan and the serpent. Both mention Jerome's cell, the place of Herod's massacre of the innocents, and the church of Saints Paula and Eustochium.

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[51] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 76–82.

The description of southern Judah continues in both versions, but the longer (93–8) contains much that the shorter (B58–9) does not. Both versions include Mons Engadi (Mount En-gedi), collis Achile (the hill of Achila, Burchard's Masada), Tecua (Tekoa), Bethaccarem (Beth-haccherem), the Philistine coast to Gaza, Mambre (Mamre) and the oak of Mamre, its church and Saracenic fortress, Hebron where Adam and Eve were buried, the cave where Adam was formed of clay, the cave where Adam and Eve mourned for Abel, Neelleshcol (the valley of Eshcol) whence the spies brought grapes, and the brook where Philip baptized the eunuch. But the shorter version omits much: the valley of Beracah (2 Chr. 20: 26), Herodium, Ziph, Carmelus (Carmel), Machon (Maon), the land of Amalek, Cades barne (Kadesh-barnea), Ramah, the story of the hole of clay miraculously refilled, the place where Cain slew Abel, the beds and the fountain in the cave where Adam and Eve mourned for Abel, Dabir/Cariathsepher (Debir/Kiriath-sepher), the priests' town of Nobe (Nob), and the site where David accepted Goliath's sword from the priest Abimelech, and the tomb of St Karioth the Abbot, between Bethlehem and Tekoa. The shorter version thus omits in particular less important material drawn from the Old Testament.

Final Section, Absent From The Shorter Version

The shorter version inserts the document about the gates of Jerusalem at this point (B60–7), but the longer version continues with the *quarta australis* (99–102; Laurent's ch. X).[52] The *prima diuisio quartae australis* begins, like the others, from Acre. It includes Cayphas (Haifa), Castrum peregrinorum (Pilgrims' Castle), Elijah's cave (*spelunca*) and Elisha's dwelling (*mansio*) on Mount Carmel, Cesarea maritime (Caesarea), Arsuf, Manetat (Macmethath/Khaco) with its Saracenic garrison, Mons Sarona and oppidum Sarona (Sharon), Ioppe (Jaffa), Geth (Gath), Bethsames Iude (Beth-shemesh of Judah), Modin (Modein) and the Maccabaean tombs, Accaron (Ekron), Azotus (Ashdod), Lidda/Diospolis (Lydda), Lepna (Libnah), Azekah, Maceda (Makkedah), Sochot Iude (Socoh of Judah), Nobe (Nob), Emmaus/Nicopolis, Raphaim vallis (the valley of Rephaim), Zacharie domus (the house of Zechariah), Bethsura (Beth-zur), Ascalona (Ascalon), Gaza/Gazara, Beersheba/Giblin, and the wilderness reaching to the River of Egypt. This whole section, the coast from Carmel to the River of Egypt, is absent from the shorter version.

The longer version continues with a section headed *De longitudine et latitudine terre sancte* (the length and breadth of the Holy Land) (103–6; Laurent's ch. XI),[53] which is here identified as extending from Caesarea Philippi to Beersheba, and lists the territory of the ten tribes west of the Jordan, following Josephus. It follows this with sections headed (in the Paris manuscript) *De fructibus et animalibus terre sancte* (107–10; Laurent's ch. XII),[54] *De habitatoribus terre sancte* (111–17), *De descriptione Egypti et moribus habitatorum* (118–34). (Sections 111–26, under the heading *De uariis religionibus terre sancte*, form Laurent's ch. XIII.)[55] The *Descriptio Aegypti* presented in 127–34 is absent from some earlier manuscripts; see below, pp. cxxxviii–cxxxix.

The longer version's sections 103–34 (including Laurent's chapters XI, XII, and XIII) are absent from the shorter version, which offers instead a section (B68–74) *De terra Ierosolymitana*,[56] not in the longer version, listing various Christian peoples—the Franks or Latins, the

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[52] *Peregrinationes*, ed. Laurent, pp. 82–5.

[53] Ibid. pp. 85–6.

[54] Ibid. pp. 86–8.

[55] Ibid. pp. 89–94.

[56] Canisius, *Antiquae lectiones*, vi. 320–2; this is almost identical with *Narratio de statu terrae sanctae*, ch. 3 in *IHC*, iii. 380–4; see 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*', trans. B. Z. Kedar, in France and Zajak, eds., *The Crusaders and their Sources*, pp. 111–33.

Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites, and Nestorians; to this it adds a paragraph (B75) about the hierarchy of the clergy in the Jerusalem Patriarchate and a further paragraph (B76) on the Augustinian canons of the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre. This material is drawn from an earlier twelfth-century source.[57] The manuscripts of the shorter version (Munich clm 569, fos. 184^r–210^v, Codex Mellicensis 46, and Wrocław MS IV. F. 191. fos. 142–50) end at this point.

It is clear that Burchard's original *Descriptio* was given material from other sources (e.g. the section on the gates of Jerusalem), and that the order of material at the end could vary. The section on the gates of Jerusalem, for example, appears at a different point in the shorter version. The shorter version's treatment of the Latins, Greeks, Syrians, and others derives from a different source from that in the longer version. The shorter version ignores the material on the *quarta australis*, the produce and animals of the land, the Christian inhabitants of the land, the eastern Christians, and Burchard's travels. Presumably this material was judged to be of little importance for the readers of the shorter version.

Conclusion: The Shorter Version And Its Purpose

In sum: throughout the above description of the contents of the two versions, statements indicating that the shorter version 'omitted' this or that have been avoided, in order not to prejudge the issue, but this close comparison of the shorter with the longer version makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion there were many deliberate omissions.

The list of omissions is revealing. To begin with, where the longer version gives biblical quotations and references, the shorter version frequently omits them, particularly the references. Many minor Old Testament allusions in the longer version are absent from the shorter version: for example, Elijah's presence at Beersheba, Elisha's birthplace, the tomb of Job, the Balaam story, Joshua's altar at Mount Gerizim, Bethlehem as the 'city of David', David's acceptance of Goliath's sword. The shorter version similarly passes over many of the lesser Old Testament place names listed in the longer version. However, the well-known places and incidents remain firmly in place: the stories of Joseph, the witch of En-dor, Elijah and the priests of Baal, Elisha and the Shunammite widow's son, Gideon and the

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[57] See pp. cxxx–cxxxi.

Midianites, Naboth's vineyard, the fountain of Elisha, the ark of the covenant at Shiloh, and others. There are also references to the Maccabees and to the stories of Tobias and Judith. There is no lack of biblical allusion in either the longer or shorter account; but the effect of the many omissions in the shorter version is to emphasize the biblical stories for the reader.

The shorter version also shows a marked change in geographical emphasis. It shows much less interest in the coastal regions both north and south of Acre, and even in the southern and western regions of Judah itself. It totally ignores the Decapolis and the regions east of the Jordan valley; the longer version's description of the three Mount Seirs is completely absent. The author of the longer text was keenly interested in the biblical and Christian history and geography of the Holy Land, the author or editor of the shorter text much less so. Consistent with this is the way the shorter text ignores ancient ruins (e.g. at Tyre or Sarepta), crusader castles (Margat, Toron, Iudin, and others), antiquarian details (e.g. the identity of churches at Samaria), the modern names of ancient sites (e.g. Scythopolis for Beth-she'an), ancient monuments, historical sources (e.g. the list of martyrs under Diocletian), matters of general interest (e.g. the valuable silk trade at Tripoli or the bitumen trade from the Dead Sea); curiosity about topography in Jerusalem (such as the west–east downhill slope of the city), or the water channels of the upper Jordan valley and Jerusalem, seems low by comparison with the longer version. The author of the longer version—Burchard himself—is clearly interested in all such matters, quoting ancient historians like Josephus and Jacques de Vitry (*c.*1165–1240), noting his own personal investigations at certain sites, as well as his celebration of mass at important Christian sites; but the editor of the shorter version seems to have a much less inquisitive mind. He is not as scholarly minded as the author of the longer version.

What is really surprising is the absence in the shorter version of passages, present in the longer version, describing places of particular interest to the pilgrim. Thus the shorter version omits—surely the word is accurate—the description of the rock-cut chapel where Jesus taught at Nazareth, the description of the Virgin's underground sepulchre in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the description of the sepulchre and calvary at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the description of the cave below the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Such omissions are strange if the shorter version were intended to be a pilgrim's *uade mecum* to the Holy Land.

One notes in the shorter version, at the beginning of the section on Jerusalem (**B43**), an important paragraph which does not appear in the longer version:

> Sed quia que in ea facta sunt, sonant uniuerse ecclesie Christi, non credo nisi quilibet Christianus hec recolat deuotius, omni die suo agens gratias redemptori, qui in ea est nostram salutem misericorditer operatus.
>
> Because all the churches of Christ give utterance to the things which were done here, I cannot but believe that every Christian reflects on these things with great devotion, daily giving thanks to the redeemer who in Jerusalem worked our salvation with great compassion.

The editor of the short version is not preparing his version of Burchard's *Descriptio* and his description of Jerusalem for the benefit of historically minded academics, or even for curious tourist pilgrims looking for a descriptive guide to the holy sites of Jerusalem, but for Christian worshippers at home whose concern was the salvation Christ wrought for them in Jerusalem. The editor therefore says less of the architecture of these sites, because his readers are unlikely to see them. The effect of removing so much detail from the early sections, for example, is to bring into prominence, particularly in the sections relating to Galilee and the north, the various miraculous deeds of Elijah and Jesus (e.g. Elijah's killing of the priests of Baal, Elijah and the woman of Sarepta, Jesus' response to the woman who cried out at Tyre, Jesus' healing of the Canaanite woman's daughter, the veneration of the blood at Beirut, Jesus' feeding of the five thousand at the Mount of the Table, Jesus' appearance to the disciples fishing after the resurrection, the miracle at Cana, the Transfiguration, Jesus' raising of the widow's son at Nain. The spotlight is put firmly on Jesus, and the Christian reader would not be diverted by antiquarian details. In the account of Jerusalem, the reader would swiftly pass over topographical details to read of the impression in the rock of the events of the arrest of Jesus, and of Jesus' agony in the Garden, and then, after an abbreviated account of the Holy Sepulchre, a discussion of where the Virgin stood beneath the cross.

It is not that the author of the longer version did not have Christian devotion in mind; it is rather that the editor of the shorter version was concerned to focus the work more concisely on what mattered for the Christian reader at worship in central Europe. The full-length work was perhaps felt to be unnecessary for the average churchman's needs. The author of the shorter version—perhaps Burchard himself—made a précis of the longer version for particular devotional needs. (It is noteworthy that the shorter version is not a rewritten, rephrased version; the basic text is often word for word the same. The author has cut out what did not suit his purpose.) The particular reference to Magdeburg—not found in the longer, more academic version—perhaps hints that Burchard was writing here for his congregation or fellow friars in Magdeburg, where there was a Dominican house in the thirteenth century.[58]

In conclusion, the internal evidence suggests that the shorter version is a précis of the longer version, which is Burchard's original *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*.

EDITIONS OF BURCHARD'S *DESCRIPTIO TERRAE SANCTAE*

Rudimentum Nouitiorum, 1475

The first known printed edition of Burchard's *Descriptio* was published at Lübeck in 1475 by Lucas Brandis of Schasz (his precise dates are uncertain, but he was probably born before 1450 and died after 1500). Brandis belonged to a family of printers, and had studied at Leipzig. He may have learned his printing skills at Mainz under Johannnes Fust (*c.*1400–66) and his son-in-law Peter Schöffer (1425–1502), the publishers of the Gutenberg Bible. Brandis seems to have begun working at Lübeck in 1473, and published his *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* on 5 August 1475.

The *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* was an encyclopedic volume of 474 leaves designed as a manual for students, especially those training for the priesthood. The colophon describes it as an *epithoma* (an abridgement), published *in urbe Lubicana* (Lübeck) by the skill of printing, by special divine grace for the salvation of the souls of the faithful. Its contents include the history of the six ages of creation, the last being the Christian era. It also includes Burchard's *Descriptio terrae sanctae* (fos. clxiiii–clxxxviii).

Which manuscript Brandis used for this edition is uncertain. The text is of the longer (and in my view the more original) version of Burchard's work, and seems close to that of the Paris manuscript n.a.l.

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[58] As does the incipit in manuscripts of the shorter version, according to which Brother Burchardus of Mount Syon presents his work to the most beloved Father in Christ Jesus, Brother Burchard, Lector of the Order of Preachers in Magdeburg; cf. MS Wrocław IV F.191: 'Dilectissimo in Christo Iesu patri fratri Burchardo lectori fratrum ordinis praedicatorum in Magdeburch, frater Burchardus de monte Syon cum omni deuotione orationes in Domino Iesu Christo.' For Dominicans at Magdeburg see Freed, *Friars and German Society*, pp. 31–3, 139–40, 179. The Dominicans settled in Magdeburg in 1224 on land granted by Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg.

288. Beckmann comments: 'Mir ist es wahrscheinlich, dass man die unveränderte Urschrift des Burchard nur in diesem *Rudimento nouiciorum* antrifft' ('It seems probable to me that one meets the unaltered original text of Burchard only in this *Rudimentum Nouitiorum*').[59] Laurent, however, argues that this text cannot of itself be said to be a true edition of Burchard: 'per se quoque vera Burchardi editio dici nequit. Scatet enim non solum vitiis mendisque librarii et typographi, sed quam nihil sit nisi apographum a plagiario quodam in opus maius furtive transsumtum, fieri non poterat quin passim verba singula, loci adeo toti immutarentur.'[60] 'For it abounds not only in faults and errors of scribe and printer, but since it is nothing but a copy by a plagiarist furtively incorporated into a larger work, it is inevitable that single words and whole passages were changed.' Laurent points for example to VII. 1 (*sic*; in fact 63 (VII. 61), where the Hamburg codex has

> transeamus torrentem Cedron et sequamur, si quomodcunque concedatur nobis uenire in Golgatha, ubi steterunt fixi in cruce fluentes sanguine pedes eius; moriamur ibi cum Christo, ut cum Eo pariter resurgamus.

> Let us cross the Kidron torrent and let us follow, in hope that we may by some means be allowed to come to Golgotha, where his feet, flowing with blood, stood fixed to the cross; there let us die with Christ, that together with him we may rise again!

Rudimentum Nouitiorum has more briefly

> Transeamus torrentem Cedron, ut ueniamus in Golgata cum Christo morientes, ut cum eo pariter resurgamus.[61]

> Let us cross the Kidron torrent that we may come to Golgotha, dying with Christ, that together with him we may rise again!

But on the whole the text of *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* seems to agree closely with that of the manuscript tradition represented by the Paris manuscript n.a.l. 288 and others; Laurent's strictures are based on his limited comparison of the *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* text with the late Hamburg text.

The *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* is famous for its two printed maps. 'They are the first printed maps to be more than diagrams and they preceded the first published atlas (the Bologna Ptolemy) by two years.'[62]

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[59] Beckmann, *Litteratur*, ii. 46.

[60] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 17.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Campbell, *Earliest Printed Maps*, p. 144.

The first map is a world map, printed from two wood-cut blocks, presenting the three continents of the T-O schema. The second is a map of the Holy Land, perhaps associated by its position in the book with Burchard's *Descriptio*. Nebenzahl[63] describes this map as Lucas Brandis's own wood-cut version of Burchard's (lost) map, and Ariel Tishby sees this map as 'a highly imprecise interpretation by Brandis de Schass of Burchard's text'.[64] Whether this map is in any sense to be attributed to Burchard must be doubted. The main evidence for making this connection seems to be that both Burchard's text and this map set Corosaim (Chorazin) east of the Sea of Galilee; but by Brandis's day this was a well-established error, repeated by Sanudo–Vesconte, Wey, Breitenbach, and others, and in any case this map apparently locates east of the Sea of Galilee a number of other Galilean and Cisjordanian places including Capernaum, Cana, Mount Tabor, Nazareth, and Dothan.[65] If Brandis's map was using Burchard's text as a base, its selection of toponyms is very limited; east of the Jordan, for example, Brandis uses only about a fifth of the names available to him from Burchard's text. The names used do not suggest any serious dependency of this map on Burchard's text, or even an imprecise interpretation of his work. Whatever the editor of *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* used as the source for his map, it was hardly designed to illustrate the specific contents of Burchard's *Descriptio*.

For the source of the *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* map, one must probably look first to the cartographers of fifteenth-century Germany. Campbell notes[66] that the world map in *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* is 'essentially medieval in its construction' and comparable to late fifteenth-century broadsheet maps by Hans Rüst (fl. 1477–84) and Hans Sporer (fl. 1471–1500).[67] The *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* world map presents the different countries of the three continents Europe, Africa, and Asia as hills or mountains, mostly topped by a building or buildings suggesting towns or cities, and the second map presents the towns and cities of the Holy Land in similar fashion, each atop a hill. The maps clearly were designed as a pair, and may both be presumed to derive from the late fifteenth century, but they are essentially conservative, representing their subject matter from a medieval viewpoint. They are light years away from the presentation in the Ptolemy atlases from Bologna (1477), Rome (1478), and Ulm (1482).

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[63] Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Bible Lands*, p. 62.

[64] A. Tishby, ed., *Holy Land in Maps*, p. 78.

[65] Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan through Two Millennia*, p. 28

[66] Campbell, *Earliest Printed Maps*, p. 144 and fig. 26.

[67] Ibid. pp. 79–84, figs. 29, 30.

The Venetian Edition of 1519 And Its Successors

In 1519 there appeared at Venice a book entitled *Veridica terre sancte: regionumque finitimarum: ac in eis mirabilium descriptio*. It was described as 'nowhere else previously printed' (*nusquam antehac impressa*), and the colophon read *Impressum Venetiis in Edibus Ioannis Tacuini de Tridino, anno M.D.XIX. die IV mensis Aprilis, regnante inclito Leonardo Lauretano, principe*. The preface tells us that a Dominican, Brother Joannes Host of Romberch, from Kierspe, dedicated it to his Provincial, the Reverend Father in Christ Eberhard of Cleves, Professor of Sacred Theology, distinguished Provincial of the Order of Preachers of the Province of Theutonia (*Ad reuerendum in Christo patrem Eberhardum de Cliuis consummatissimum sacre theologie professorem provincie Theutonie fratrum ordinis praedicatorum Priorem Prouincialem optime meritum, frater Ioannes Host de Romberch Kyrspensis, eiusdem ordinis et prouincie, S.P.D.*).

In his preface Ioannes Host explains that he had received as a gift from Brother Chrysostomus de Casali, Master of the Gymnasium of Bologna, a short description of the Holy Land by the venerable priest Brother Borchard, whom he called *nostratem* ('one of our order'). Host quotes Chrysostomus as saying that he had improved a little (*paululum eleuare*) Burchard's style, completely preserving its sense while letting it flow in simple congruity (*simplici congruitate currentem seruato quidem omnimode suo sensu*), lest its unembroidered nature lead modern scholars to undervalue it (*ne ex simplicitate sua lectio apud huius seculi sapientes uilis habeatur*). Laurent passes judgement: 'it appears therefore that it was Chrysostomus Iavellus alone, not Hostius also, who altered and deformed Burchard's book, limiting it by paraphrase' (*apparet igitur, Chrysostomum Iavellum solum, non Hostium quoque Burchardi librum paraphrasi circumscriptum mutasse ac deformasse*).[68]

The style of this version may be illustrated from a passage chosen at random from early in the Venetian work (compare the Latin text at 14 (II.10):[69]

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[68] Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 12.

[69] Ibid. p. 26.

Venetian edition, 1519	Paris MS n.a.l. 288
A Sarepta ad duas leucas extat Sidon, urbs praeclara Siriae Fenicis, cuius gloria et celsitudo, quanta fuerit, ipsae ruinae docent, quae etiam descriptae, incredibiles ferme haberentur. Constructa autem erat in planicie, extendens se ab Austro uersus Aquilonem inter Antilibanum montem, et oram maris, sub monte siquidem ipso in plano disposita, spaciosa erat valde. Et quidem destructionem eius annunciatam sic in Propheta Ieremia legimus ca. 48. Dissipabitur Tyrus et Sidon cum auxiliis suis. Et in Ezechiele capi. 28. Ecce ego ad te Sidon, dicit DOMINUS. Immittam enim pestilentiam et sanguinem in plateis eius, et corruent interfecti in medio eius gladio per circuitum, et scient, quia ego Dominus.	Inde ad duas leucas est Sidon, magna urbs Fenicis, cuius magnitudini adhuc ruine eius attestantur, que etiam scripte uix crederentur. Fuit autem in campo per longum disposita, tendens ab austro in aquilonem, sub monte Antilibano, inter ipsum et mare, speciosa ualde.
Ex reliquiis Sidonis antiquae, alia quidem, sed parua aedificata est urbs, admodum munita, et uallata, si defensores adessent, estque ex una parte in corde maris sita, habens duo munitissima castra, unum quidem ab Aquilone super rupem in corde maris firmam et complantatam, a peregrinis, ex Teutonia proficiscentibus Ierusalem sanctam, aedificatum: alterum in australi parte super collem, et non minus firmum, ac difficile ad expugnandum. Castra quidem haec et urbem detinent milites templi.	De ruinis tamen eius alia est hedificata, parua quidem, sed munita, si haberet defensores. Et est ex parte una in corde maris sita, habens hinc inde duo castra satis munita, unum ab aquiline, in rupe quadam in corde maris situm, quod ibidem aedificauerunt peregrine, qui de Theutonia uenerant, aliud ex parte australi, in colle situm, satis firmum. Que castra cum ciuitate milites temple tenant.

The editor sets out to elevate the vocabulary. Thus in the first sentence *est* becomes *extat*, *magna urbs* becomes *urbs praeclara*, *magnitudo* becomes *gloria et celsitudo*. A few lines below, *munita* becomes *munita et uallata*, and *duo castra satis munita* becomes *duo munitissima castra*.

while *satis firmum* (in defence) becomes *non minus firmum ac difficile ad expugnandum*. In the middle of the section the editor has expanded the text and underlined the ruined nature of the place by incorporating biblical references to the destruction of Sidon from Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This Venetian edition is not a scholarly edition of the text of an important manuscript, but a paraphrase made to capture the market. The note on the title page *nusquam antehac impressa* is self-evidently the publisher's attempt to encourage buyers.

This Venetian edition reappeared, alongside Bartholomaeus de Saligniaco's *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, in two editions published from Magdeburg by Paulus Donatus in 1587 and 1593, with a preface by Reinerus Reineccius (1541–95) of Steinheim in the diocese of Paderborn, a professor at Helmstad.[70]

Grynaeus's Editions of Burchard

Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541) held chairs of Latin and Greek at Heidelberg in the 1520s, and became a prominent scholar of the Reformation. In 1532 with Iohannes Huttichius he published a collection of travel writings under the title *Nouus Orbis regionum ac insularum ueteribus incognitarum*. Burchard's *Descriptio* was included in the Paris edition under the title *Locorum terrae sanctae exactissima descriptio auctore fratre Brocchardo monacho*, and in the Basle edition as *Borchardi descriptio terrae sanctae* (pp. 298–329) (both editions are in folio). The same text appeared in 1536 in octavo under the title *Descriptio terrae sanctae exactissima, autore Brocardo monacho* (Antuerpiae in aedibus Ioannis Steelsii). The Basle edition of Io. Heruagius was reprinted in 1537. Another Parisian edition, *Delineatio et descriptio Ierusalem et Terrae Promissionis*, according to J. Clericus crediting the work to Bonaventura Brochardus, appeared in 1544 (8vo, apud Poncetum Le Preux).[71] In 1554 C. Peucer published the same text at Wittenberg under the title *Descriptio locorum terrae sanctae exactissima autore quodam Brocardo monacho*;[72] further Wittenberg editions appeared in 1579 and 1587. The Basle edition reappeared in the 1555 edition of Grynaeus's *Nouus orbis*... Laurent[73] notes further editions of this text from Cologne (1624) (referring to Steelsius's 1536 text as exemplar), Amsterdam (1707), and Venice (1746).

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[70] *Biographie universelle*, 35, 369.

[71] Listed by Adrichomius, *Urbis Hierosolymae quemadmodum ex Christi tempore floruit*, p. 223; see *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 13.

[72] 'Descriptio locorum Terre Sancte exactissima autore quodam Brocardo monacho,' in Peucer, *De dimensione terrae et geometrice numerandis locorum particularium intervallis*, pp. 188–269.

[73] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 15, 16, 18.

With so many reprints, the Grynaean version was clearly popular, but its text is not that of the longer or shorter versions of Burchard known from the manuscript tradition. When compared with that of the longer version, it is seen to be an abbreviated paraphrase, using much of the same wording and vocabulary. It is worth examining what this version omits from Burchard's original.

Most noticeably, it removes all Burchard's first-person references to what he has examined, seen, or studied—for example, Burchard's measurements at the Well of Living Waters (**11**; II. 4), his claim to have seen Origen's tomb inscription at Tyre (**12**; II. 5), the visibility of Mount Libanus from Tyre at night (**24**; III. 8), his claim to have seen Jesus' footprints impressed on a stone by the Sea of Galilee (**27**; IV. 9), his archaeological explanation of early Christian sites being found underground (**37**; VI. 1), his examination of sites associated with the story of Judith (**38**; VI. 4), his scholarly note on the number of biblical sites called Rama (**52**; VII. 30), his personal observation of a balsam grove in Egypt (**61**; VII. 53), and his soliloquy on seeing Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (**63**; VII. 60–1). In his version of the long section on Jerusalem (**64–87**; VIII), it is particularly noticeable that Grynaeus omits many references to Burchard's personal observations: e.g. his research on ancient Jerusalem's location, his study of the water supplies, his seeing the two parts of the rolling stone of Jesus' tomb, and his placing of his head in the fissure of the rock at Calvary and his saying mass there, and his final comment on the gates of Jerusalem. He omits Burchard's personal observations and devotions at Bethlehem (**90–3**; IX. 10), his view from Rama south of Bethlehem (**95**; IX. 20), and his personal examination of the huge stones of the Tombs of the Patriarchs (**96**; IX. 23), his claim to personal inspection of the land (apart from most of Transjordan (**103**; XI. 1), and his final paragraph on the value of description of the land for the study of the historical books of the Bible. Clearly, Grynaeus has deliberately removed all indications of Burchard's personal involvement in the *Descriptio*, and any signs of Burchard's religious behaviour. Grynaeus was a scholar whose sympathies were firmly with the Reformation, and it was perhaps for this reason that he removed references to Burchard's saying mass or making other devotions at other places of pilgrimage. One notes that three editions (1554, 1579, 1587) were published at Wittenberg, that home of the Reformation, complete with an *explicatio* of the more famous sites of the Holy Land and its history by the Reformer Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), Professor of Greek at Wittenberg. The rewriting of the Latin prose was perhaps intended to bring the book in line with other travel accounts, and to make it more acceptable to the scholarly world of Grynaeus's intended readers.

Perhaps from similar motives Grynaeus omits a number of miraculous or popular stories, e.g. the impression of Jesus' footprints by the Sea of Galilee (**27**; IV. 9), the impression of Jesus' skull, knees, and hands at Gethsemane (**74**; VIII. 1), the miraculous refilling of the pit from which red earth was extracted (**97**; IX. 24), and the beds of Adam and Eve and the spring from which they drank bubbling up in a cave near Hebron (**97**; IX. 24). He also omits the Old Testament stories of Elisha leading the Syrians into Dothan (**31**; V. 5), and the story of the witch of En-dor raising Samuel for Saul (**41**; VI. 10).

Grynaeus also omits passages from the longer version which he perhaps found of merely archaeological, geographical, or historical interest and of less concern to Bible-reading Reformers. At Tyre he omits references to Diocletian's persecution and to Origen (**12**; II. 5); he omits a passage on Ituraea and the land of Tob or Kabul (**13**; II. 8). He omits details about ecclesiastical boundaries in Tyre and beyond (**15**; II. 14); he omits Ezekiel's reference to ancient Byblos and its elders (**16**; II. 15), and greatly abbreviates the description of the coast from Mount Lebanon to Tripoli. He abbreviates the discussion of the sources of the Jordan (**22**; III. 6), the description of the Transjordanian mountains (**24**; II. 8), and the section on Trachonitis (**29**; IV. 19). He omits most of the details about Dothan (**30**: V. 4–5), Jotapata (**31**; V. 7), the Decapolis (**39**; VI. 5), and, like the shorter version published by Canisius, omits all description of Nazareth (**40**; VI. 7). He omits the geography of the Kishon rivers (**42**; VII. 1), details of the cathedral, the Saracens, and John the Baptist at Sebaste (**48**; VII. 17), the temple of Jupiter at Samaria (**51**; VII. 24), and the discussion of the location of Jacob's dream (**59**; VII. 48).

In the section on Jerusalem (**64–87**; VIII), Grynaeus shortens the opening paragraphs on the site and situation of the city; he omits the description of the interior of the Church of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and of the sepulchre of Jehoshaphat; at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he omits description of the Column of the Flagellation, of the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, and the place where Mary stood. He passes over the place of the beheading of St James, the house of Caiaphas, and the upper room. He does not describe the Church of the Ascension or the Church of the Lord's Prayer. At the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem he omits reference to the chamber beneath the church, and he abbreviates the story of the serpent (which, miraculous or not, was clearly too good to leave out entirely).

In all this we may perhaps see an indication of Grynaeus' Reformist approach. His book was published in Basle, where in 1536 he had worked with the Reformer H. Bullinger (1504–75) of Zurich and others in compiling a Reformed confession of faith for Germanic Switzerland (the 'First Helvetic Confession'). Grynaeus had been present at the funeral of J. Oecolampadius (1482–1531), whose teaching in the 1520s had influenced Basle towards the adoption of Reformation principles. It was perhaps Grynaeus, then, who prepared this reformed version of Burchard's classic and well-known *Descriptio* for his compendium of travel accounts, first published in 1541, the year of his death.

The Edition of Henry Canisius (1604)

The first printed edition of the shorter text of Burchard's *Descriptio* was edited and published by Henricus Canisius. (The name Canisius was a Latinized version of Hendrik de Hondt, 'Henry the Hound'.) Canisius was a Catholic Dutch canon lawyer from Nijmegen, born *c.*1562, who became a professor of canon law at Ingolstadt in 1590 and died in 1610. Most of his work was on canon law, but he edited and published at Ingolstadt in 1604 six volumes of early documents under the title *Antiquae Lectiones*; a seventh supplementary volume followed. Tomus vi contains (pp. 297–322) Burchard's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae nunc primum in publicum data ex bibliotheca monasterii Canonicorum Regularium S. Magni ad pedem pontis Ratisbonensis* ('now first given to publication from the library of the monastery of the Canons Regular of St Magnus at the foot of the bridge of Ratisbon (Regensburg)'). Canisius fairly claims to be the first to edit and publish this manuscript (Munich, clm 26636, fos. 377ra–385ra) from Regensburg, but appears to pass no judgement on its history or authenticity.

Canisius's *Antiquae Lectiones* were edited and republished by Jacques Basnage in his *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum, siue Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquae*... *quibus praefationes historicas, animaduersiones criticas et notas in singulos auctores adiecit Jac. Basnage* (Antwerp, 1725). Burchard's *Descriptio* appears in vol. iv, pp. 1–26. Jacques Basnage was a Reformed scholar and pastor (1653–1723) of considerable ability and repute, whose published works include *A History of the Jews from Jesus Christ to the Present* (1716). Basnage prefers to date Burchard's work in the Holy Land in the 1230s rather than the 1280s on the basis of Burchard's reference (in the shorter version of the *Descriptio*) to the recent (1198) Armenian acceptance of the crown, with a promise to accept the Roman obedience, from the Archbishop of Mainz as legate of the Roman See.

Basnage also pondered whether he should prefer the version of Burchard's work published in Amsterdam, as emended by J. Clericus,[74] to that of Canisius. This Amsterdam text follows the edition of P. Bosquierus (1561–1636) of 1624,[75] which states that its exemplar is Steelsius's edition published in Antwerp in 1536. Steelsius's work belongs to Laurent's Class II, to which Laurent gives no value: *Classis II frequentissima et vulgatissima fere nihil est nisi ipsius Burchardi libri epitome eaque depravata* ('Class II, the most commonly read and the most widely published, is almost nothing but an abbreviation of Burchard's own book, and that a corrupted one').[76] Basnage rightly selects the Canisius version as more authentic, on the grounds that it reveals its author as a traveller and a superstitious monk, while the Amsterdam version purges the superstitions and omits what matters to the traveller. Basnage notes that the chapters on the fertility of the Holy Land and the description of Egypt are both absent from the Canisian version; he adds them to his edition for the sake of completion, but makes no comment on their authenticity.

To his credit, Basnage includes in his volume (pp. 6–8) a letter addressed to him from the scholar Casimir Oudin (1638–1717), sub-librarian at Leiden University. Oudin argues firmly that Burchard's pilgrimage to Palestine took place in 1283 and not in 1222. But, with reference to Burchard's *Descriptio*, Basnage notes (p. 7) that Oudin quotes from the Dominican scholar Natalis Alexander (1639–1724): 'That work, but mutilated, Canisius published in Tom. vi, *Antiquae Lectiones*. Vossius (*De Historicis Latinis*, Bk. 2, cap. 60) says a complete manuscript exemplar of this work exists in the Bibliotheca Crucigerorum at Cologne, which exemplar Christianus Adrichomius says he used in his *Description of Jerusalem and its suburbs*.' Alexander is here[77] quoting the classical scholar Gerard Johannes Vossius (1577–1649) (but Vossius does not say that the exemplar was 'complete').[78] Vossius, however, whose work, according to the *Biographie Universelle* (XLIX, 134) is not exempt from error, has misread Adrichomius, who says[79] *cuius manuscriptum*

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[74] *Thesaurus*, ed. Basnage, iv. 4. See 'Locorum Terrae Sanctae exactissima Descriptio, auctore F. Brocardo Monacho', in Bonfrerius, *Onomasticon Urbium et Locorum Sacrae Scripturae*, pp. 169–92.

[75] Bosquier, *Palaestina seu Descriptio Terrae Sanctae sollertissima*, pp. 1–67.

[76] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 18.

[77] Alexander, *Selecta historiae ecclesiasticae capita*, xx, cap. 4 & 5, p. 566.

[78] Vossius, *De historicis Latinis libri iii*, ii. 456–7.

[79] Adrichomius, *Urbis Hierosolimae ... descriptio*, p. 222.

exemplar ex insigni Crucigerorum Coloniensium bibliotheca usui meo exhibuit M. Tilmannus Vosmer Delphus, eiusdem Coenobii lector dignissimus ('whose manuscript exemplar from the famous library of the Cologne Crucigeri M. Tilmann Vosmer of Delft, distinguished Reader of the same Order, produced for my use'), but Adrichomius is referring to a manuscript of J. de Vitry's work, not Burchard's. This error was perpetuated by Beckmann and by Röhricht.[80]

Alexander[81] described Canisius's edition as *mutilum*, but this comment was not his own; he took the word (correcting it from a third- to a second-declension adjective) from Vossius,[82] who says of Burchard's opus, *eum, sed mutilem, in lucem edidit Canisius Tom. vi, Antiq. Lect.* ('Canisius brought it—but mutilated—into the light').

Adrichomius (1533–85) in his work on Jerusalem and its surrounds quotes or refers to Burchard's work frequently, but in his *Catalogus*[83] lists only the editions of Burchard's *Descriptio* published at Basle by Hervagius (1532) and at Antwerp by Steelsius (1536). Separately,[84] he mentions the *Delineatio et descriptio Ierusalem et terrae promissionis accuratissime per Bonauenturam Brocardum Bernaitam elaborata excusa Parisiis*, published in 1544; this is Laurent's *Editio* VII).[85] But Adrichomius does not mention anywhere having seen any manuscripts of Burchard, and as he died in 1585 he did not know Canisius's edition, published in 1604.

Johann Beckmann (1739–1811) offers an essay on Burchard in his *Litteratur*.[86] Beckmann lists some manuscripts: (1) Staphorst, from St Petruskirche, Hamburg; (2) Magdalen College, Oxford; (3) Basle; (4) Biblioteca Medicea, Florence LXXVI, no. 30; (5) Cologne (used by Adrichomius) (here Beckmann must be following Vossius or Alexander Natalis); (6) Melk; (7) Leipzig, Pauline Library. He lists the editions of Burchard, beginning with *Rudimentum Nouitiorum* (1475). Of the Canisius edition he comments (p. 56), 'Diese Ausgabe weicht so sehr von den vorigen Ausgaben ab, dass es scheint, es habe jemand den ganzen *Burchard* umgearbeitet' ('This edition differs so far from the previous editions that it seems that someone has revised the whole *Burchard*'). Comparing the editions, he finds the most reliable to be that of the *Rudimentum Nouitiorum*, but that of Canisius to be (p. 58) 'von allen die mangelhafteste und unzuverlassigste', 'the most defective and untrustworthy of them all'.

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[80] Beckmann, *Litteratur*, ii. 42; Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 56, no. 10.

[81] Alexander, *Selecta historiae ecclesiasticae capita*, xx, cap. 4 & 5, p. 566.

[82] Vossius, *De historicis Latinis libri iii*, ii, p. 456.

[83] Adrichomius, *Urbis Hierosolimae … descriptio*, p. 223.

[84] Ibid. p. 226.

[85] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 13.

[86] Beckmann, *Litteratur*, ii. 31–70.

The Edition of J. C. M. Laurent (1864)

Johann Christian Moritz Laurent (1810–76) was the first scholar to provide a serious edition of the text of the longer version of Burchard's *Descriptio*. He entitled his work *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, including with Burchard's *Descriptio* the *Liber Peregrinacionis* of Riccoldo da Monte Croce, the *Liber de Terra Sancta* of Odoricus de Foro Iulii, and the *Peregrinatio* of Wilbrandus de Oldenborg. Laurent wrote his work in scholarly Latin, addressing a general preface to his readers (*Lecturis*), and introducing the four separate works with individual prefaces. His introduction (pp. 3–18) to Burchard includes a catalogue of twenty-six codices (of which the three *codices vratislavienses*, the *codex mellicensis*, the *codex ratisbonensis*, and the *codex romanus* contained the shorter version), and an index of twenty printed editions, which he divides into four classes:

I. The *editio princeps* of 1475 (in *Rudimentum Nouitiorum*)
II. Twelve editions following the Grynaeus version: Basle (1532); Paris (1532); Antwerp (1536); Basle (1537); Paris (1544); Wittenberg (1554); Basle (1555); Wittenberg (1579, 1587); Cologne (1624); Amsterdam (1707); Venice (1746). Of this group Laurent comments *Classis II frequentissima et vulgatissima fere nihil est nisi ipsius Burchardi libri epitome eaque depravata* ('Class II, the most commonly read and the most widely published, is almost nothing but an abridgement of Burchard's own book and that a corrupted one').
III. Three editions: Venice (1519); Magdeburg (1587, 1593).
IV. Two editions: Ingolstadt (1604) (Canisius' edition); Antwerp (1725) (Basnage).

Laurent criticized the *editio princeps* sharply (see above, p. lix). The Venetian edition of 1519 Laurent sees as a paraphrase clearly of no value (*paraphrasis nullius plane pretii*) on which Chrysostomus Iavellus wasted his labour (p. 17; see above).

However, Laurent's edition of Burchard brought about a change in the evaluation of Canisius's edition (class IV above). Laurent argued,[87] on the evidence of the opening paragraph of the Canisius edition, that

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[87] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 3.

Burchardus bis... de terra sancta scripsit: primum privatim, epistolam cum tabula, quam pellem dicit, geographica addens, deinde publice. ('Burchard wrote about the Holy Land twice: first privately, a letter with a map, which he called a parchment, adding geographical matters, then publicly.')

Laurent argued that Burchard wrote two versions of his *Descriptio*, from which developed two families of codices. Burchard sent his first, shorter version as a letter ('epistolam') from the Holy Land to Magdeburg, to his friend, also called Burchard, a Lector of the Order of Preachers. With that letter he sent a map ('tabula'). This shorter *Descriptio* can be seen in the three codices from Wrocław, and the codices from the abbey of Melk, from Regensburg, and from Rome. When Burchard returned to his homeland he wrote a fuller version, found in the Codex Staphorstianus from Hamburg (Cod. Petri 30), and in codices from Basle, Florence, Oxford, and elsewhere. Laurent's edition is of the longer version.[88] He identifies the shorter version with the Regensburg text edited by Canisius in 1604, commenting[89] that

> Canisii editio pertinet ad prius, de quo supra diximus, codicum genus, et iniuria, mihi crede, a Beckmanno Clerico aliis tanquam spuria et interpolata repudiatur. Est enim non parvi momenti, si spectes criticam textus rationem, et ab ipsius Burchardi manu orta.
>
> 'Canisius's edition relates to the former type of codices, of which we spoke above, and is wrongly, believe me, repudiated by Beckmann, Clericus, and others as spurious and full of interpolations. For if you will look at the critical study of the text, it is not of small importance, and it came from the hand of Burchard himself.'

This view was followed by E. Rotermund[90] and adopted by C. R. Beazley in his magisterial three-volume *The Dawn of Modern Geography*:[91] 'There are two forms of this *Description*. The earlier and briefer was circulated privately, as a letter to friends, accompanied by a map; the success of this led to a revised and enlarged copy being issued later.' However, from a close examination and comparison of the two versions, I have concluded that, *pace* Laurent (whose industry and scholarship one can only admire), the longer version is Burchard's original, and that the shorter version is a précis, probably but not

[88] Ibid. pp. 10–11.

[89] Ibid. pp. 17–18.

[90] Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard vom Berge Sion', p. 3.

[91] Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii. 384–5.

certainly by Burchard himself.[92] The evidence for this proposal, and the purpose of such a précis, is discussed elsewhere in this volume (see pp. xliii–lviii).

Laurent's edition of the text is based on the *Codex Staphorstianus Hamburgensis* (denoted by 'St.' in his *apparatus criticus* below the text). It was once preserved in the library of St Peter's church, but is now kept in the Staats- und Univ. Bibl. as *Petri 30b*; the text of the longer version of Burchard's *Descriptio* appears in fos. 249–75. The codex is of parchment, quarto, written in two columns; Laurent dates it to the late fourteenth–early fifteenth century,[93] so it is not one of the earliest texts of Burchard available to scholars. It is noteworthy that Laurent's Hamburg text lacks a number of passages witnessed by several important fourteenth-century texts; for example at 89 (IX. 8) it lacks the references to the church of Peter and the Andromeda legend; at 90 (IX. 10) Jacob's additions to Rachel's monument; at 100 (X. 9) the reference to Ibelin; at 105 (XI. 7 and 8), the Hamburg text abbreviates the entries on Issachar, Zebulun, and Dan.

Laurent also had to hand the sixteenth-century copy of the Hamburg manuscript (the *Apographum Hamburgense*, *h* in the *app. crit.*).[94] From chapter VI of his text, Laurent also used the Codex Bernensis, a copy of which had been kindly communicated to him by Titus Tobler, as being not without value, possessing some good readings (*non sine pretio esse videtur, quum bonis scriptionibus non careat*).[95] Laurent also knew the three *codices Vratislavienses*, Va, Vb, and Vc),[96] but these codices contained the shorter, not the longer, text. Laurent's edition of the text therefore had limitations and was hardly a full critical text of Burchard's longer version.

The Contribution Of Wilhelm Anton Neumann (1837–1919)

An entry in the *Bibliographie de l'Orient Latin I, 1878, 1879, 1880*[97] reads as follows:

BURCHARDVS DE MONTE SION—*Liber de Descriptione Terrae Sanctae (Textus conferendus)*, ed. W. A. Neumann—Genevae, Fick, s.a. (1880), 40.

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[92] *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 48; Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 98–9; Bartlett, 'Burchard's Descriptio Terrae Sanctae'.

[93] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 5.

[94] Ibid. p. 6, no. 2.

[95] Ibid. p. 7, no. 7.

[96] Ibid. pp. 6–7, nos. 3, 4, 5.

[97] *Bibliographie de l'Orient Latin I, 1878, 1879, 1880*, p. 7, no. 56.

This title appears in Röhricht's *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*[98] and in Käppeli's list in *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*.[99] Behind this work there was a long correspondence between Laurent and Neumann, a Professor of Old Testament in Heiligenkreuz (1861–74) and then Professor of Old Testament and Oriental Languages in Vienna (1874–90), which had developed into friendship and collaboration.[100] Laurent promised to send Neumann his 'Collation des Basler Codex des Burchardus', hoping that Neumann could produce a better version of Burchard by comparison of the Basle and Hamburg texts. Neumann on his part believed that the Klosterburg manuscript contained a better text than the Hamburg one used by Laurent. Laurent asked Neumann for the Klosterburg text. Hardly had he got it when he sent it back to Neumann, saying that Neumann was the best person to edit the intended Burchard edition, with a topographical commentary, and Laurent sent Neumann his own manuscript. But Laurent changed his mind, and in October 1869 began work again on Burchard, now examining the Salzburg and Lilienfeld codices.[101] The documents (*die Unterlagen*) were supplied to him by Neumann. With the help of Neumann and Tobler he intended to prepare an introduction and commentary, incorporating Neumann's German translation. At the end of November 1869 he sent Neumann his work, saying that it was Neumann's to edit under his own name. Laurent was ill, and in 1872 he wrote to Neumann saying that Neumann must publish the Burchard: 'Das ist eine Liebespflicht. Selbst wenn ich tot bin, lasse ich Ihnen keine Ruh.' ('That is an obligation of love; even when I am dead, I shall give you no rest.')[102]

Neumann, however, was working on his doctoral thesis, and in 1874 took up his new post in Vienna. In 1877 Tobler brought Neumann into connection with the Société de l'Orient latin and its founder, Riant, as possible publishers for the edited Burchard text. In autumn 1879 Neumann sent a preliminary text of Burchard's *Descriptio* to the Society, and, according to Stigler, '1880 erscheint dann das Werk unter dem vollen Titel: "Burchardus de Mte Sion: Liber de descriptione Terrae Sanctae. (Textus conferendus als Grundlage fur ein spätere kritische Ausgabe)" bei Fick in Genf'.[103] This 1880 edition contains pages 19–93 of Laurent's 1864 work, followed by Neumann's edition of the shorter version (pp. 92–117). Stigler[104] says that for this preliminary text Neumann drew on five Austrian manuscripts, two Basle manuscripts, and one manuscript from Uppsala; Neumann himself notes at the head of his edition of the shorter version (p. 92) that it is based on Codex Mellicensis H.17, two manuscripts from Vienna (509 and 4739), a fourteenth-century German version from Uppsala (Codex 14), and Canisius's edition (which represented the Codex Ratisbonensis, now in Munich).[105]

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[98] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 59, no. 22.

[99] Käppeli, *Scriptores*, p. 259.

[100] For details see Stigler, *Wilhelm Anton Neumann*, pp. 42–3.

[101] See Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 56–7, nos. 20, 40; these are not mentioned in Laurent's 1864 edition.

[102] See Stigler, *Wilhelm Anton Neumann*, p. 43.

Since 1880, there have been two translations (but no critical editions of the text) of Burchard's *Descriptio*, in 1896[106] and 2012[107] respectively. These two English translations follow Laurent's text. Stewart's translation was given geographical annotations by C. R. Conder of the Palestine Exploration Fund, famous for his surveys of Eastern and Western Palestine. Pringle's translation of Laurent's text is especially important for the accompanying notes on the modern identification of sites described by Burchard; Pringle's whole book is a major scholarly contribution to the study of Holy Land travel in the time of the Crusades.

BURCHARD'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND

Burchard's view of the Holy Land is that of the medieval pilgrim arriving across the Mediterranean Sea from the west. Pilgrims arriving at Acre on the Mediterranean coast would see the Holy Land rising to the Lebanese mountains in the north, to the hills of Galilee in the east, and to the hills of Samaria and Judah to the south-east; and behind them all to the more distant east would be the Transjordanian mountain-chain running from Mount Hermon in the north via the hills of Gilead to the mountains of Moab and Edom in the south. These provided the backdrop to the stage of the Holy Land; Burchard confessed to limited travel in that region. Burchard's view of the Holy Land began with Acre, and this fact controlled his presentation of the land, as he makes clear in his Prologue, where he explains that he will take Acre as his focal point for exploration of the land, dividing the land into four quarters, and each quarter into three divisions, corresponding, he says, to the twelve winds of heaven (4: 22). (This analogy is of course a rhetorical flourish; Acre is not the centre of a complete circle of the Holy Land, but in Burchard's presentation more like the centre of the diameter of a semicircle, the focal point of a schoolchild's protractor.)

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[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., pp. 43–4.

[105] Gritje Hartmann, in an examination of Wilhelm Tzewers's use of Burchard's *Descriptio* in his *Itinerarius terre sancte*, investigates Neumann's work in a footnote (Wilhelm Tzewers, *Itinerarius terre sancta*, ed. Hartmann, pp. 38–9, n. 208). Hartmann notes that attempts to find a copy of this work in the Zisterzienserstift Heiligenkreuz, to which Neumannn belonged and where his previous publications were collected, failed; what was found was a copy of Laurent's 1864 edition with a handwritten commentary, designated as 'Textus conferendus', in which Neumann had noted, along with his corrections and comments: 'Hoc exemplar destinatum est ad notas meas de persona Burchardi et compositione operum suorum colligendas' ('this copy is intended for the notes to be collected by me about Burchard and the composition of his works'). Hartmann concludes (p. 39) that 'Ingesamt ist jedoch zu vermuten, dass keine Edition der Descriptio Burchards von Neumann existiert'.

[106] *Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, trans. Stewart.

[107] 'Burchard of Mount Sion OP: Description of the Holy Land (1274–85)', in Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, pp. 241–320.

Before exploring each of these segments, however, Burchard puts the Holy Land, comprising the two biblical kingdoms of Judah and Samaria and known as Palestine, into its larger context (5–10; I. 1–5). Palestine he describes (5; I. 3) as a part of Syria, which is the general name (6–7; I. 2–3) for the land between Egypt and the Euphrates; this wider region, however, incorporated several Syrias, including (1) Syria Mesopotamia (between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers); (2) Coele Syria (from the Euphrates to the Baniyas River, by modern Baniyas (ancient Valania) on the coast; (3) Phoenician Syria (from the Baniyas River to Pilgrims' Castle by Mount Carmel); (4) Syria of Damascus or Lebanon. This brings Burchard to Palestine (7; I.3), which he subdivides into three regions with the three regional capitals of Jerusalem, Caesarea, and Beth-she'an. Burchard goes on to note three Arabias (8; I. 4): the first has its capital at Bosra, with Ituraea to the west and Damascus to the north; the second lies south of this, incorporating the land of the Ammonites and Moabites and the kingdoms of Sihon and Og, with its capital at Petra, formerly called Rabbath, on the Arnon river (Burchard refers to modern Rabba, Rabbath Moab, to which the see of Petra had been transferred centuries before, but he errs in locating it on the Arnon); the third Arabia lies south of the second, and has its capital at Monreal (modern Shobak). This third Arabia Burchard seems to see as extending to the Red Sea in the west and to the Euphrates in the east, and to be part of Great Arabia, with Mecca where Muhammad is buried.

This picture reveals Burchard's wide grasp of the general geography of the world east of the Mediterranean, and would have given a useful starting framework for his readers. As a good academic he notes his sources—mainly the work of Jacques de Vitry, to which can be added the work of Josephus and the Bible—and then turns (9; I. 5) to describe the four parts of the Holy Land.

The First Division of The Holy Land

Burchard's first division (5–20; II. 1–30) takes him directly north from Acre along the coast (10; II. 1), past Casale Lamperti (Imbert), Scandalion, Tyre, the Litani (which Burchard identifies with the River Eleutherus), Sarepta, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos (Jebail), Botrun, Nephin, Tripoli, the Mount of Leopards (Jebel Turbul?), Arachas ('Arqa), Krak des Chevaliers, Tartus, Arvad (Ruad), the castle of Margat, Valania (Baniyas), to the boundary between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch (Antakya) (20; II. 30). Much of this was not in the biblical Holy Land, and only a few of the place names appear in the Bible (Tyre, Sarepta, Sidon, Byblos, 'Arqa, Arvad); presumably Burchard includes the non-biblical places because many of them would have been familiar to his Crusader contemporaries. Burchard notes important rivers and springs, as well as Crusader castles and political boundaries. He also notes that he has travelled beyond the northern boundary of the kingdom of Jerusalem—as indeed is clear from his description of Cilician Armenia in the later pages of his work—but at this point he declares his concern to limit himself to the Holy Land, and returns to his second division.

The Second Division of The Holy Land

Burchard's second division (21–4; III. 1–12) begins again at Acre, and this time proceeds in a north-easterly direction (though he gives the direction as *contra aquilonem*, 'northwards'). He notes the ruined Teutonic castle Montfort (Qal'at al-Qurayn), the castle Toron (modern Tibnin), the biblical site of Hazor, then (21; III. 4) Belenas (modern Banias, the New Testament Caesarea Philippi, which Burchard mistakenly identifies with Old Testament Dan, which is modern Tall al-Qadi). Burchard is interested in Dan as the northern boundary of the Holy Land; this leads him to a slight discursus on Beersheba, which he mistakenly identifies as Giblin (modern Bet Guvrin/Beit Jibrin, ancient Eleutheropolis), as the southern boundary (quoting 2 Sam. (2 Kgs.) 17: 11). But in this section Burchard's main interest lies in the sources and the course of the Jordan, which he describes at length (22–3; III. 5–7).

Burchard, following Josephus (*Jewish War*, iii. 506–13) finds the original source of the Jordan at Phiala (Birkat er-Ram); the water then flows underground to the source he calls Dan, which Burchard confuses with the Magedan of Matt. 15: 39 (Vulg.; otherwise Magdala, on the west coast of the Sea of Galilee). This he says is near Suetha, the supposed home of Job's friend Bildad, and the tomb of Job; but if Suetha is modern es-Suweida it is 50 miles south-east of the Phiala spring. Burchard's geography in this region is less precise than one might like, and he was probably not familiar with it at first hand. He presents the Jordan here as separating Ituraea to the west and Trachonitis to the east; he is probably more familiar with the former than the latter. However, he is clearly familiar with the Waters of Merom (in more recent times Lake Huleh), whose marshes, dried out in summer and full of game for the royal hunting, he describes clearly.

Burchard concludes the division with a description of the Transjordanian mountains to the east, which he sees as one continuous chain from the mountains of Moab in the south via Mount Gilead to Mount Senir and Mount Hermon and Mount Lebanon in the north (**24**; III. 8–10). He claims that Mount Gilead is the highest of these (quoting Jer. 22: 6), though in fact Mount Hermon out-tops Mount Gilead by some 6,000 ft, but Burchard admits that he has not explored this region. Burchard knows the biblical name Mount Senir, or Sirion, applied in Deut. 3: 9 to Mount Hermon, but he locates Mount Senir in a position adjoining Hermon, and equates it with Mount Seir, the home of Esau, apparently connected with Gilead and the River Jabbok (Gen. 32: 1–33: 17), and so makes of it a separate mountain. Burchard's presentation of Mount Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon (mentioned in the Bible together only at Judith 1: 7, and usually located west and east respectively of the rift valley), is also confusing. Burchard locates Mount Anti-Lebanon one league east of Sidon, ranging from the River Eleutherus (for Burchard the Litani) in the south to five leagues north of Tripoli, never more than two leagues from the sea (**24**; III. 12), but he describes Mount Lebanon as being three leagues distant from Tripoli (**17**; II. 19); he notes that if one sails from Tyre northwards to Antaradus (Tartus) one has Mount Lebanon in sight all the way, with Mount Lebanon nearer the sea at 'Arqa than at Banias, and that Antilibanus 'beneath it' comes ever closer to the sea (**24**; III. 12). Burchard locates Banias at the foot of Mount Lebanon (**21**; III. 4), and sees Mount Lebanon as one continuous unit with Mount Hermon, Mount Seir and Mount Gilead (**24**; III. 8). All this suggests that Burchard does not share our picture of the relationship of the two ranges, divided by the Beqa' valley. However, Burchard clearly likes the Lebanon, with its fertile valleys, vineyards, orchards, and all the good things of this world, and he is aware of the many Christian peoples to be found there; he will describe them more fully later in his book (see 111–7; XIII. 1–6).

The Third Division of The Holy Land

Burchard describes his third division (25–9; IV. 1–19) as covering the land south-east (*contra vulturnum*) of Acre, but his itinerary really covers an arc ranging from south-east to north-east towards the northern end of the Sea of Galilee and beyond. Burchard notes the castle of Jiddin (Qal'at al-Jiddin/Mezudat Gadin) and Kings' Castle (Mi'ilya) 10 miles and 14 miles respectively north-east of Acre (25; IV. 1–2), then the valley of Sennim (Zaanannim) (25; IV. 3), which he locates towards the Waters of Merom, near Hazor, on the basis of Judg. 4: 11 and an assumption that the Kedesh mentioned (Cedes Neptalim) is Tel Qadesh north-west of the Waters of Merom (but Aharoni[108] locates Zaanannim and Kedesh in the Jabneel valley near Mount Tabor). Aharoni makes a good case, and Burchard may have been confused by similarity of names here and by the linkage of Sisera with Jabin of Hazor. Burchard's next site is Kabul (25; IV. 4), nowadays located south of al-Jiddin and 9 miles south-east of Acre; but Burchard is clearly thinking of a site near the valley of Sennim and Hazor, north-west of the Sea of Galilee. From here he moves east to Sephet (Safad) (25; IV. 5) on the hills at the north end of the Sea of Galilee, by the mountain (26; IV. 7) where Jesus preached his sermon and fed the five thousand. Burchard notes that from its top one can see across Ituraea and Trachonitis, as far as Lebanon in the north, Mount Hermon in the east, and Dothan in the south. His description proceeds to the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee, to Capernaum (27; IV. 11), and across the Jordan as it enters the Sea of Galilee to Chorazin (which Burchard believed to lie east of the Jordan) (27; IV. 12). Burchard notes the road, 'the way of the sea', passing the northern end of the sea and thence through Kedar (28; IV. 14), which he identifies with Josephus' Gamala (*Jewish War* iv. 1–8) (28; IV. 18), which he locates on the eastern side of Mount Senir (i.e. biblical Sirion, or Hermon); which site Burchard had in mind is not clear, but if he was thinking of the site generally identified with Josephus' Gamala, this lies twenty kilometres east of the Sea of Galilee and well south of Mount Hermon and hardly on its eastern flank. Burchard's knowledge of the Transjordan is again shown to be less than precise.

Burchard's itinerary now turns north-west, and then back east. He mentions Kedesh Naphtali (28; IV. 15), which he clearly identifies with

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[108] Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, p. 224.

Tall Qadesh in Upper Galilee '4 leagues north' of the Jordan's entry to the Sea of Galilee. He refers to the city of Suetha (**28**; IV. 16), the home of Job's friend Bildad the Shuhite (Job 2: 11), but Suetha was in fact a region rather than a city. Burchard notes Job's tomb, Dair 'Ayyub (**28**; IV. 16), near Sheikh Sa'ad, north of Dera'a, and the fountain of Phiala, Birkat er-Ram (**28**; IV. 17), north of Sheik Sa'ad and near Banias.

Describing this third division, Burchard notes that these were the regions ruled by Philip the Tetrarch, and identifies the western bank of the Jordan as Galilee of the Gentiles, Ituraea, Kabul or Decapolis, and the eastern bank as Trachonitis, the plain of Lebanon, and the biblical land of Uz (**29**; IV. 19).

These three divisions make up the first, northern quarter of Burchard's scheme.

The Fourth Division of The Holy Land

The title is strange and slightly inaccurate. Burchard (or his scribe) presumably means that this is the first division (*diuisio*) (**30–6**; V. 1–16) of the eastern quarter (*quarta*, i.e. 'fourth (part)'), as the next section is entitled 'the second division of the eastern quarter' (*secunda diuisio quarte orientalis*) (**37–41**; VI. 1–10).

Burchard's itinerary here begins the second, eastern quarter as it goes up-country from Acre, this time eastwards (*contra orientem*) into Galilee and into the Transjordanian mountains beyond. Leaving Safad, Capernaum, and the road to Mount Hermon to his left (**30**; V. 1), Burchard faces east and takes his readers via the wadi al-Shaghur and a village named after St George (**30**; V. 2) to a place named Naason (from the Vulgate of Tob. 1: 1, but the name is suspect as a corruption of Hazor) (**30**; V. 3) and so to Dothan (**30**; V. 4), which Burchard seems to locate near the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee, though biblical Dothan must be identified with Tall Dothan, south-west of Jenin. Burchard notes again the road from Syria to Egypt, which is joined by a road from Gilead at Bethsaida, crosses the plain of Esdraelon (leaving Mount Tabor on the left), and so across the plain of Megiddo to Mount Ephraim (**31**; V. 5). He is well aware of the general physical geography and location of the major highways. He notes the 'city of Naphtali' as the home of Tobit; he names it as Syrin, south of Safad, perhaps by mistake for Meirun, near Safad, but identifies it, wrongly, as Josephus' Jotapata (modern Kh Yif'at) (**31**; V. 7). (The Septuagint (Tob. 1: 2), but not the Vulgate, which was Burchard's text, locates Tobit's home at Thisbe.) Burchard is clearly locating places in the region near the north-west corner of the Sea of Galilee, but he does not seem to have much solid information to work on.

Burchard now moves on to Bethsaida (**32**; V. 8) 'beside the road leading from Syria to Egypt'. Bethsaida can be identified with modern at-Tall, east of the entry of the Jordan (Burchard's 'little Jordan') from the north into the Sea of Galilee. Burchard correctly sees Bethsaida on the east side of the 'little Jordan', across the river from Capernaum, which lay on the west side of the river and the lake, as did Magdala (probably ancient Tarichaeae, now Migdal).

At this point (**32**; V. 10) Burchard's view moves east across the Sea of Galilee. He notes that this fourth division has no more towns to the west of the Sea, but that there are many east of it in the land of the Gerasenes. He lists just five—Gerasa, Gadara, Pella, Suetha, and Teman—but knows little or nothing of them; he admits that he has never been in the mountainous land east of the Sea of Galilee. He comments only on Gerasa (which he wrongly sets on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, opposite Tiberias and a little south of it), before turning to a lengthy discussion of biblical Mount Seir (**33–6**; V. 14–16). He distinguishes on textual grounds between (1) the Mount Seir of Gen. 14: 6, Deut. 2: 12 near Kadesh-barnea, adjoining the wilderness of Paran; and (2) the Mount Seir near the Sea of Galilee and the Mount Gilead, adjoining Damascus, to which Esau removed himself after his quarrel with Jacob and where he was dwelling when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia; and (3) a third Mount Seir in the region of Ashdod and Ascalon, the later home of the Idumaeans. Burchard's critical instincts are correct; but the reference to Seir in Gen. 32: 3, and Esau's connections with Seir need more explanation than he could give.

However, Burchard does have a general picture of the geography of the lands east of the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan and the Dead Sea. He has already presented (**24**; III. 8–11) a north–south sequence of one continuous mountain known by different names in different places as Mount Lebanon, Mount Hermon, Mount Senir (confused with Seir), Mount Gilead (also called Seir), and the mountains between Ammon and Moab (**24**; III. 8–11), to which he now adds Mount Seir or Edom 'towards the desert of the Red Sea'. Burchard sees Mount Gilead as more or less opposite the southern end of the Sea of Galilee and the mountains of Gilboa; further south comes the pastureland of Moab and Mount Abarim in Shittim opposite Jericho. South of this comes the land of Moab, reaching to Petra in the wilderness, now called Krak (Burchard is thinking of modern Karak). He seems to set the land of the Ammonites next along the shore of the Dead Sea, encircling the coast as far as Mount Seir (which he clearly locates south or southwest of the Dead Sea). His location of the Ammonites seems wrong, but from his perspective from Acre, Burchard was perhaps thinking of them as lying beyond the Moabites.

The Second Division of The Eastern Quarter

In this division (**37**–**41**; VI. 1–10) Burchard turns to Lower Galilee southeast of Acre. He begins (**37**; VI. 1) with Cana of Galilee, which in company with modern scholars[109] he identifies with Kh Qânā. Burchard notes the mountain to its north and the plain of al-Battawf (Biq'at bet Netofa) to its south. On the south side of this valley he locates the village of Rama (**38**; VI. 2), the supposed burial place of the prophet Jonah, on the road from Sepphoris (Zippori) to Tiberias. A league and a half east of Rama—perhaps at Kh. Arbel?—he finds the site of Abel-mehola (**38**; VI. 3), Elisha's birthplace (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 16); Burchard perhaps connects Abel-mehola with the Belma of Judith 7: 3 (Vulg.). He finds Dothan (**38**; VI. 4) in this region, but Dothan certainly belonged much further south near Jenin. Burchard also locates the Mount Bethulia (**38**; VI. 4)—a fortified mountain widely visible through Galilee—of the book of Judith here; he may be thinking of the Horns of Hattin near Tiberias, which is the next point on his itinerary.

Burchard calls Tiberias (**39**; VI. 5) a fine city ('gloriosa'), noting its long frontage to the sea and its medicinal baths, palm trees, vineyards and oliveyards, and general fertility. He notes Tiberias as the southern boundary of the Decapolis region, which he portrays as extending from Tiberias to Damascus and including Tiberias, Safad, Kedesh Naphtali, Hazor, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum, Jotapata, Beth-saida, Chorazin and Beth-she'an/Scythopolis. Only this last city appears in the earlier, more contemporary lists of the Decapolis, from which Burchard ignores the Transjordanian cities of Pella, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Gadara, Hippos, Abila, Capitolia, Raphena, Dium and Canata. Again, his limited knowledge of the regions east of the Jordan is revealed, though he writes an extended paragraph giving its various names (Ituraea, Trachonitis, plain of Lebanon, land of Roob (Beth-rehob, Judg. 18: 28)), and noting its length and breadth as not much more than a day's journey.

Burchard returns, perhaps with some relief, to areas he knows better. His itinerary returns westward to Sepphoris (**40**; VI. 6), which lies below 'a very fine castle' originally built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century but taken by Baybars in 1266, and then to Nazareth (**40**; VI. 7). Burchard says nothing of the town except to refer to the church with its subterranean chapel with three altars, to St Gabriel's church at the city boundary, and a well. He notes the 'Lord's Leap' (**40**; VI. 8) on the mountainside from which one can see Mount Tabor, the little hill of Hermon, the villages of En-dor, Nain, Jezreel, and the plain of Esdraelon. After the little hill of Hermon, Burchard mentions also Mount Hermon itself, some 60 miles away to the north-north-east, and one wonders whether the natural reference to the little hill of Hermon has prompted in some editor an intrusive and irrelevant reference to the greater Hermon at this point. (Mount Hermon has already been mentioned at **24** (III. 11), and is described in a gloss at **46** (VII. 12.))

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[109] Cf. Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 163.

Burchard describes the steep conical hill of Mount Tabor (Jebel et-Tor, 588 m, 1843 ft in height) (**41**; VI. 9) across the valley east of Nazareth and locates En-dor (**41**; VI. 10) a league to the east of Mount Tabor, apparently on the little hill of Hermonium, which he calls 'a swelling (*tumor*) coming from Mount Hermon towards Mount Tabor'. This must refer to the little hill of Hermon; the major Mount Hermon is too far away to the north to be relevant. Burchard seems to distinguish between Hermonium, a mere swelling, apparently east of Mount Tabor, and the little hill of Hermon (Hermon minor) (**41**; VI. 11), located 1 league south of Mount Tabor. He may be identifying this with today's Giv'at Hamoreh, on whose northern flank is the city of Nain. Burchard sees the River Kishon as beginning here and flowing eastward to enter the Sea of Galilee—in fact the River Jordan—near Belvoir Castle (**41**; VI. 9), which is in the Jordan valley 12 miles south of the Jordan's southern exit from the sea. Burchard's eastward-flowing river Kishon here therefore must be the modern Nahal Tavor/ Wadi al-Bira.

The Third Division of The Eastern Quarter

In this division (**42–63**; VII. 1–60) Burchard covers the central hill country between the Esdraelon valley and Jerusalem. He begins with Mount Carmel and the Kishon river (**42**; VII. 1). Burchard notes that the Kishon river is said to be one from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, but he observes that in fact it is two, divided by a watershed, one part running east and the other west. (This point has not been observed by the map of Sanudo and Vesconte, even though Sanudo's work owes much to Burchard's; but Harvey has observed that on the map from Florence that is an early copy of what might possibly have been Burchard's map, two originally separate rivers have been joined together producing a waterway that links the Sea of Galilee with the Mediterranean.)[110] Burchard notes Tall Qaimun (biblical Jokneam, though he links it by false etymology with the story of Cain, calling it Caymont) (**43**; VII. 2) and Megiddo (**43**; VII. 3) (which he locates at Subube), and comments extensively on the Esdraelon plain (**43**; VII. 4), which he sees as being in fact the plain of Galilee (regretting that Christian failings have prevented its full exploitation). He notes a number of places in this region: Mesrha' (Mizra') (**44**; VII. 5), the castle of Faba at Afula, Aphek (probably Afula) (**44**; VII. 6), Shunem (**44**; VII. 7), Beth-she'an (**45**; VII. 8), Mount Gilboa (**45**; VII. 9), the spring of Jezreel and Jezreel itself (**45**; VII. 10, 11) with its fine view including Mount Carmel, the Phoenician mountains, Mount Tabor, Mount Gilead, and Mount Ephraim. He observes that the plain between little Mount Hermon to the north and Mount Gilboa to the south was the location of many famous battles (**46**; VII. 11). He comments on the fertile *conuallis illustris*, the Jordan valley running south to the Dead Sea, watered like paradise and like Egypt (cf. Gen. 13: 10) (**46**; VII. 13). And as elsewhere he notes the roads: the road running from Mesrha' via Afula (passing Shunem on the left) to Jezreel (the route Elisha used when travelling from Carmel to Beth-she'an and the Jordan valley (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 8)), and the road from Jezreel to Mount Gilead along the south side of Mount Gilboa (the route Jehu used from Ramoth-gilead to Jezreel (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 16–17) (**47**; VII. 15)). He notes Janin as the border between Galilee and Samaria (**47**; VII. 16). Altogether Burchard seems to have a good grasp of the geography of this region, and is prepared to check details; thus he observes carefully the course of the two Kishon rivers, and he checks the tradition that neither rain nor dew fall upon Mount Gilboa against personal observation.

His itinerary then moves south to the land of Tappuah, Samaria, and the central mountains. Burchard is clear from his frequent references to high mountains that he is in a different area. He describes the ruins and site of Sebaste, or Samaria, its links with John the Baptist, and the view from it towards the sea at Jaffa (**48**; VII. 17). He notes Tirzah (**50**; VII. 18) (which he may locate at Tayasīr north-east of Tall al-Far'ah rather than at Tall al-Far'ah itself), and the land of Tappuah (which he sets east of Tirzah on the road leading to the Jordan though modern scholars locate it 12 kilometres south of Nablûs) (**50**; VII. 19).

South of Samaria, on the road leading to Shechem, Burchard identifies two mountains, one on the right and one on the left, as Mount Bethel and Mount Dan, on each of which Jeroboam set a golden calf

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[110] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 101 and ill. 51.

(3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 28–9) (50; VII. 20, 21). As he goes on to say that between these two mountains is located the city of Shechem (Nablûs) (51; VII. 22), at first sight he seems to be identifying Mount Bethel with Gerizim and Mount Dan with Ebal,[111] but the map from the Archivio di Stato in Florence which Harvey[112] identifies as 'the earliest large Burchard map' explicitly identifies Mount Bethel with Ebal and locates Mount Dan on a mountain parallel with Ebal and Gerizim to its east. Burchard then speaks of 'a high mountain with two peaks', which he identifies with Gerizim and Ebal (51; VII. 24); the map shows Ebal (Mount Bethel) as the northern peak and Gerizim as the southern. The description of the ruins of the temple of Olympian Jupiter on Gerizim (51; VII. 24) makes clear that Burchard is thinking of what we know as Mount Gerizim today. He takes his start from a careless reading of 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 25–8 where Jeroboam's building of Shechem (and Penuel) immediately precedes the setting up of the calves. Burchard, though certain that the mountain near Shechem is called Dan, is aware (50; VII. 21) that the name Dan was associated with the north and identified with Banias/Caesarea Philippi (though Dan is now known to be Tall al-Qâdi), and knows also of Bethel in the Benjaminite tribal area near Ai (54; VIII. 5).

Burchard seems to be not a little confused about this area. Having just told us that the city between the two mountains, Nablûs, was Shechem (he presumably means the biblical Shechem), he goes on to identify ancient Shechem as a large, deserted town, with ruins of marble palaces and wonderful columns, two bowshots from Nablûs (51; VII. 25) (since Abel,[113] scholars have identified these ruins with Sychar, John. 4: 5); and he then says later in the same paragraph that he thinks Nablûs was ancient Thebez (Judg. 9: 50–4; 2 Sam. (2 Kgs.) 11: 21). Burchard is struggling with his observations and his source material, with few certainties to guide him.

From Shechem, Burchard's itinerary turns south towards Jerusalem. On the road south he passes Lebonah (al-Lubban) (52; VII. 27), Michmash (52; VII. 28), Gibeah of Saul (52; VII. 29) (for Burchard, perhaps Jaba' or Kafr 'Aqab), and Rama (er-Ram) (which prompts a list of other cities in the Holy Land bearing the same name) (52; VII. 30), close to Jerusalem. At this point, Burchard's itinerary returns to Shechem and veers east or south-east towards the Jordan valley.

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[111] Cf. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 278, n. 265.

[112] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 94–106, ill. 48.

[113] Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii. 472–3.

He lists Emon (53; VII. 31) (RSV Chephar-ammoni, Josh. 18: 24, perhaps Kafr 'Ana) in Ephraimite territory (though Josh. 18: 24 includes it in the Benjaminite list). He moves on to Phesech (Kh. al-Fasāyil, formerly Phaselis) north of Jericho (53; VII. 32), and to the castle of Dok (on Jebel Quruntul near Jericho, but Burchard seems to envisage it further north only one league from al-Fasāyil) (53; VII. 33). From here he notes that one can see clearly the Transjordan from Gilead south to Mount Nebo, and comments on the fertile plains on either side of the Jordan. The itinerary moves south to biblical Gilgal (54; VII. 34) and to Mount Quarentena, 'high, and hard to climb', with Elisha's spring below it; its stream powers mills and waters sugar canes, gardens, and orchards, before flowing into the Jordan (54; VII. 35, 36). Half a league from this Burchard locates the valley of Achor (Josh. 7: 1–26) (54; VII. 37). Of Jericho, Burchard says only that though once famous it is now a squalid place with a mere eight houses; of its history he says nothing, as being already well known (55; VII. 39). Round Jericho, he notes a chapel built in honour of John the Baptist at Qasr al-Yahûd, and the biblical Beth-hoglah (Josh. 15: 6; Deir Hajla) (55; VII. 40).

At this point Burchard turns to examine the Dead Sea in some detail (55–8; VII. 41–6). He notes its various names (Lake of Asphalt, Salt Sea), its geographical position dividing Arabia from Judaea, and he lists the regions to its east—Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, apparently in order from north to south—observing that the sea extends (south) as far as Kadesh-barnea and the desert of Paran. He refers (56; VII. 42) in somewhat confusing manner to the two fortresses of Monreal (at Shobak) and Karak; he says that Monreal, which was built by Baldwin, is now called Karak, but seems in fact to be describing the latter when he locates it 'about midway on the eastern shore'. Karak took over the seat of rule from Monreal from 1142, which may be the source of the confusion, and held the Sultan's treasury in Burchard's time. Burchard seems equally confused about Areopolis (56; VII. 43); Areopolis is modern er-Rabba, about 7 miles north (not south) of Karak; ancient Petra lay some 100 kilometres south of Karak. Burchard's confusion was perhaps caused by the sixth-century transfer of Petra's ecclesiastical powers to Areopolis. It is again clear that Burchard's topographical knowledge of the Transjordan was severely limited. From the east coast, Burchard turns to the west coast of the Dead Sea, locating biblical Zoar south-west of Jericho below the mountain of En-gedi, and seeking the pillar of salt named for Lot's wife between it and the sea in an area made dangerous (so he was told) by wild animals, snakes, and the Bedu. He regrets that he was put off visiting it by this inaccurate report (56; VII. 45).

Burchard gives much space to his description of the Dead Sea (**57**; VII. 46), emphasizing that he has seen for himself the sterility of the whole valley (the Jericho region apart), which he attributes to the fumes from the sea. He overestimates the sea's width from east to west as 6 leagues, and the valley's width as 5 or 6 leagues (a league being an hour's march, i.e. between 2 and 3 miles, or 4 kilometres). He accepts the Saracens' view that the Jordan's waters pass through the sea, and are absorbed by the land after leaving it, and notes that snow-melt from the mountains can cause the sea to overflow. He notes the presence of lumps of bitumen in the sea (hence the name, Sea of Asphalt), and quotes Gen. 14: 3, 10. Burchard here combines, as usual, personal observation, biblical information, and local report.

From the Dead Sea, Burchard's itinerary goes westwards to Ai, and then Bethel (modern Beitin) in the hill country (**59**; VII. 47, 48). (Burchard locates Ai between Mount Quruntul and Bethel, and so east of Bethel, not west with modern scholars.) He is concerned to refute, from biblical evidence, those who believe that Jacob's dream took place in Jerusalem rather than Bethel; he quotes Jerome's location of Bethel at the twelfth milestone from Jerusalem on the right as one goes towards Neapolis (Nablûs). He notes Ramah (**60**; VII. 49) (which he identifies with Shiloh, i.e. Nabi Samwil) a league north of Bethel, and Anathoth (**60**; VII. 50), 2 leagues from Bethel and one from Jerusalem; from here the itinerary bends back through the wilderness between Jerusalem and Jericho (**60**; VII. 51) towards Mount Engedi (**60**; VII. 52), and the balsam gardens which Cleopatra had from Herod the Great and transferred to Egypt, and the vines, uncultivated by the Saracens then living there (**61**; VII. 53). He is particularly struck by the landscape of cliffs and valleys at En-gedi (**61**; VII. 55).

Burchard now returns to the Jericho–Jerusalem road (**62**; VII. 56), noting the Ascent of Adummim, Bahurim (**62**; VII. 57), Bethany (with its church and the tomb of Lazarus), and the Mount of Olives, with the small village of Beth-phage (**62**; VII. 59). The Mount of Olives is a climactic point for Burchard; from here one first sees the Holy City, across the valley of the Kidron (**63**; VII. 60).

These three *divisiones* make up the *quarta orientalis*.

Jerusalem

Burchard's original plan (**4**: 19) for the *Descriptio* does not mention a separate section for Jerusalem, but it follows inevitably at this point, and provides the climax of the pilgrim's itinerary (**64–87**; VIII. 1–6).

Burchard is very aware of the physical terrain in which Jerusalem stands and on which it is built (**64**; VIII. 1). He begins by plotting its distance from Acre (36 leagues, 80 miles, 128 kilometres), Sebaste (Samaria) (16 leagues, 35 miles, 55 kilometres), Shechem (13 leagues, 32 miles, 50 kilometres), and Nazareth (37 leagues, 64 miles, 104 kilometres) to the north, Joppa (13 leagues, 32 miles, 50 kilometres) to the west, Jericho (7 leagues, 15 miles, 24 kilometres) to the east, and Bethlehem (2 leagues, 6 miles, 9 kilometres), Tekoa (8 leagues, 10 miles, 16 kilometres), and Hebron (8 leagues, 19 miles, 31 kilometres) to the south. Burchard's distances tally quite well with the modern distance in miles or kilometres if we reckon just over 2 miles to the league, with the exception of Tekoa; Burchard's estimate of 8 leagues from Jerusalem suggests that he is locating it further south than Tuqāʿ/Kh. Tequ'.

Burchard understands well the contours on which Jerusalem was built (**65**). He is clear that the city lies where it always lay; this he argues from the fixed position of the temple within the city walls (**66**). He starts his presentation of the city from the hill of Mount Sion, in the city's south-west corner; Jerusalem is further defined by the valleys which encircle Mount Sion. Burchard traces the Hinnom valley clockwise running from the spring of Siloam in the east round the south side of Mount Sion in a semicircle to the Tower of David (by the modern Jaffa Gate) in the west, where it divided; part of it curved round eastwards, encircling the tower of David; the other part (**67**) went north, forming the ditch of the city on the west, with a rock scarp on the east of it with the wall on top; here was the highest part of the city from which Arabia, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea could be seen clearly. (Burchard later notes that this was the highest place in the region, excepting only Shiloh, which for him was Nabi Samwīl.) This wall then turned east, and then south to enclose the Temple, until it completed the circuit by meeting the east end of Mount Sion at the Gate of the Spring. He notes that the city sloped gradually from the rocky heights on its west to the eastern wall above the Kidron, and that the city's refuse drained out through the Dung Gate to the Kidron in the east.

Burchard also describes clearly the Tyropoean valley. This valley ran down from the Tower of David, inside the city, along the north side of Mount Sion, separating it from Mount Moriah (on which the Temple stood) and the Lower City, and it continued down to meet the Kidron valley on the south side of Mount Moriah. Burchard notes that this valley is now filled up but traces of it may still be seen. He has observed the general shape and contours of the city accurately (**66–7**).

Of particular interest to Burchard is Jerusalem's water supply (**70–1**). (1) His first pool is the *Sheep-pool*, with five porticoes, which he says one will find on the left beside the Temple court after entering the

Valley Gate (or Sheep Gate), close beside the north wall of the Temple court and convenient for sheep about to be sacrificed. He is clearly thinking of today's Birkat Isra'il, the Pool of Israel, dug by Herod the Great. However, the five porticoes he mentions belong to Burchard's second pool, which he calls (2) 'the inner pool', which he locates north of the Birkat Isra'il, across the street, close to St Anne's Church; this is the Bethesda or Beth-zatha, or Beth-saida pool of John 5: 2 (these three names are found in the New Testament textual tradition). The adjective 'inner' suggests the existence of an 'outer' pool; was Burchard thinking of it in relation to the Sheep Pool, or in relation to another pool outside the city, e.g. the Birkat as-Sultan in the upper Hinnom valley? The origins of this pool may be dated to the eighth century BC; Burchard attributes it to the work of Hezekiah.

Burchard next lists in third place (3) the *natatoria Siloe*, the bathing pools (plural) of Siloam, located below the Mount of Olives and below Mount Sion, near Akeldama; these baths took their water from the spring of Siloam. It is tempting to identify these with the present pool of Siloam, but their location below the Mount of Olives suggests that they are to be identified with the Birkat al-Hamra' at the junction of the Tyropoeon and Kidron valleys, the pool recently identified as *natatoria* by Yoel Elitzur.[114] These would have received their water from the spring of Siloam via a water channel.

Burchard's fourth pool (4), the 'upper pool', the *superior piscina*, is the pool not far from the Fuller's Field above the bathing pools (*natatoria*) of Siloam, completed by Hezekiah; Burchard rules out that it lay within the city, on the grounds that in the city it could not take water from the Siloam spring far below it. Burchard says that it draws on the Siloam spring and the lower Gihon spring, 'because it lies outside the city below those springs near the bathing pools of Siloam'. (Thus this fourth 'upper pool' can hardly be the Mamilla pool proposed by Laurent,[115] which was high above and far from the Siloam spring, and could hardly draw on it.) Burchard's fourth, 'upper', pool must be located (with Rotermund)[116] just above the *natatoria Siloe*; it could then have drawn upon both the lower spring of Gion and the Siloam spring. Burchard refers again (after a lengthy section on the Valley of Jehoshaphat and Gethsemane) to these same pools, making clear that on the west side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat (i.e. the Kidron valley) is the Siloam spring from which water flows through an aqueduct into the upper pool and the bathing pools of Siloam (*natatoria Siloe*), together with water from the lower Gion spring rising below the Fuller's Field; thus Burchard seems to have a clear picture of what is now called the Pool of Siloam and the Birkat al-Hamra' below it.

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[114] Elitzur, 'The Siloam Pool'. But see recently Gurevich, 'The water pools and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem', pp. 118–19.

[115] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 67, n. 456.

[116] Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard vom Berge Sion', Plan von Jerusalem, p. 57.

Burchard also gives a clear picture (72) of the Kidron valley between the city and the Mount of Olives, much filled up by Roman siege activity in the first Jewish War and later by Hadrian's dumping rubble from the ruined temple and its courts into the valley. He notes that the Virgin's tomb, though originally built on the surface of the valley floor, is now far underground, down a flight of sixty steps, and has a road passing over it, and tends to get flooded by the Kidron after heavy rain. He notes, inaccurately, that the Kidron drains the hills round Ramah, Anathoth and the tomb of Queen Adiabene; in fact the valley begins north of Jerusalem, just west of Mount Scopus. He notes also that the waters from the pools mentioned above run down the Hinnom Valley into the Kidron, which waters the area below the Mount of Offence with its orchards and gardens (75).

Burchard locates the site of Calvary (78–9; VIII. 2) outside the walled city, and outside the town ditch (part of which he believes is to be seen in the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross); Jesus was crucified, he argues, with his back to the ditch. In front of him was the hill, now known to have been subsequently quarried out.

Josephus (*Jewish War* v. 158) and Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis* lx) are the source of Burchard's long paragraph about the size of Jerusalem (81; VIII. 4). Josephus' circuit of thirty-three furlongs gives a circumference of just over 4 miles or 6.5 kilometres; Burchard's 200 stadia, based on his interpretation of Josephus' figures, gives a circumference of just under 5 miles or 8 kilometres. He quotes Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis* lx) for the distance of 4 bowshots (perhaps 800 metres) between the walls, but does not say which walls are meant. However, clearly Burchard has not paced the distances for himself, and his information is therefore not very helpful.

An important section (82; VIII. 5) (which seems to be a self-contained unit and may have a separate origin) is devoted to a detailed examination of the city's gates. Burchard describes them in a circle, starting from David's Gate (82) on the side of Mount Sion facing west (i.e. the modern Jaffa Gate), with notes about their different names, the roads running through them and the destinations they served, and occasional details about the walls and the landscape. David's Gate served Bethlehem, Hebron, Gaza, and the south. The Old Gate (83), also facing west and leading to Shiloh, Beth-horon, and Gibeon, had also led to the place of crucifixion; a new wall incorporating the Lord's Sepulchre had been built outside it, with a new gateway. The next gate (84), the Ephraim Gate (later St Stephen's Gate and now Damascus Gate) led north; here the new wall mentioned above rejoined the old. The fourth gate (84), the Gate of the Corner, at the city's north-east corner, led to Anathoth and Bethel. Burchard lists the fifth gate (84) as the Dung Gate through which the city's filth ran down in wet weather to the Kidron, but Burchard is dubious about this gate, preferring to identify his eighth gate as the Dung Gate. Burchard's sixth gate (85) is the Sheep Gate, or Valley Gate, from the Valley of Jehoshaphat or the Kidron into Jerusalem; this gate led to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and the Jordan. The seventh gate (85) was the Golden Gate, which led into the Temple courts, not the city. The road from it led to Bethany, Jericho, and the Jordan. Burchard appears to locate the Beautiful Gate of Acts 3: 2 here, but other evidence suggests this lay on the west side of the Temple courts. The eighth gate (85), the Gate of the Siloam Spring or the Water Gate, was located above the Kidron between Mount Sion and the Temple area; Burchard believes, surely correctly, from its location that this was the real Dung Gate.

Burchard's last major section on Jerusalem describes the mountains about Jerusalem in a clockwise circle (86–7; VIII. 6). He begins with the Mount of Olives, larger and higher than other mountains round about. He continues with the Mount of Offence to its south, separated by a valley. He locates the field of Akeldama in the lower Hinnom valley, with a high mountain above it and the Fuller's field to its west. Mount Gion lies to its north, west of the city. The land then rises to the west and the north, and the circle closes with the mountain east of the Kidron and north of the Mount of Olives where Solomon constructed a temple for Chemosh and other gods (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 7).

'Let this be enough said', Burchard says, 'about the position of the city, its gates and surrounding mountains.' He has demonstrated a fair grasp of the geography of the city and its surrounding terrain, and he must have taken some trouble to develop a full picture of it. His picture is founded on his identification of the mountains, the valleys, and the water system; into this framework he pegs his knowledge of the many holy sites and buildings. Burchard is knowledgeable on the holy sites and concerned to present them; but his knowledge is founded on a deeper curiosity about the landscape.

From Jerusalem to The Coast; From Bethlehem to Hebron

Laurent's text[117] gives no separate title for this division (**88–98**; Laurent's Ch. IX), and the absence of such a heading here and the inaccuracy of the heading to Chapter X (**99–102**) suggests that something has gone wrong with Burchard's scheme. We will consider this below, but first we will examine in detail the itinerary as presented in the text.

Unlike the other divisions, this division, if such it is, begins not from Acre but from Jerusalem, and seems to be an extension of the Jerusalem section. From the north-west corner of Jerusalem Burchard looks to Mount Shiloh, that is, Nabi Samwīl, which he sees as the high point of the Holy Land (**88**; IX. 1; cf. **80**; VIII. 3). It lies at 890 metres above sea level some 4 kilometres north of Jerusalem. He notes Gibeah of Saul (probably Jaba') over a league away to the east, and Gibeon (al-Jib) (**88**; IX. 2), less than a league to the north. Burchard's itinerary proceeds westwards to Emmaus (**88**; IX. 3), which he probably locates at Qubeiba or Abu Ghosh (though confusingly here linking it with Nicopolis, which was Kh 'Imwas), and then north to Lower Beth-horon (Bayt 'Ur al-Tahtā) (**88**; IX. 4) some 17 kilometres north-west of Jerusalem. Burchard next mentions Kiriath-jearim (**88**; IX .5) (probably Tall al-Achar, 13 kilometres north of Jerusalem), followed by Lachish (**88**; IX. 5) (now identified as Tall ad-Duwayr, about 48 kilometres south-west of Jerusalem). These two identifications do not fit easily with Burchard's apparent itinerary, but he probably located Kiriath-jearim and Lachish quite differently from modern scholars. He sets Kiriath-jearim 2 leagues—about 8 kilometres—north of Beth-shemesh (**89**; IX. 6), which is located today at Tall er-Rumeilah, about 23 kilometres west of Jerusalem. This would put Burchard's Kiriath-jearim a little south of Kh 'Imwas, which makes good sense of his itinerary, and as he places Lachish west of Kiriath-jearim, his Lachish would be well north of Tall ad-Duwayr; perhaps he was thinking of Tel Batash or Tel Miqneh. Tel Miqneh is today identified as Ekron (Accaron), but Burchard clearly associates Ekron closely with Beth-shemesh (**89**; IX. 6) and later (**101**; X. 12) locates it 4 leagues south of Beth-shemesh (though some think that he identified Ekron with 'Āqir, 7 kilometres east of Yavneh).

From here the itinerary moves to Ramathaim-zophim (**89**; IX. 7), which Burchard identifies with New Testament Arimathea and contemporary Ramula, modern Ramla, set in a plain and 10 leagues (about

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[117] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 76.

36 kilometres) north-west of Jerusalem. Next comes Joppa (Jaffa, Yafo) (89; IX. 8) 3 leagues (16 kilometres) north-west of Ramla, and Jamnia (Yavneh) (89; IX. 9) 2 leagues (in fact nearer 3, at about 14 kilometres) south of Joppa.

Having dealt with the region west of Jerusalem, Burchard turns directly south, towards Bethlehem (90; IX. 10), which he describes as standing on a mountain running east–west; on its eastern edge Burchard located the site of the nativity. He notes the vine-tending region to the west at Bezek (Beit Jālā?) and the valley of Rephaim (N. Soreg) (93; IX. 11). His itinerary then becomes less ordered. He switches eastwards to Mount En-gedi above the Dead Sea (93; IX. 12), the hill of Achile on which Herod built Masada (94; IX. 13), but then returns north to Tekoa (94; IX. 14) and Herodium (94; IX. 16). Ziph (94; IX. 17) is set 5 leagues south-east of Tekoa; Tall Zif is more like 20 kilometres south-south-west of Tekoa, and 6.5 kilometres south-south-east of Hebron. South of Ziph Burchard finds Maon and Carmel (94; IX. 18) (today Tall Ma'in and Kh. al-Karmil nearby), and beyond them, somewhat vaguely, the land of Amalek (94; IX. 19). Kadesh-barnea (94; IX. 19) is today located at 'Ain al-Qudeirat in north Sinai; Burchard appears to set it on the west of the Dead Sea, opposite the Lisan promontory.

From this south-eastern area Burchard turns back to the region south and west of Bethlehem. He starts with the biblical Beth-haccherem (95; IX. 20), which he locates some 12 kilometres south of Bethlehem, though modern scholars place it closer to Jerusalem, at 'Ain Karim or at Ramat Rahel. The high point of Rama 95 (IX. 20), with spectacular views ranging from the Mediterranean in the west to Moab in the east, appears to be at Ramat al-Khalil, some 20 kilometres south of Jerusalem and 3 kilometres north of Hebron. Burchard notes Mamre (95; IX. 21), then ancient Hebron (95; IX. 22), a ruin on a high mountain, and then New Hebron (96; IX. 23), where the Saracen fortification (in fact the Herodian Haram) and the Christian cathedral cover an ancient cave. West of this Burchard notes the field (97; IX. 24) which is a quarry of 'red earth' sold to Egypt for medicinal and other purposes. Two leagues, perhaps 8 kilometres, south of Hebron Burchard locates Debir (98; IX. 26), now identified with Kh. Rabûd, 13 kilometres south-west of Hebron. Two leagues north of Hebron Burchard finds the valley of Eshcol (98; IX. 27), famous for its grapes; this is perhaps the wadi running west from Beit Kāhil north of Hebron. Burchard's itinerary now turns north-north-east, back towards Jerusalem, and reaches the home of Zechariah (98; IX. 28), identified from before Burchard's time with 'Ain Karim, immediately to the west of Jerusalem, and the priestly city of Nob (98; IX. 29), which Burchard seems to locate north-west of Jerusalem, rather than on Mount Scopus as today.

The First Division of The Southern Quarter

In this last of his 'divisions' (**99–102**; X. 1–19), Burchard starts again from Acre, and works south along the Mediterranean coast and coastal plain. Thus he lists Haifa (**99**; X. 1), Pilgrims' Castle (**99**; X. 2), Mount Carmel (**99**; X. 3), Caesarea (backed by marshes full of crocodiles) (**99**; X. 4), Arsur (**100**; X. 5) (by which Burchard probably refers to Arsuf, ancient Apollonia rather than Antipatris, which lay inland on the plain), Michmethath (**100**; X. 6), identified with Qaqun/Chaco, 6 kilometres north-west of Tulkarm. Sharon (**100**; X. 7) was a plain, not a city, mentioned in Isa. 35: 2 alongside Carmel and in Acts 9: 35 alongside Lydda, so its position is not very precisely determined. Burchard's coastal itinerary goes on to Joppa (Jaffa) (**100**; X. 8), and then to Gath (**100**; X. 9), '4 leagues from Joppa' and 'not far from the sea', and also, 2 leagues north of Beth-shemesh. These coordinates might suggest Tall Gezer for Burchard's Gath.

Burchard's itinerary now touches on territory already described. He has noted Beth-shemesh already; from here he moves to Modein (**101**; X. 11) and its tombs, some 24 kilometres north (some manuscripts say south; the Paris n.a.l. 288 says east) of Beth-shemesh. Four leagues—16 kilometres?—south of Beth-shemesh (?) is Ekron (**101**; X. 12), already mentioned in connection with Beth-shemesh. South of Ekron, apparently, is Azotus (Ashdod) (**101**; X. 13); but this seems impossible, for that would place Ekron in the sea. If Ekron lay south of Beth-shemesh, Ashdod would lie to the north-west, not south, of Ekron. Burchard's location of Gath, Beth-shemesh, and Ekron seems full of difficulties.

The itinerary moves on to Lydda (Lod) (**101**; X. 14) (formerly Diospolis), already mentioned (88; IX. 5). East of this Burchard locates Libnah, Azekah, Makkedah, and Socoh (**101**; X. 14), thus locating them further north, on the route from Lydda to Gibeah, than do modern scholars, who put Libnah at Tall Bornat, Azekah at Tall Zakariya, Makkedah near Lachish, and Socoh at Kh 'Abbad near the wadi es-Sant (the Valley of the Terebinth, or Valley of Elah). Burchard locates Socoh near Nobe (**101**; X. 14), which he probably identified as Bait Nūbā, about 20 kilometres north-west of Jerusalem. This lies about three leagues from al-Qubeiba, which was probably where Burchard located Emmaus (**101**; X. 15) (though al-Qubeiba was not identified with Nicopolis). From here Burchard's itinerary goes south to 'Ain Karim, the traditional site of the house of Zechariah (**102**; X. 16), then south again across the Wadi Rephaim to Beth-zur 'set on the flank of the mountain over against Bezeth and Bethlehem' (**102**; X. 16). Beth-zur is usually identified as Kh. at-Tubeiqah (coordinates 159110), 24 kilometres south of Jerusalem. This seems much too far south to fit Burchard's reference to a mountain over against Bezeth (probably Kh. Jālā) and Bethlehem; Belmont (Sūba) has been suggested, but this is 12 kilometres west of Jerusalem and does not easily fit Burchard's description either.

The itinerary at this point reverts to the coast, and notes Ashkelon and Gaza (**102**; X. 18), and finally Beersheba (**102**; X. 19) 4 leagues—16 kilometres—from Gaza. Beersheba, today identified with Tall as-Seba', is about 40 kilometres from Gaza, which is far more than Burchard's 4 leagues. He identifies Beersheba with Giblin (Bet Guvrin), but this is about 48 kilometres from Gaza. Burchard is confusing Beersheba and Bet Guvrin, and is clearly wrong about the distances involved.

Examination of this division shows, surprisingly, that apart from the list of places along the coast Burchard has a poor knowledge of the towns of the Shephelah and Judah. He is not clear about Gath (for which he may be forgiven). He appears to know the tombs of Modein (or does he only know *of* them?) but sets them far too far south of their real location. His location of Beth-shemesh and Ekron and their relationship with Gath and Ashdod is confusing. He places Libnah, Azekah, Makkedah, and Socoh too far north. He appears to know Beit Nuba (but wrongly identifies it with Nob); he probably knows Qubeiba (or perhaps Abu Ghosh) as Emmaus and 'Ain Karim as the home of Zechariah; but he seems unsure about the site of Beth-zur. He is badly confused about Beersheba, and does not know its real distance from Gaza. His knowledge of places like Beersheba, Gath, Beth-shemesh, Ekron, Libnah, Azekah, Makkedah, Socoh, Nob, and Beth-zur comes from the Bible, and for their location he has no other firm evidence to work on. The places he knows from personal acquaintance are those known to most pilgrims—Emmaus and the home of Zechariah.

The Structure of Burchard's *Divisiones*

At this point we can turn aside to examine Burchard's structure of the quarters and divisions of the Holy Land. Burchard's system of four quarters, with three divisions in each, has failed him. We have had three northerly divisions making up one quarter, and three divisions making up the eastern quarter. We have had a major section on Jerusalem, which ends with Burchard's self-instruction to return to the description of the remaining parts of the land (**87**; VIII. 6). As he speaks of four quarters, reflecting the four quarters of heaven, each with three divisions, we might expect to find a southern quarter with three divisions, and a western quarter, also with three divisions. But the text speaks only (at **99**; X. 1) of the first division of the southern quarter.

If we are looking for three western *diuisiones*, the obvious candidates are (1) the coast from Acre to Joppa and Gath (**99–100**; X. 1–10); (2) the area between Jerusalem and the coast at Joppa (Jaffa) and Jamnia (Yavneh) (**88–9**; IX. 1–9); and (3) the inland area incorporating Modein, Ekron, Lydda, Socoh to Emmaus (**101–2**; X. 10–16). Geographically, these three sections hang together. And if we are looking for three southern *diuisiones*, they might be found in the region of Bethlehem, and the desert regions south-east (En-gedi, Masada) and south-west (Mamre, Hebron) of Bethlehem (**90–8**; IX. 10, 11–30). This whole region would make a natural *quarta australis*. But the western and southern quarters of Burchard's original plan seem to have got seriously muddled, and one must ask, how, and why?

One notes first that after dealing with the northern and eastern quarters, Burchard has with triumph homed in on Jerusalem, which is clearly the climax of his itinerary. After Jerusalem, everything apart from Bethlehem is an anticlimax. Burchard seems to have lost sight of his plan, and his material becomes disorganized. The Parisian text gives no heading (such as INCIPIT PRIMA DIVISIO QUARTAE OCCIDENTALIS) to his next paragraphs in **88–9** (ch. IX), though it indicates that they belong to the north and west (*inter occidentem et septentrionem*). Burchard starts from Jerusalem, not from the central Acre intended in his original plan. The natural or religious centrality of Jerusalem has asserted itself, and diverted him from his course. He appears to return to his original plan at **99** (X. 1), where he begins again *ab Accon*.

In **90–8** (IX. 10–30) (after exploring the area between Jerusalem and the coast in **88–9**; IX. 1–9) the text suddenly jumps to the whole region *south* of Jerusalem, past Bethlehem to Hebron in the south-west and Masada and the Dead Sea in the south-east. This section seems, geographically, totally out of place between **88–9** (IX. 1–9) (the region north-west of Jerusalem) and **99–102** (X. 1–16) (the coastal route from Acre to Gath (**99–100**; X.1–10) and the route thence to Emmaus (**101–2**; X. 10–16)). It is the section **90–8** (IX. 10–30) which requires the reference to the QUARTA AUSTRALIS. If one compares Burchard's text with the Sanudo–Vesconte map of 1321[118] (a generation after Burchard's

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[118] For the several versions of this map, see Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 107–27.

Descriptio) it will be seen that on this map the area described by **90–8** (IX. 10–30) is geographically distinct as the southernmost area of the Holy Land, and quite distinct from the areas we have assigned to the western quarter, which the map clearly locates on the western side of the Holy Land. It seems likely that Burchard saw the land much as Vesconte and Sanudo presented it in their map, which is almost certainly based on Burchard's work (see pp. xcix–c).

Where, then, would be the natural position in Burchard's *Descriptio* for **90–8** (IX. 10–30), about Bethlehem and the south? If Burchard had kept to his original plan, the northern quarter and eastern quarter would have been followed by the southern and western quarters, in that order. In this case, the description of the southern quarter (**90–8**; IX. 10–30) might have followed directly on the central Jerusalem section, and the western quarter (**99–100, 88–9, 101–2** = X. 1–9; IX. 1–9; X. 10–16) after that. This has the advantage that the final section of the western quarter (in **102**; X. 16) leads naturally on via Gaza and Beersheba (the boundary of the whole land of Israel) to Egypt, after which Burchard can close with the words 'haec de terra ista et de locis eius dicta sufficiant' ('let what we have said about the land and the places in it suffice'). Just how the order and the subheadings became confused it is hard to say. Whether the headings came from the pen of Burchard himself must also be uncertain. It may be that some early scribe thought that the itinerary from Acre to Gaza, southwards in direction, must refer to the southern quarter. Burchard's natural focus on Jerusalem may have confused and altered both his intention and the geographical order, and subsequently confused his scribes. There is no doubt that for whatever reason the planned structure of the *Descriptio* has not been carried over fully into the final chapters of the work.

About The Length And Breadth of The Holy Land

This section with its figures is drawn largely from Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, v. 80–7). Burchard himself sees the Holy Land as extending from Caesarea Philippi (which he identifies with Dan) in the north to Beersheba (which he identifies with Bet Guvrin) in the south, a distance, he estimates, not exceeding 90 leagues (i.e. up to about 360 kilometres). Burchard has overestimated here: the real distance is well below that, at about 240 kilometres. Though he did not travel far into Transjordan (and did not penetrate the land of the two and a half tribes in Transjordan at all), he estimates its length from the northern end of the Sea of Galilee to the Arnon as roughly 47 leagues long, which suggests a length between about 200 and 250 kilometres. Again he overestimates: the real distance is nearer to 150 kilometres. Burchard reckons the breadth of the Holy Land from the Sea to the Jordan nowhere to exceed 40 leagues, i.e. about 160 kilometres; in this he is more accurate, for at the widest point (taking this for our purposes to be from Gaza to the Dead Sea), the distance is about 150 kilometres. He does not attempt to define the breadth of the Transjordan region.

The Practical Basis of Burchard's Quarters And Divisions

If one studies each of Burchard's divisions by reference to the map, and with particular regard to his location of the individual sites mentioned, the artificiality of his Quarters and Divisions, mentioned above, becomes more apparent. Burchard used Acre as his focal point almost certainly because he was based in the Dominican house there. There were three Dominican houses in the Province of the Holy Land—in Nicosia (Cyprus), in Tripoli (Lebanon), and in Acre.[119] As the port of entry to the Holy Land, Acre was clearly of major importance, and it was conveniently placed for access, at least to the northern part of the land.

The different divisions surely derive from Burchard's travel itineraries starting out from his base in Acre. His very first division, in which he heads north along the coast past Tyre and Sidon to the northern boundary of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was probably not his first exploratory trip; it may have been his last out of Acre, ending in the kingdom of Cilicia and Armenia (cf. **20, 118–25** = II. 30, XIII. 8–11).[120] It is more likely that he would first have explored the Galilean region, and his divisions suggest that he made no fewer than four separate trips here: (1) north-east to Montfort, Toron, Hazor, Banias, and the sources of the Jordan (**21–2**; III. 1–5); (2) more or less eastwards past Jiddin, Kings' Castle, and Kabul, to the region of the Waters of Merom and Sephet (Safad), to the western shore of the Sea of Galilee and perhaps beyond to Chorazin (for Burchard, Kursi) on the north-east shore and beyond (**25–9**; IV. 1–19); (3) a little south of the previous trip, via Sangeor, Naason, Dothan, the city of Neptalim, Bethsaida, and Magdala on the north-west corner of the Sea of Galilee (**30–2**; V. 1–9), from where he looks east across the sea to the mountains beyond (V. 10–14); and (4), via Cana, Rama, Abelmehola, Bethulia, Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Nazareth to Mount Tabor (**37–41**; VI. 1–11). In these four trips Burchard covers the Galilean region very thoroughly.

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[119] See Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13 Jahrhunderts*—, ch. 3.

[120] Though for the possibility of his later passage through Acre, see Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*', pp. 181, 189.

The next trip takes him through the central highlands via the Esdraelon valley, Beth-she'an, the Jordan valley, Jezreel, Jenin, Sebaste/Samaria, Shechem, and so south past Lebonah, Michmash, Gibeah of Saul, and Rama towards Jerusalem (**42–52**; VII. 1–30). Burchard probably completed this journey to Jerusalem, but he does not wish to describe Jerusalem just yet, and instead gives us an itinerary from Sichem (Shechem) via Phaselis, Gilgal, Jericho (noting Karak and Areopolis in southern Transjordan (**56**; VII. 42, 43)). At this point Burchard notes Ai, Bethel, and Rama in the central hills to the west, before returning to Mount Quarentena near Jericho and En-gedi by the Dead Sea, and then heading back to Jerusalem via Adummim, Bachurim, Bethany, and Beth-phage (**53–63**; VII. 31–61).

Burchard's climactic account of Jerusalem (**64–87**; VIII) is a section all of its own. He clearly made at least two further excursions from Jerusalem. One took him westwards via Mount Shiloh (Nabi Samwīl), Gibeon, Emmaus, Lower Beth-horon, Kiriath-jearim, Lachish, Beth-shemesh, Ramathaim-zophim/Arimathea (Ramula) and Joppa, and Jamnia (Yavneh) (**88–9**; IX. 1–9). A second took him south via Bethlehem, En-gedi, Masada, Tekoa, Herodium, Ziph and Maon, Beth-haccherem, Rama, Mamre and Hebron, Debir, and then back northwards via the vale of Eshcol, the house of Zechariah, and Nob (**90–8**; IX. 10–30).

Burchard clearly made a quite separate excursion southwards down the Mediterranean coast from Acre (**99–102**; X), visiting Haifa, Pilgrims' Castle, Mount Carmel and the places associated with Elijah and Elisha, Caesarea Philippi, Arsur (Arsuf), Michmethath/Chaco, and Joppa, Ekron (Accaron), Azotus (Ashdod), Ashkelon, Gaza, and Beersheba (Giblin, now Bet Guvrin), and perhaps also Gath, Modein, Diospolis (Lydda). There is some cross-referencing between the text of the Mediterranean itinerary and that of the excursion west of Jerusalem, but there is little doubt that these texts describe different journeys.

In short, Burchard's quarters and divisions are a theoretical scheme imposed on the records of separate exploratory excursions. We know that he made several independent excursions, since he notes that he returned to the site of the resurrection appearance on the shore of the Sea of Galilee on a second occasion (**27**; IV. 9). Burchard does not locate places by any grid reference, but by their sequence on the road and their distance from each other. Most of the routes are intelligible, if we take account of where Burchard rather than modern scholars located certain places. Burchard's *Descriptio* is a book of routes—a model followed by Bishop Pococke[121] in his *A Description of the East* in the mid-eighteenth century and by Karl Baedeker[122] in the late nineteenth.

BURCHARD'S MAP?

Maps associated with early manuscripts and editions of Burchard's texts have been studied in great detail by Paul Harvey.[123] It is generally believed that Burchard himself produced a map of the Holy Land. Laurent, who believed that the shorter text of the *Descriptio* contained the original version, which was the basis of the longer version, stated that Burchard sent the shorter version to his brother Dominican *addita tabula geographica*.[124] His evidence for this is a quotation, apparently the words of Burchard himself (Wrocław MS I. F.221. fo. 232^{v}), *que omnia, ut melius possint ymaginari, mitto uobis simul pellem, in qua omnia ad oculum figurantur* ('that all these things might be better visualized, I am sending to you a parchment in which everything is pictured for the eye'). Harvey[125] points out that 'Laurent writes as if the reference to the map occurs in all copies of the short version of Burchard's text, but it is in neither Canisius' edition nor the text of 1880'—which Neumann noted as based on Mellicensis MS H.17, Uppsala MS 14, and Vienna MSS 509 (Wa) and 4739 (Wb)—'and it is in fact to be found in one, and only one, of the three manuscripts of the short version that he saw in the university library at Wrocław (Breslau)' (Biblioteka Uniwersytecka MS I. F. 221, fo. 232^{v}) 'as well as in a manuscript at Munich' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 569, fos. 184^{r}–210^{v}). As the Wrocław manuscript is dated 1407, and the Munich manuscript is put by Käppeli among those of the fifteenth century, the evidence for the authenticity of the debated words is hardly secure. If Burchard did draw a map to accompany his text, its location, if it still exists, is unknown.

Carte Nautiche, Geografiche E Topografiche 4, Archivio Di Stato, Florence

However, there do survive maps from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century which seem to depend on Burchard's work, at least on his written text and possibly on an accompanying map. The first, preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Florence (Carte nautiche, geografiche e topografiche 4), has been best known until recently from Röhricht's typeset representation of it,[126] but has recently been given a more detailed treatment by Harvey.[127] Harvey sees it as 'a copy of an existing map, now lost',[128] 'based on very considerable local knowledge',[129] and identifies it as 'the earliest large Burchard map'.[130] 'It is only when we look at the longer notes that the map's debt to Burchard becomes clear. They are not direct quotations from Burchard, but paraphrases that so closely echo Burchard's words that we are left in no doubt of their origin' (Harvey cites the map's notes on *fons Phiala* and *Silo*). 'Nearly all the place-names on the map are mentioned by Burchard and nearly all the longer inscriptions derive from his text.' Harvey considers the possibility that this was a version of the map that Burchard sent to Magdeburg,[131] and thinks 'probably not', noting that it does not fully illustrate Burchard's text, as it omits everything north of Sidon.[132] There remain, however, similarities between this map and Burchard's text, especially with reference to the Transjordanian region, and it is possible that this map might be the lost first draft of Vesconte's map.[133]

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[121] Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*.
[122] Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*.
[123] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*.
[124] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 10.
[125] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 99.

Map By Pietro Vesconte and Marino Sanudo, Venice, 1321

The second map dependent on Burchard's work is the grid map, existing in ten versions, the earliest dated 1320, seven of which were drawn in Venice and two, or three, in Naples, attributed to the Genoan cartographer Pietro Vesconte, who worked in Venice.[134] This map was drawn to accompany Marino Sanudo's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conseruatione*, a book presented to the Pope in 1321 as part of a campaign for a new crusade to the Holy Land, and since then printed only once, at Hanau.[135] Harvey remarks:

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[126] Röhricht, 'Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert', pp. 8–11, with 'I. Karte Palästina's c. 1300'.

[127] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 94–106, and ill. 48.

[128] Ibid. p. 102.

[129] Ibid. p. 103.

[130] Ibid. pp. 94–106.

[131] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 10.

[132] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 103–4.

[133] Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan*, p. 14.

[134] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 107–27, and ills. 54–64.

[135] Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, map between pp. 282 and 285; the map is reproduced in Aubrey Stewart's translation of Marino Sanudo's *Secrets for True Crusaders*, after p. 73.

> Of the map's source there is no doubt: it is a reduced version of the large Burchard map [from the Florentine city archive]. It covers exactly the same area: with the coast at the bottom it extends to Damascus on the north, to the mountains of Gilead and Petra on the east and to the end of the Dead Sea on the south. The basically straight coastline has a similar pattern of indentations, the river system is the same—the Jordan follows the same winding course—and so for the most part are the mountain ranges, so that even some of their detailed shapes have survived the processes of copying. The tribes are named (except on map B) and their boundaries are shown. There are as many place-names as on our earliest Burchard map in the Archivio di Stato at Florence and, while the scriptural and other notes paraphrased from Burchard's text have been severely pruned, a significant number appear on all but map B.[136]

For this map's dependency on Burchard, see also Röhricht.[137] Bartlett[138] notes that the Vesconte map repeats the geographical inaccuracies of the Florentine map, especially in the Transjordan. Harvey[139] argues, however, that this map did not derive directly from the Florentine archive copy, for it does not repeat the mistakes of that map, especially the misplacing of tribal names, but comes from a better copy of the large Archivio di Stato map.

Also dependent on Burchard's work is the map held by the Morgan Library and Museum in New York (MS M.877, purchased in 1956).[140] This map has close similarities with the map from the Archivio di Stato at Florence, and was probably drawn in Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century; Harvey[141] argues that 'both must derive, perhaps at several removes, from the same copy of the large Burchard map, a copy that differed from that used for the grid maps'. The content of this map is close to that of the map preserved at Florence, and it uses the same grid as the Vesconte map, though neither towns nor physical features coincide exactly with their locations on the grid maps, which perhaps indicates the use of different exemplars.[142]

Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 389

The Bodleian Library in Oxford preserves another map showing much the same outlines, the same place names, and the same inscriptions, but with different proportions: the map has been compressed from east to west and rather more from north to south, and it lacks the grid. It is quite clear that this map has its roots in the Burchard text;[143] Harvey[144] argues that it stems from the map that lay behind the grid maps (see above). This particular copy probably derives from late fourteenth-century England. Since the Roxburghe Club's publication (1857) of the itineraries of William Wey[145] and of the facsimile of the Douce map,[146] the map has been generally linked with William Wey and his travels in 1457–8 and 1462,[147] but the hand and style of the map are much earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century, and the attribution to Wey himself must be rejected.[148] Harvey points out[149] that the place names in Wey's lists seem close to those on the Douce map but that Wey's lists add local names from the Jerusalem region and from the regions of the Red Sea, Cairo, and the Nile; Wey was therefore probably using a much older map as the basis of his lists, but extending their topographical content from his own travels.

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[136] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 114.

[137] Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas', pp. 92–4.

[138] Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan*, p. 18.

[139] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 114

[140] See ibid., ill. 65 (facing p. 128).

[141] Ibid., p. 130.

[142] Ibid., pp. 131, 132–3, ill. 67.

Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 75. 56, Fos. 97^v–98^r

A fourteenth-century copy of the longer version of Burchard's *Descriptio* preserved in Florence contains at its centre a map of the Holy Land extending over the double-page spread (fos. 97^v–98^r). Röhricht published a typeset version of it, designating it F4; Harvey identifies this as 'the small Burchard map', and gives a colour reproduction.[150] The map shows the Mediterranean coast on the left-hand side and along the bottom, and the Red Sea on the right-hand side; the Sea of Galilee is prominent in the upper centre of the left-hand page, and, apparently balancing it, Jerusalem in the upper centre of the right-hand page, these perhaps being the two most important foci of the author's intention. East is at the top, with the River Jordan flowing from Lebanon in the north via the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea in the top right corner. But the rectangular version of the Mediterranean coast has forced Damascus into the mid-left edge of the map, and northern Israel and the sources of the Jordan into the bottom left-hand corner of the map, and the central hill-country of Israel into a position between Caesarea and Joppa in the right-hand lower section of the map. Most of the names and descriptive text on this map derive from Burchard's longer version, not the shorter version (with which Burchard's presumed original is associated), with further material from Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Onomastikon*, the *Liber locorum*.[151] Harvey notes that many of the names have been miscopied and misplaced, commenting that it will be hard to understand the process that led to this map's 'extraordinary state of confusion' without much more research into the manuscript evidence of Burchard's texts.[152] This map seems at some remove from the presumed original, and hardly offers the best evidence for recreating Burchard's map or his personal picture of the Holy Land.

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[143] Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan*, pp. 24–5.

[144] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 138.

[145] Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, ed. Bandinel.

[146] Wey, *Map of the Holy Land*.

[147] See Röhricht, 'Die Palästinakarte des William Wey', 188–93, pl. viii, ix; Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Bible Lands*, pp. 50–2.

[148] See Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 135–6.

[149] Ibid. pp. 138–9.

[150] Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas', pp. 104–5, Tafel 7; Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 142–3 and ill. 71.

Three Later Maps

Harvey notes three later maps with Burchard connections, but at a much further remove from Burchard himself: (1) the well-known picture map (printed from two separate woodblocks) which immediately precedes the first printed copy of Burchard's longer text in *Rudimentum Nouitiorum*;[153] (2) the typeset map in *Prologus Arminensis in mappam Terresancte, templi domini, ac sancte ciuitatis Hierusalem* (Lübeck, 1478), where the map (fos. (11)^{v}–(12)^{r}) is associated with a description of Palestine based on Burchard's;[154] and (3) a manuscript map illustrating a sixteenth-century manuscript of Burchard's longer text.[155] Harvey points out[156] that these three maps have the same basic shape as the fourteenth-century map described above, making a double-page opening, presenting the Mediterranean coast on the left (northern) and bottom (western) edges of the map, and the Red Sea on the right (eastern) edge; but these three maps show Damascus nearer the top than the lower left corner.

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[151] Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas', pp. 104–5.

[152] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 146.

[153] Lübeck, 1475, fos. 162^{v}–163^{r}; see Campbell, *Earliest Printed Maps*, pp. 144–5 and fig. 26; Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 146–7, ill. 74.

[154] See *Anonymi Lubicensis, ut videtur Hermanni Sinae*; Campbell, *Earliest Printed Maps*, p. 121; Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan*, pp. 28–9; Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 147.

[155] Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Codex geographicus 59, pp. 70–1; see *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 6, no. 2, 'Apographum Hamburgense, (h.)'; Laurent notes 'paginis 70 et 71 tabula geographica ornatum est'. See Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 152–3, ill. 76.

[156] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 146.

Burchard's Original Map?

All these maps are of interest to the student of Burchard's original work, and it is possible that other manuscript maps survive in some of the as yet unedited manuscripts known to exist in various libraries. But for the present there is little doubt that we come closest to Burchard's work in (1) the map from the Archivio di Stato at Florence, possibly a copy of a map now lost which was a version of the map that Burchard might have sent to his brethren in Magdeburg; in (2) Vesconte's grid map, itself reduced from a better copy of the map that Burchard might have sent to Magdeburg; in (3) the fourteenth-century Italian map held by the Morgan Library and Museum, which Harvey suggests derives, with the map from the Archivio di Stato at Florence, 'perhaps at several removes, from the same copy of the large Burchard map, a copy that differed from that used for the grid maps';[157] and in (4) the map in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce MS 389), which comes from the tradition which also produced the grid maps. This gives us, essentially, two basic textual traditions from the early fourteenth century reaching back to the putative Burchard original, or at least drawing on the Burchard text of the longer version of his work.

It is important to note that both these two map traditions seem to be based on the longer, not the shorter, text of Burchard's *Descriptio*. As our comparison of the longer and the shorter texts made clear, the shorter text names fewer places and covers less ground than the longer text; in particular, the shorter text lacks the longer text's description of the regions east of the Jordan valley, which are a prominent feature of the maps. In central Cisjordan the shorter text lacks a number of places found on the maps—for example, Haifa, Pilgrims' Castle, Caesarea, Dor, Arsur, Antipatris, Michmethath/Chaco, Sharon, Aphek, Jenin, Libnah, Michmash, Gibeah of Saul, Rama, Emon, Phaselis, Beth-hoglah—and further south it lacks Beth-shemesh, Modein, Gath, Makkedah, Ekron, Ramla, Joppa (Jaffa), Jamnia (Yavneh), Azotus (Ashdod), Ascalon, Mount Carmel, Debir/Kiriath-sepher, Nob, and others. (Lachish, Diospolis/Lydda, Kiriath-jearim, Beth-zur appear only in the list of Jerusalem's gates, which may have been an incorporation into Burchard's original work.) The map tradition, then, seems to be drawn from the longer version of Burchard's work.

It is important to observe how much these maps differ from their twelfth-century predecessors (at least those known to us) and show an advance on them, just as the scholarly observation incorporated in Burchard's *Descriptio* shows an advance on that of his literary predecessors. The development can be seen immediately from a comparison of the twelfth-century map from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (Ashburnham Libri manuscript 1882)[158] and the 'earliest large Burchard map' from the Archivio di Stato in Florence described above. The latter map contains some 212 place names; the former map eighty-nine, of which sixty-five appear to be held in common. The Burchard map thus introduces about 150 extra names, especially along the Mediterranean coast, in the south of Judah, and in Transjordan (where the place names given by the twelfth-century map, including Krak and Monreal, and the biblical Mount Nebo and Mount Hor, are notably absent). The Burchard map reverses the two sources of the Jordan, Dan and Jor, introduces and locates clearly the little hill of Hermon, locates the site of Jeroboam's golden calf at a Dan near Shechem (as in Burchard's text), and sets Azotus (Ashdod) south of Joppa (not north as on the earlier map). The Burchard map adds enormously to the presentation of the Transjordanian region; though it misplaces the Arnon north of the Dead Sea, nevertheless, following the evidence of the Old Testament, it locates Mount Seir in three different places. This map draws on Burchard's text both for its place names and for the longer descriptive notes interspersed across the map. It is therefore clear that the *Descriptio* on which this map and its successors draw had an important effect on the development of the cartography of the Holy Land.

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[157] Ibid. p. 130.

The starting point for the reconstruction of the map of the Holy Land as envisaged and perhaps actually drawn by Burchard is the text of the *Descriptio* itself. If one compares the information in the text with the map from the Florence archive, it soon becomes clear that, though the map does not show the Lebanese coastline north of Sidon, along the coast to the south, through Galilee and the central hill country, and in Transjordan from north to south, map and text relate closely. The map omits the castles of Montfort, Judin (Jiddin), Kings' Castle, and Faba, which is perhaps not surprising after the fall of Acre in 1291, and a few place names are absent—notably Dothan, Ruma, Michmash, Dok, and Anathoth. The map clarifies Burchard's location of Mounts Bethel (Mount Ebal) and Dan (facing Ebal; but not identified with Mount Gerizim) near Shechem. But south and west of Jerusalem there are a number of slightly surprising inconsistencies. Burchard identifies Caesarea Palaestine with Dor, but the map distinguishes Dor from Caesarea, locating it south of Caesarea and identifying it with Antipatris. Burchard identifies Assur with Antipatris. Burchard locates Gath 4 leagues south of Joppa, which might suggest an identification with Thet on the map; but the map identifies Thet with Iblis. Burchard locates Beth-shemesh of Judah 2 leagues south of Gath, which again would suggest that Gath = Thet. The map, however, sets Gath 2 leagues south of Beth-shemesh. Does the problem lie with the transmission of Burchard's text, or with the mapmaker's reading or interpretation of Burchard? Burchard locates Azekah near Makkedah between Libnah and Gibeon, and Socoh 3 leagues east of it, near Nobe, but Nobe is marked south of Makkedah, and Azekah and Socoh do not appear on the map at all. Burchard locates the house of Zechariah one and a half leagues from Emmaus, and Beth-zur one and a half leagues from the house of Zechariah, but the map does not show the house of Zechariah, and places Beth-zur well to the south near Masada. Burchard in fact locates Masada 3 leagues south of En-gedi, but the map appears to set Masada over half way up the western shore of the Dead Sea. Burchard's text clearly locates Zoar (Segor) on the west side of the Dead Sea, but the map locates it half way down the east coast. The map ignores Herodium, the wilderness of Berakah, Ziph, and the tomb of St Chariton, while adding a *Bethleem Mambre*, an *Alba spectacula*, and a *torrens Besor* not found in Burchard's text. These differences in the presentation of the southern half of the Holy Land are not all easily explained, but the map-maker does not seem to have followed Burchard's text as closely as he did in the northern half. This may also be not unconnected with the fact that, as we have seen already, Burchard's understanding of the relative locations of places in the south and south-west of the land, and the present sequence of the final sections of the *Descriptio*, are both somewhat confused.

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[158] See the typeset version in Röhricht, 'Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7.–16. Jahrhundert, vi', Tafel v, and the more detailed study with coloured reproduction and corrections in Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 31–9.

On balance, it seems likely that the map from the Archivio di Stato in Florence is indeed the most closely related to the contents of Burchard's *Descriptio*. Whether it derives, directly or indirectly, from an original map drawn by Burchard to accompany his *Descriptio* is uncertain. The answer may lie, as Harvey suggests,[159] in careful exploration of the manifold textual evidence for the *Descriptio* through the libraries of Europe and beyond.

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[159] Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, p. 156.

CHURCHES VISITED BY BURCHARD

Burchard frequently makes clear that he has visited and seen various places, buildings, or monuments in person. This applies especially to churches (*ecclesiae*), at some of which he says he has said mass, and to chapels (*capellae*) marking some biblical person or event. In this section we shall note which churches Burchard visited, and compare his descriptions with the archaeological evidence available.

Tyre

The first church Burchard mentions is that of Tyre (12; II. 5); he says that he was once there for ten days, and that on many other occasions he had examined it as carefully as possible. The Latin church, replacing the former Byzantine cathedral church of St Mary, was built on a new site with no obvious predecessor in the mid-twelfth century, and was destroyed by the Mamluks in 1291; Burchard therefore saw it in its final years. It was known as the Cathedral of the Holy Cross; he refers to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He notes that Origen lay there entombed in the wall, and that he had seen his monumental inscription (*Origenes ibidem in ecclesia sancti sepulchri requiescit in muro conclusus. Cuius titulum ibidem uidi*) and comments on the marvellous sight of its columns of marble and other stones. This latter observation appears to be confirmed by the comments of G. Mariti in 1769 and C. F. de Volney in 1787, who refer to columns of red and grey granite (Mariti) and red granite (Volney).[160] However, the reference to Origen's tomb is curious if Burchard is referring to the Crusader cathedral, which was not built above the earlier Byzantine building; the unlikely connection of Origen's tomb with Tyre appears to derive from Jerome (*De uiris illustribus* liv).[161] Where exactly did Burchard see Origen's tomb, or whose tomb did he see? It would be interesting to know exactly what words he read in the *titulum*. It is also curious that Burchard refers to the church of the Holy Sepulchre if the cathedral was named for the Holy Cross (the Sepulchre and Calvary were two distinct places). The earlier cathedral was dedicated to St Mary, and not named after the Holy Sepulchre.[162]

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[160] Mariti, *Travels through Cyprus, Syria and Palestine* (English trans. of *Viaggi per l'isola di Chypro e per la Soria e Palestina fatti dall'anno MDCCLX al MDCCLXVIII*, Lucca, 1769–71), i. 374; Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, ii. 196; Robinson and Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, iii. 398–9.

[161] Jerome, *Liber de viris illustribus* liv, PL xxiii. 663–8.

[162] See Pringle, *Churches*, iv. 182–204, 216–17.

Burchard says nothing about churches on the coast north of Tyre (apart from mentioning two chapels, at Sarepta (**13**; II. 9) in honour of Elijah, and before the east gate at Sidon (**14**; II. 11) in honour of the Canaanite woman) until Tartus, over 70 miles north of Beirut, where he notes that St Peter founded the first church, which still existed and in which Burchard celebrated mass (**20**; II. 28). Pritchard[163] notes the discovery of a Byzantine tetraconch church, 17.5 × 19.5 m, possibly sixth-century, near the quay; but there is no evidence for a predecessor or a successor to this church.

Nazareth

At Nazareth (**40**; VI. 7) Burchard mentions two churches, as had Arculf before him.[164] The first is the place where Gabriel made his announcement to the Virgin Mary (Luke 1: 28); Burchard says that he said many masses there. He notes three altars in a chapel cut out of the rock, and says that the church was formerly a synagogue in which Jesus preached on the text from Isaiah (Isa. 60: 1). From the fourth century until perhaps the ninth, this church was a three-aisled Byzantine basilica. After the Crusaders' conquest in 1099, according to William of Tyre, Tancred rebuilt churches at Nazareth, Tiberias, and Mount Tabor. The Abbot Daniel (1106–8)[165] describes it as having a cave and three altars (as does Burchard). Sometime in the twelfth century a new, larger church was built; this was perhaps the church damaged by earthquake in 1170. Theoderic's description of 1172 shows some changes. This church seems to have survived Saladin's capture of Nazareth in 1187 (though many Christians were slaughtered), but was destroyed in 1263 by Baybars's troops. Burchard therefore makes no mention of this building; what he saw and reported was the cave chapel with its three altars, to which pilgrims were allowed access.

The second church, 'at the boundary of the city', is the church of St Gabriel, a spring (*fons*) from which the boy Jesus drew water. This is presumably to be identified with the Orthodox church and spring just over half a kilometre north-east (i.e. at the then city boundary) of the

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[163] Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta*, pp. 68–70.

[164] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, p. 109; Adamnán, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Bieler, pp. 219–20.

[165] For the Abbot Daniel's observations, see 'The life and journey of Daniel, abbot of the Russian land', trans. W. F. Ryan, in Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, pp. 120–71.

Church of the Annunciation. It is first mentioned by the Abbot Daniel in 1106–8; it fell into decay from the fourteenth century; the present church was built in 1750.[166]

Mount Tabor

Two *leucae* east of Nazareth Burchard locates Mount Tabor (41; VI. 9), *ubi hodie ostenduntur ruinae trium tabernaculorum siue claustrorum secundum desiderium Petri constructorum* ('where today are shown the ruins of three tabernacles or cloisters built according to Peter's wish'). A Byzantine church with nave, transepts, and apse occupied the south-east corner of the mount's plateau from the fifth century. Inevitably, given the story of the Transfiguration in which Jesus was flanked by Moses and Elijah, the reference to three churches developed; the Piacenza Pilgrim in 570 saw three basilicas, and Arculf in the late seventh century a great monastery and three handsome churches, surrounded by a stone wall. Willibald, however, in 724 reports only a monastery and a single church, dedicated to the Saviour, to Moses and Elijah. Saewulf in 1101–3 reports three ancient monasteries, and the Abbot Daniel in 1106–8 reports three churches.[167] Overlying the Byzantine church are the remains of a twelfth-century Romanesque three-aisled basilica with three apses, built over a large crypt. Surrounding it were monastic buildings (which had become Benedictine in the early twelfth century). Saladin attacked the site in 1187, and the Muslims fortified the mount from 1212–18 with a wall, thirteen towers, and a ditch. The church itself survived this, but was destroyed by Baybars in 1263. Burchard's description from two decades later is not too inaccurate; he apparently saw the ruins of three apsidic chapels (calling them 'tabernacles' after the gospel story), cloisters from the monastery, and defence towers (*turres*); the other ruins he interpreted as 'palaces' and 'royal buildings' (41; VI. 9: *regalium edificiarum*; alternative reading, 'monastic buildings'). It seems likely from the archaeological evidence that Willibald was right to speak of one church. It probably had three apses, interpreted as the three tabernacles dedicated to the Saviour, to Moses, and to Elijah.[168]

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[166] On the churches at Nazareth see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 116–50; Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, pp. 423–7; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 343–7.

[167] For the Piacenza Pilgrim see Antonius Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, ed. Geyer, p. 131; for Arculf, see Adamnán, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Bieler, 219–20; for Willibald, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, p. 109; for Saewulf, see *Peregrinationes tres*, ed. Huygens, p. 74; for Daniel, see Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, p. 67.

[168] See Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 63–85; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 412–15; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 347–9.

Sebaste/Samaria

At Sebaste, formerly Samaria, Burchard reports two churches (48; VII. 17), both in honour of John the Baptist. The first is the main church, the cathedral, which the Saracens converted into a mosque. This is located immediately outside the Roman walls (*in latere montis sita in descensu*) in the ancient cemetery (Christian tradition said that Elisha, Obadiah (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 18: 3) and John the Baptist were buried here) on the east side of the city. The Byzantine church is represented in an eighth-century mosaic at St Stephen's Church, Umm Rasas, in Jordan[169] but no written descriptions of it survive. The twelfth-century Crusader cathedral had three apses and seven rib-vaulted bays, and a tomb for John the Baptist; Theoderic (1172) said he was buried in the crypt between Elisha and Obadiah; John Phocas (1186) locates the tomb, of white marble, apparently beneath the church, with relics of the Baptist displayed in the church above.[170]

Burchard notes that the Baptist was buried between Elisha and Obadiah, in a marble tomb, saying nothing of the crypt, but adding that the tomb was like that of the Holy Sepulchre (but in what regard?). However, the church was converted into a mosque in the aftermath of 1187, a century before Burchard, who did not see the church in Christian use and comments only on the Muslim respect for John the Baptist.[171]

The second church at Sebaste Burchard describes as *in supercilio montis ubi erat palatium regis*. This church lies just south of and below the acropolis in the centre of the Roman city. A Byzantine sixth-century square church, probably destroyed under al-Hakim's rule (1009–14), preceded the eleventh-century rebuilding with its narthex, four granite columns supporting the vault, and crypt. The Byzantine church was linked with a monastery, and Burchard records that he was entertained and fed by Greeks and Christian monks who showed him the place where John the Baptist was imprisoned and beheaded by Herod; but he rejects this story as *friuolum* on the grounds that the literary evidence was against it, that Herod the tetrarch had no jurisdiction here, and that John's head was buried in Jerusalem. It is interesting that though Burchard confesses himself deeply impressed by the walls, towers, palaces, and marble columns of the city, he has nothing to say about the architecture or details of the two churches.

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[169] Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, pp. 37–8, 224.

[170] See Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 286.

[171] See ibid. pp. 283–97, no. 225; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 461–2; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, p. 362.

The explanation must lie at least partly in the facts that the first church was now a mosque and the second under Greek control.[172]

Bethany

The next main church mentioned by Burchard is at Bethany (62; VII. 59), the *castellum* (village) of Martha and Mary. Burchard notes Martha's house, in his day a church built in their honour—*ecclesia in honore ipsarum facta*; the feminine plural *ipsarum* suggests Martha and Mary. Not far from the church is the tomb of Lazarus, where a marble chapel has been built, with a marble-covered monument, *in quo etiam ego descendi*. The *ecclesia* Burchard refers to was the 'east church'; this began life as a sixth-century Byzantine church of the domed cross-in-square type dedicated to Lazarus, but was remodelled in the twelfth century and dedicated to Saints Mary and Martha. Theoderic in 1172, just before Saladin, speaks of a double church at Bethany, one (the west church) glorified by the body of Lazarus and the other (the east church) by those of his sisters, Mary and Martha. Burchard's marble *capella* with marble monument below was the west church, a three-aisled basilica newly built in the twelfth century above the tomb of Lazarus, into which Burchard says he descended. Presumably Arculf was referring to a predecessor of this church when he speaks *c.*780 of 'a church built over the cave where our Lord raised Lazarus'. Burchard does seem to reflect accurately the existence of the two sites.[173]

Jerusalem

Inside the walls of Jerusalem Burchard describes three churches: the church of St Anne (*ecclesia sanctae Annae*), the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*ecclesia sancti sepulchri*), and connected to it Golgotha (*Galgathana ecclesia*). Burchard locates St Anne's church (70; VIII. 1) on the right as one enters the Valley Gate (Porta Vallis or Porta Gregis) as the site of the *piscina grandis* or *piscina interior* (in fact the pool lies immediately west of the church). Burchard says much about the pool, but nothing at all about the church itself, though it would have been of interest to pilgrims as the traditional site of the home of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary. A church was built at the pool in the fifth century dedicated to St Mary; it appears on the sixth-century Madeba map. It was destroyed in 614 by the Persians, rebuilt by the

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[172] See Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 297–301, no. 226; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 461; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 360–1.

[173] See Pringle, *Churches*, i. 122–37; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 152–4; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 236–8.

Patriarch Modestus (?630),[174] but probably suffered under al-Hakim in the early eleventh century, though Saewulf mentions a church of St Mary by the five porticoes in the early twelfth century. In that century the Crusaders built the present Romanesque church near the earlier St Mary's church, sometime before 1165 when John of Würzburg saw it, but after Saladin's conquest in 1187 it became a Muslim school. It may have been returned to Christian control between 1229 and 1244, but thereafter it was probably closed to Christians, and this may explain Burchard's very brief reference.[175]

Burchard naturally says much more about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha (76–9; VIII. 2). The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is round, the diameter between its columns is 73 feet, and above the central sepulchre is a round aperture (*apertura rotunda*) to the open air above. Burchard describes the central sepulchre at length; it is set within a rocky cave 8 feet long by 8 feet wide, bare rock inside and cased with marble outside. There is an entrance chamber, also 8 feet square, with part of the original rolling stone against the doorway to the inner cave, and then the inner tomb chamber itself, lit by nine lamps, with the tomb of grey marble against the north wall.

Burchard saw the Church of the Holy Sepulchre much as restored and rededicated by the Crusaders in 1149, with the same overall shape as is visible today. The present marble structure of the sepulchre is approximately 8 metres × 5.5 metres, with two chambers; the first, outer, one is 3.4 × 3 metres, and the second, inner, one measures 2 × 1.8 metres. The tomb's marble slab, cracked in 1244, lies against the north wall. Burchard has the diameter between the pillars approximately correct, but the twelfth-century dome's aperture to the sky was lost in the twentieth century.

In the mid-twelfth century the Crusaders removed the eleventh-century apse and built a new Romanesque transept and choir eastwards from the rotunda over the earlier courtyard. Burchard called this the *ecclesia Golgathana*, though Golgotha itself lay just south of the central aisle of the church, the present Greek *katholikon*. Burchard notes that this church was oblong, and joined the choir of the Holy Sepulchre (the arch of the apse became the entrance to the new nave), but lay at a lower level, and that both the Holy Sepulchre and the *ecclesia Golgathana* were now under the same roof. Burchard notes that Calvary is 70 feet from the sepulchre (this seems an underestimate), and 18 feet above the paved floor of the church. At Calvary he describes what is presumably the present Greek chapel of the Raising of the Cross, where the slot cut for the cross is shown; Burchard states that it extends 18 feet down to the pavement below. He tells us that the chapel was walled and paved with marble, and decorated with gold mosaic, and that here he said a mass of the Passion and read the Passion according to St John.

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[174] Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City*, pp. 174, 204.

[175] For the history of the church see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 142–56; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 29–33; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, p. 139.

Twenty-four feet east of Calvary Burchard notes an altar above the remains of the pillar at which Jesus was scourged. This is presumably the modern Greek Chapel of the Derision, with the Column of Derision. Ten feet further east Burchard notes forty-eight steps down to the chapel where Helena found the cross. Today one descends twenty-nine steps into the Chapel of St Helena, and a further twenty-three steps from its south-east corner into the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross. The Chapel of St Helena, with its pointed vaults and dome, and the lower Chapel date from the twelfth century, after an eleventh-century clearance of the post-Constantinian fill; presumably Burchard is conflating the two sets of steps to reach what for him was the more important chapel. There is some uncertainty here; Theoderic in 1172 speaks of 'thirty steps and more' down to the Chapel of St Helena, and a further 'fifteen or rather more' to the cave below (Pringle's plan[176] shows twenty-eight steps down to the Chapel of St Helena and a further twenty-three to the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross). Burchard's archaeological instincts appear momentarily as he suggests that this area was originally one of the city's ditches, filled in by refuse; his instinct was sound, but the fill was of Iron Age quarries, later used by Hadrian and Constantine for cisterns.[177]

Outside the city walls, Burchard describes the Tomb of the Virgin Mary and the Gethsemane church in the Valley of Josaphat (the Kidron Valley) (**72**; VIII.1), and the Chapel of the Ascension and the Church of the Paternoster on the Mount of Olives (**86**; VIII. 6). The church over the Tomb of Mary described by Burchard had two predecessors, a church probably built by Theodosius I (379–95), but destroyed by the Persians in 614, and its successor, first described by Arculf, which lasted until the twelfth century. This church was on two levels, with the rock-cut tomb of Mary in the lower level. In the early twelfth century the upper church was rebuilt—the portal remains—and is mentioned by al-Idrisi in 1154 and Theoderic in 1172, but it was destroyed after 1187. The earlier crypt remained as a place of pilgrimage. A wide Crusader stairway of forty-seven steps (Theoderic says 'more than forty steps', Burchard believes (*credo*) sixty) leads from the south past the tomb of Queen Melisande (who died in 1161), dropping 10.6 metres to the floor of the church, which runs west–east at a right angle to the stairway, with the tomb of Mary before the eastern apse. Burchard's description is exact: the church stood at the foot of the Mount of Olives, not quite in the valley bottom but underground with a road running over it. One entered through a chapel, and descended through sixty steps to the sepulchre *in medio chori contra altare marmoreum et mirifice decoratum*. The church was damp because the brook Kidron ran beneath and when it flooded it filled the church. The underground church was lit by east windows (in the apse) looking up to the Mount of Olives.[178]

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[176] Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 46, plan 6.

[177] For the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in detail, see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 6–72; for less detailed but scholarly and helpful descriptions see Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 49–62; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 181–95; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 166–80.

Some fifty feet (*ut ego mensuraui*) to the east Burchard records (73; VIII. 1) the *hostium alterius ecclesie que uocatur Gethsemane, ubi erat hortus... adherens cuidam rupi concaue de monte dependenti* ('the door of another church, called the Gethsemane church; here was the garden... close by a hollow rock overhanging from the mountain'). The cave is mentioned from the fourth century onwards; Theoderic in 1172 refers to 'a church of no small size called Gethsemane' with a subterranean grotto.[179] Unfortunately Burchard gives no description of the church building itself, of which no physical traces remain.[180]

On the top of the Mount of Olives Burchard describes the Chapel of the Ascension (*ecclesia in loco unde dominus ascendit*) (86; VIII. 6). The first church on the site was built in the late fourth century. It was destroyed by the Persians in 614; Arculf (680) describes its successor as large and round, with three vaulted porticoes around it, the inner apartment being unvaulted and open to the air, with the Lord's last footprints visible in the dust below. Saewulf (1102–3) speaks of a 'a little tower' with an altar inside, surrounded by a wall; Abbot Daniel (1106–8) describes a mound surrounded by arches supporting a marble-slabbed court, in the centre of which was a small round chapel (presumably Saewulf's 'little tower') containing the holy stone with its footprint open to the sky. Theoderic in 1172 describes a similar but improved building to which one ascends by twenty steps; in its midst stands a round structure (an aedicule) of Parian and blue marble, with an altar at its apex; beneath the altar is the stone on which the Lord stood to ascend. The whole was strongly fortified with walls and battlements. This is presumably the Crusaders' octagonal church restored (according to Pringle) in the 1140s–1150s.[181] Burchard has much less detail (perhaps because in his time the building was in Muslim hands); the place of ascent is in the midst of the church, with an opening above it; the feet-imprinted stone blocks the east door. Adjoining the church on the south side is a chapel containing Pelagia's burial cave.[182]

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[178] See Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 287–306; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 148–50; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 263–4; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 234–5.

[179] See Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land*, ed. Musto, p. 39.

[180] See Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 98–103.

Lastly, Burchard mentions (**86**; VIII. 6) another church on the Mount of Olives, 'less than a stone's throw to the south' of the Chapel of the Ascension, 'the House of Bread' ('domus panis'), where Jesus taught the disciples the Lord's Prayer (now 'The Church of the Paternoster' or 'Eleona'). Burchard says nothing at all about the building. The site seems to have begun as a cave, over which a church was built in the fourth century; from the fourth to sixth centuries it was known as the Church of the Disciples. Destroyed in 614, then rebuilt and mentioned by Arculf, it was in ruins by the Crusader period (probably the work of al-Hakim). Abbot Daniel refers to a great church above a cave (he was perhaps thinking of the now ruined Constantinian church), where Christ taught the disciples the Lord's Prayer. The Icelandic Sven Svendson refers to a poorly built church in 1152; in 1172 Theoderic refers to the church with its thirty steps into the grotto below. The church was perhaps damaged in 1187; at all events Burchard can do no more than mention it. It must have been of minor liturgical significance by Burchard's time.[183]

Joppa

After describing Jerusalem, Burchard turns his attention to the north-west (*inter boream et occidentem*). At Joppa (**89**; IX. 8), he notes that 'there is there today the *hospitium* (i.e. hospital of the Knights Hospitaller) of Peter, with a church built under the rocks next to the sea' (*in ea est hodie hospitium Petri ecclesia facta sub rupibus iuxta mare*). But by Burchard's time (*hodie*) Joppa was no longer under Crusader rule. The Crusaders had occupied Joppa in 1099, and had built a new

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[181] For Arculf, see Adamnán, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Bieler, p. 199; for Saewulf, see *Peregrinationes tres*, ed. Huygens, p. 70; for Daniel, see Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, p. 135; for Theoderich, see *Libellus de locis sanctis*, p. 174.

[182] See Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 72–88, no. 284; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 141–3; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 255–7; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 229–30.

[183] See Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 117–24, esp. pp. 117–20; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 143–4; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 230–1.

Latin church dedicated to St Peter (whose connections with Joppa are described in Acts 9: 36–43, 10: 6–9) north-east of the castle walls. John of Würzburg (1165) relates how the body of St James was laid within its walls. In 1168 the church became a cathedral. It survived various changes of fortune before it was destroyed with the town in 1268 by Baybars. The words of the text might suggest reference not to the (now ruined) cathedral by the castle but to a *hospitium* and church in the lower town by the sea, but archaeological evidence is not available.[184]

Bethlehem

Burchard describes the church at Bethlehem (91; IX. 10) more fully than any other, and it is clear that he visited it and treasured it. 'I have not seen or heard anyone else claim to have seen such a holy church as the Bethlehem church in the whole world' (*non uidi ego nec audiui alium, qui dixerit se uidisse ecclesiam tam deuotam toto orbe terrarum sicut est ecclesia Bethleemitana*). Steps lead from the choir of the church into the chapel below, marble-paved and mosaic-lined, where one can see a piece of the stone on which Christ was born and part of the rock-hewn manger where Christ lay. The church above was paved with marble of various colours, its walls adorned with paintings of the world's history from creation to final judgement, built with four rows of pillars remarkable for their size and number, with mosaics between pillars and roof. At the north door was a cloister containing Jerome's cell, bed and tomb, and the convent's store-rooms. A stone's throw to the east was the church of Saints Paula and Eustochium with their sepulchres.

In 325 the emperor Constantine built a basilica above caves believed to be Jesus' birthplace; at the end of that century Jerome settled in Bethlehem, where he translated the Bible into Latin. In 531 the emperor Justinian built a new, larger basilica above Constantine's, which survived the Persian invasion of 614, the Muslim conquest of 634, the Crusaders' conquest of 1099, the restoration of the church in the 1160s, the expulsion of Europeans after 1187, the Khwarismian Turk raid of 1244, and Baybars's destruction of the Latin monastery in 1263, and became the basilica which Burchard saw in the late thirteenth century and which stands today. Burchard saw the forty-four columns, most of which derive from the Constantinian church, and Justinian's capitals and architraves; he would have seen the twelfth-century paintings depicting the saints on them and the twelfth-century mosaics above, the gift of the Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80)

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[184] See Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 264–73.

(the north and south walls depicted the great councils of the early Church, the west wall the prophets, and the east wall the life of Christ). Burchard saw the cloisters of the twelfth-century Augustinian monastery on the north side; the traditional cell of Jerome lies in a cave below, with the tomb of Saints Paula and Eustochium. Jerome attended their funeral and says they were buried in the crypt; Burchard, however, states (93) that their tombs were in a church dedicated to them a stone's throw to the east.[185]

Hebron

The last church described by Burchard is at new Hebron (*Hebron, nova edificata*) (96; IX. 23). New Hebron is probably to be identified with the village described by Eusebius, distinct from the Early Bronze-Iron Age, Old Testament Hebron, at Jabal ar-Rumaidah. Burchard describes a double cave, surrounded by a strong fortress incorporating stones measuring 26, 28, and 30 feet; within this was a cathedral church. The caves were identified with the biblical cave of Machpelah, the burial place of Sarah and her husband Abraham (Gen. 23: 19; 25: 9–10). The site, now known as the Tombs of the Patriarchs, is of unknown antiquity, but the surrounding walls with their huge stones, credited by Burchard to the Saracens, were undoubtedly built by Herod the Great (the site's proportions perhaps related to that of the temple court at Jerusalem), as were the six monuments in honour of the patriarchs, identified by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333 as for Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their wives Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. A Christian basilica there 'with four porticoes and no roof over the central court' is evidenced for the sixth century by the Piacenza Pilgrim; the church was seen in the seventh century by Arculf, who listed the six monuments, and another separate tomb nearby for Adam.[186] A mosque was built within the walls in the ninth or tenth century. The Crusaders captured and garrisoned the place in 1100; in 1119 they discovered a passage and cave tomb beneath the monuments, and subsequently replaced the mosque by a church, the cathedral later seen by Burchard. After 1187 Saladin converted the church into a mosque (*de ecclesia cathedrali Saraceni fecerunt mameriam*). Although Baybars prohibited Christian pilgrims in 1266, Burchard claims he visited the tombs and stayed there for one night; but he comments only on the existence of the caves and the cathedral (by then a mosque), and the huge stones of the Herodian walls. Burchard's description of the place is very limited; it was no longer a Christian site and he may not have been welcomed.[187]

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[185] See Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity*; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 137–56; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 232–7; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 380–2.

[186] For the Piacenza Pilgrim, see Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, p. 144; for Arculf, see Adamnán, *De locis sanctis*, pp. 206–22, at pp. 209–10.

After 1187 and Saladin's defeat of the Crusaders at the Horns of Hattin, much of the Holy Land was firmly in Muslim hands. Under the Ayyubids (1169–1250) Christians were allowed access to many pilgrimage sites even though their church buildings were closed or destroyed. Under the succeeding Mamluk dynasty (1250–90) Baybars I (1260–77) took many Crusader sites and castles in a relentless campaign against Western presence, and in 1291 the Crusaders were finally driven from their control base at Acre. Burchard therefore saw the Holy Land at a time when Western presence and power were diminishing, and this is reflected in his *Descriptio*. At Nazareth he can see only the cave chapel below the church destroyed in 1263. At Samaria the former cathedral had been converted into a mosque, and the Byzantine church and monastery were of the Greek, not Latin, tradition. He knows the churches at Bethany. In Jerusalem, he says nothing about St Anne's church, which was probably closed to Christians. He appears to have had full access to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and describes it well. Similarly he had access to the crypt of the Church of the Virgin Mary in the Kidron valley; the church above had been destroyed. He gives no description of the Gethsemane church. His description of the Chapel of the Ascension is limited, perhaps because the building was no longer in Christian hands. He mentions the church now called the Church of the Paternoster on the Mount of Olives, but can say nothing about it. He gives a full description of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and a very limited description of the former cathedral within the Tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron. In short, Burchard can give full eyewitness descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and of the crypts of Nazareth and the Church of the Virgin Mary in the Kidron valley (he notes the number of Christian holy places now in crypts and explains the reason for them (37; VI. 1)), but can say little of those churches which had become mosques (the cathedral at Samaria, the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem, and the cathedral at Hebron).

Burchard describes a number of important places without reference to any church in them. The cathedral at Belenas had been destroyed in 1164; Tiberias, Sepphoris, Beisan (Beth-she'an), Nablûs, Jericho, Emmaus, and others came under Muslim control after 1187, Safad was taken by Baybars in 1266. Burchard says nothing of churches in these cities, though churches had existed under the Crusaders. It is surprising, perhaps, that he mentions no church or Christian presence in Acre, which was held by the Crusaders for a century from 1191 to 1291. There was a church there, dedicated to St Andrew, but though the city, which belonged to the king of Jerusalem, was vital as the chief supply port for the Crusader kingdom, and the focal point of travel and military command in the Holy Land (as Burchard's arrangement of his guide makes clear), it was not a place of pilgrimage associated with any important biblical activity—Burchard actually notes that it was never part of the Holy Land or possessed by the Israelites—and his comments on it are limited to its strong defences, the fertility of its land, the possessions of the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic Order, and its roomy harbour.

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[187] See Pringle, *Churches*, i. 223–39; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 311–14; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 393–8.

BURCHARD AND THE ORDERS

The evidence from Burchard's references to churches is consistent with that from his occasional references to the Knights Templar, the Knights Hospitaller, and the Teutonic Order. Burchard mentions, and would have seen, the strongly defended buildings of all three at Acre, though regrettably he gives no details; visible evidence exists in the Quarter of the Knights of the Hospital in the centre of the city of seven halls of the Hospitallers (for different nationalities), together with their cloister, refectory, kitchen, dormitory, and hospice. Nothing remains of the fortress of the Knights Templar on the southern shore of the city, eroded by the sea. The Knights left Acre in 1291; Burchard would have seen them in their final years. He mentions the Templars at the castle of Belfort (in modern Lebanon), at Safad, where the castle was granted to the Templars in 1168, taken by Saladin in 1188, restored to the Templars in 1240 but captured by Baybars in 1266 (an episode Burchard regards as shameful and injurious to the whole of Christendom (**25**; IV. 5)), and at the Pilgrims' Castle, 'the most strongly fortified of all the places ever held by the Christians', near Athlit, which the Templars built in 1218 and abandoned only in 1291 after the fall of Acre. He mentions the former presence of Templars at Michmash (which he confuses with Bira (**52**; VII. 28)). Burchard ignores, however, the presence of the Templars at many other places, including Sidon and Tortosa (Tartus), both occupied by Templars until 1291, and their previous occupation of the Templum Domini (the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem) and the castle of Faba (La Fève) near Aphek.

The picture is similar with the other two orders. Burchard mentions the Hospitallers at Acre (10; II. 1), at Krak des Chevaliers (18; II. 23), at Margat (20; II. 29), and their former presence at Belvoir (41; VI. 9), south of the Lake of Galilee (captured by Saladin in 1189 and dismantled in 1219); he also mentions, merely as a reference point, St John's Hospital in Jerusalem (71; VIII. 1), and he notes that the Hospitallers still pay an annual rent for their former holdings at Arsuf (100; X. 5). He mentions Bet Guvrin (Jibrin) (though identifying it with Beersheba) (21, 102 = III. 4, X. 19) without noting that it had belonged to the Hospitallers from 1134 to 1187 and from 1240 to 1244, and he ignores Belmont on the Jerusalem–Jaffa road (held by the Hospitallers between *c.*1150 and 1191) and other places. Similarly with the Teutonic Order, which developed out of the Hospitallers as an independent order in 1190, and had a house on the east side of Acre. Burchard mentions Montfort, east of Acre, which the Order bought in 1226 and held as their administrative centre until Baybars took it in 1271 (Burchard notes that it was in his time a ruin (21; III. 1)). He notes their castle Iudin (purchased in 1220), now ruined (25; IV. 1), and their Kings' Castle, also purchased in 1220, now in Saracen hands (25; IV. 2). He does not mention their church in Jerusalem, St Mary of the Germans, established in 1128 and destroyed in the late thirteenth century, though he was surely aware of it.

Burchard says comparatively little about these Orders and their possessions, but what he does say reveals that he is in fact quite well informed. He admires their great castles like Safad and Pilgrims' Castle, but shows little sympathy for the Knights themselves or interest in their work, which makes one wonder about his relationship with them. Indeed, one wonders about Burchard's relationship with other churchmen. At Samaria he is happy to be well received by monks of the Greek tradition. In his final chapter (111–16; XIII), *De habitatoribus terrae sanctae*, he shows wide acquaintance with other Christian traditions, and is strongly critical of his Latin fellow-Christians (*peiores sunt nostri Latini ceteris habitatoribus terre huius*). He appears to have enjoyed the hospitality he received from the church in Armenia and Cilicia, and to have observed their traditions closely and without obvious disapproval. It is worth noting that Burchard, though a member of a religious preaching order and well aware of the concerns of pilgrims in the Holy Land, as is clear from his Prologue, nevertheless does not limit his *Descriptio* to sites of interest to Christian pilgrims and worshippers. He is above all an observer, his interests are intellectual, and his approach critical and scholarly. For all the rhetoric of his Prologue, perhaps designed to win the approval of his Dominican colleagues and superiors, Burchard's aim is patently not so much to inspire pilgrims to acts of devotion in the Holy Land, as to inform those enquiring Christians who sought better understanding of the land from which Christianity sprang.

THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN THE *DESCRIPTIO*

Burchard mentions over three hundred place names, drawn widely from the Bible and other ancient authors. Every biblical toponym mentioned reveals his knowledge of the biblical text, and he often refers to places and events that happened at them without quoting the text. He quotes, and sometimes slightly misquotes, the words of the biblical text from the Vulgate version about ninety times, and it is worth examining what he quotes, and for what purpose.

The majority of his Old Testament quotations come, as one might expect in a *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, from Genesis and the historical books (Joshua–2 Chronicles, 1 Maccabees) with reference to events and their location. There are three quotations from Deuteronomy (2: 4, 12; 27: 11ff.), but nothing from Numbers—probably because much of Numbers is concerned with regions east of the Jordan and Dead Sea, which Burchard has not visited. From the rest of the Old Testament there is but one quotation from each of the following books: Tobit (Tobias), Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea. There are four quotations from Isaiah, and two from Ecclesiasticus.

Burchard uses his quotations for several different purposes. Having named a place, for example, he will frequently go on to quote the event most commonly associated with it. So referring to Beersheba (21; III. 4) he quotes from 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 3–4, *uenit Helias in Bersabee Iuda... et abiit in desertum* (Elijah 'came to Bersabee of Juda...and went forward...into the desert'); speaking of the road from Gilead to Jezreel (47; VII. 15) he quotes the observation of the look-out as he sees Jehu approaching (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 17), *uideo globum* ('I see a troop'); wishing to see Lot's wife's pillar (56; VII. 45) he refers to (but does not exactly quote) Gen. 19: 26, *statua salis in quam... uxor Loth fuit uersa*; speaking of Hazor (21; III. 3) he quotes Josh. 11: 13, *solam Asor munitissimam uorax flamma consumpsit* ('only Asor that was very strong he consumed with fire'); noting the ruins of Aphek (44; VII. 6) he quotes and paraphrases from the Syrian comment on Israel (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.)

20: 23) *dii montium sunt dii eorum; pugnemus cum eis in uallibus* ('Their gods are gods of the hills; let us fight with them in the valleys'); of Rama north of Jerusalem (52; VII. 30) he quotes Jeremiah 31: 15, *uox in Rama audita est* ('A voice was heard on high'; so Douai–Reims; RSV 'in Ramah'). Other examples could be cited. He does not always quote the passage verbatim, instead paraphrasing it or giving a brief summary; thus commenting on En-dor (41; VI. 10) he summarizes 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 28: 8–14 with the note *in hac uilla mansit mulier habens pythonem, que ad instanciam Saul Samuelem suscitauit* ('in this village dwelt the woman with a spirit, who at the instance of Saul raised Samuel'); of Mount Carmel (42; VII. 1) he summarizes the famous story (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 18) briefly with the words *ubi locus est, in quo Helias propheta occidit sacerdotes Baal, in torrente Cison, ut dicitur .iii. Regum* ('here is the place where the prophet Elijah killed the priests of Baal, at the torrent of Kishon, as told in 3 Kings'); when mentioning Ai (59; VII. 47), he simply notes *ciuitas quam expugnauit Iosue, rege eius interfecto, ut dicitur Iosue .vi.* ('the city which Joshua captured, its king having been killed, as is said in Joshua 6') (in fact, Josh. 8: 29).

Burchard sometimes quotes a biblical passage as historical evidence. In 33–6 (V. 14) he devotes a lengthy section to unravelling the biblical traditions about Seir. Thus he quotes Gen. 14: 6 and Deut. 2: 4, 12 to demonstrate the existence of a Seir or Mount Seir near Kadesh-barnea and Mount Paran, distinct from the Mount Seir near Gilead and the Sea of Galilee, for which Burchard finds evidence in the narratives of Gen. 36 and Gen. 32 (34; V. 15). Burchard derives the name of Tyre (12; II. 5) from Tiras the son of Japhet mentioned in Gen. 10: 2. He cites 2 Chr. 32: 30, Ecclus. 48: 19, and Isa. 7: 3 for evidence of Hezekiah's massive works to provide water for Jerusalem (70–1; VIII. 1). Against the mistaken view held by John of Würzburg (ch. iv) that Jerusalem had been called Bethel, Burchard adduces the biblical reference to Melchizedek generally taken to be king at Jerusalem in patriarchal times, and asks where in the Bible proof could be found that Jerusalem had ever been named Bethel or Luz (59; VII. 48). Burchard is clearly critically aware, uses both personal observation of the land and a scholarly knowledge of the biblical evidence, and can fairly be numbered among the list of serious historical geographers.

Occasionally Burchard uses a biblical quotation almost as a literary tag, by way of illustration. He uses a quotation from Song of Songs 4: 15 (*fluunt impetu de Libano*) ('run with a strong stream from Libanus') of the well near Tyre (11; II. 4); he applies another quotation, saying that the words seem to fit (*uidetur conuenire*), from Ecclus. 24: 32–3:

Rigabo ortum plantationum et inebriabo partus mei fructum, et ecce factus est mihi trames habundans et fluuius meus appropinquabat ad mare ('I will water my garden of plants, and I will water abundantly the fruit of my meadow. And behold my brook became a great river, and my river came near to a sea'). Not dissimilarly, noting that the Anti-Lebanon is rich in vines (**14**; II. 12), he quotes Hos. 14: 8, *memoriale eius ut uinum Libani* ('his memorial shall be as the wine of Libanus'). To a fountain near Tripoli (**17**; II. 19) he applies the same quotation (Song of Songs 4: 15) previously applied to the well near Tyre, adding another quotation from Esther 11: 10, *fons paruus creuit in fluuium magnum et in aquas plurimas redundauit* ('a little fountain grew into a very great river, and abounded into many waters').

Though Burchard quotes frequently and widely from the Old Testament, his concern is not with the story-line or salvation history. From Genesis, for example, he makes much use, for topographical purposes, of the story of Jacob and Esau, and the Abraham story is similarly used only to prove the existence of another Mount Seir (Gen. 14: 5–6). Burchard is not concerned with the importance for salvation of Abraham and his descendants. From 1 Samuel he uses the story of Saul, and from 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) the story of Elijah, and from 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) stories of Elisha and Jehu, but his concern is not to tell the history of the monarchy. He relies, however, on his readers' knowledge of the Bible, a knowledge based on the canon of scripture known through the Vulgate, especially to his fellow religious. He can thus quote from Tobit (Tobias), Judith, Esther, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 Maccabees assuming familiarity with their contents, as well as from Job, Psalms, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea.

The New Testament quotations come mostly from Matthew's gospel (ten quotations), with two from Mark, five from Luke, and four from John. There is just one reference to Paul, before Agrippa and Felix, and perhaps one hint of knowledge of Pauline theology in a possible reference to Rom. 6: 8 (**63**; VII. 60); Paul, after all, was not a useful source for the geography of the Holy Land. Burchard's quotations are, as with the Old Testament, linked directly to the geography. With reference to Sidon (**14**; II. 11) he refers to the story of the Canaanite woman who approached Jesus *rogans pro filia demonica* ('pleading on behalf of her demonized daughter') (Matt. 15: 21–8). At **22** (III. 6) Burchard says Matthew (15: 39) calls Dan Magedan, while Mark (8: 10) calls it Dalmanutha. In a long passage focused on the mountain west of the Sea of Galilee (**26**; IV. 7) Burchard refers to the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5: 1–7: 28), the feeding of the five thousand *quinque* *panibus et duobus piscibus* ('the five loaves and the two fishes') (Matt. 14: 15–21), Jesus' retirement up the mountain to pray (*dismissa turba ascendit... solus orare*; 'having dismissed the multitude, he went into a mountain alone to pray') (Matt. 14: 22–3), his response to the centurion's plea for his paralytic son (Matt. 8: 5–13; Matthew and Luke set this last event at Capernaum), and his healing of the leper by a touch (*tetigit*, Matt. 8: 1–4). Burchard summarizes the stories, merely taking a phrase or two from the Vulgate version. With reference to Mount Tabor, he tells of the Transfiguration and quotes directly (**41**; VI. 9) Jesus' instructions to the disciples *nemini dixeritis uisionem* ('tell the vision to no man') (Matt. 17: 9). In **73** (VIII. 1) Burchard relates the Gethsemane story, quoting directly from Matt. 26: 36, *sedete hic donec uadam illuc et orem* ('sit you here, till I go yonder and pray').

Burchard mentions Mark rarely. He notes (**22**; III. 6) Mark's place name Dalmanutha (Mark 8: 10); at **77** (VIII. 2) he quotes the women's question *quis reuolvet nobis lapidem?* ('who shall roll us back the stone?') (Mark 16: 3). He seems more familiar with Luke's gospel. At **13** (II. 6) Burchard locates before the east gate of Tyre the place where Jesus preached and a woman from the crowd cried out *beatus uenter qui te portauit* ('blessed is the womb that bore thee') (Luke 11: 27). At **40** (VI. 7), in his description of Nazareth, Burchard quotes the angelic salutation *Aue, gratia plena! Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus!* ('Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women') (Luke 1: 28), and then Jesus' words in the synagogue *spiritus Domini super me eo quod unxerit me et cetera* (Luke 4: 18; Vulg., *propter quod unxit me*) ('The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. Wherefore he hath anointed me ...'). With reference to Capernaum, Burchard reproduces (**27**; IV. 11) Jesus' saying *Et tu, Capharnaum, si in celum ascenderis, usque ad infernum mergeris*, which appears to draw on Luke's version (Luke 10: 15:... *usque in caelum exaltata usque in infernum demergeris*: 'And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, thou shalt be be thrust down to hell'), rather than Matthew's (Matt. 11: 23;... *numquid usque in caelum exaltaberis usque in infernum descendes*). In **74** (VIII. 1), describing Jesus at Gethsemane, Burchard quotes Luke 22: 44 precisely, *et factus est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram* ('and his sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground'). At **90** (IX. 10), he summarizes the story of the nativity at Bethlehem from Luke 2, lifting *pastores... custodientes uigilias* ('shepherds... keeping the night watches over their flock') from verse 8, and quoting from v. 14 the words of the angels' song as *Gloria in excelsis*; the Vulgate, however, gives *gloria in altissimis Deo* ('Glory to God in the highest'). Burchard may have in mind Ps. 148: 1–2: *Laudate Dominum de caelis laudate eum in excelsis laudate eum omnes angeli eius*... ('Praise the Lord from the heavens: praise him in the high places. Praise ye him, all his angels'). These words from Luke would all have been well known to a Dominican both from liturgical readings of the gospels and from private Bible study. Or he may simply have been quoting the opening phrase from the Gloria in the Mass Ordinary.

Lastly, Burchard draws on John's Gospel. At **26** (IV. 7), with reference to the mountain west of the Sea of Galilee, he notes that Jesus fled to the mountain when the crowd *eum uellent facere regem* ('wished to make him king') (cf. John 6: 11; *ut... facerent eum regem*). At **27** (IV. 9), referring to the post-resurrection story of John 21, Burchard quotes Jesus' words from verse 5: *Pueri, numquid pulmentarium habetis?* ('Children, have you any meat?'). At **39** (VI. 5) he notes, following the identification in John 6: 1 of the Sea of Galilee with the Sea of Tiberias, that it was Tiberias *a qua mare Galilee mare Tiberiadis dictum aliquociens inuenitur* ('after which the Sea of Galilee is sometimes found called the Sea of Tiberias'). At **51** (VII. 24), with reference to Mount Gerizim, Burchard quotes the words of the woman at the well (John 4: 20), *Patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt* ('Our fathers adored in this mountain').

As with the Old Testament, Burchard's concern is with geography and topography rather than with the theology of salvation. The reference to the place comes first; then follows the reference to the biblical story associated with that place; Burchard is helping the reader connect the known story with a particular place which he locates in relation to other places on a recognizable trail which begins in Acre. There are two places, however, where he emphasizes the spiritual dimension of his work. We might mention first his words as in his *Descriptio* he approaches Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (**63**; VII. 60):

> Procedamus ergo, et inter locum orationis eius et in agonia et locum captiuitatis eius in Gethsemani transeamus torrentem Cedron et sequamur, si quomodo concedatur nobis uenire in Golgotha, ubi steterunt fixi in cruce fluentes sanguine pedes eius; moriamur ibi cum Christo, ut cum ipso pariter resurgamus! Amen.
>
> Let us proceed, then, and cross the Kidron valley between the place of his prayer when in agony and the place of his arrest in Gethsemane, and let us follow, in hope that we may by some means be allowed to come to Golgotha, where his feet, flowing with blood, stood fixed to the cross; there let us die with Christ, that together with him we may rise again! Amen.

This is a rare moment of spiritual reflection in Burchard's *Descriptio*, with its hint of knowledge of Pauline theology from Rom. 6: 8. Its rhetoric suggests its origin in a sermon or meditation from Holy Week.

It is in his prologue (2) that Burchard explains the spiritual basis of his work. He knows that Christians naturally wish to visit and see the Holy Land, and venerate Christ's sepulchre:

> Is not Christ's sepulchre all the more venerable among us because every time one enters it, one sees in the mind's eye the Saviour in his winding cloth, and, going a little further, the stone rolled back, the angel sitting on it, showing to the women the head-band with the grave-clothes? Having seen these, what Christian would not hasten to go to Bethlehem, contemplating the child crying in the manger, Mary in the lodging-house giving birth under a hollow rock still to be seen today; angels singing 'glory be to God and peace to men' before the shepherds there? ... Let the Christian return later to Jerusalem to see and hear Jesus preaching in the temple, instructing his disciples on the Mount of Olives, having supper on Mount Sion, washing his disciples' feet, handing over his body and blood, praying in Gethsemane, dripping with bloody sweat, kissing the traitor, dragged off as a prisoner, mocked, spat on, judged, bearing his cross, fainting under the cross's weight at the city gate visible today, supported by Simon of Cyrene, celebrating the mysteries of the passion on Calvary for us. The memory of these places, each and every one, remains as full and clear as on the day when these things were really done.

This is oratory, perhaps from a sermon by Burchard, who clearly believes that seeing the holy sites is a serious aid to belief. He points (3) to the monks from every land who enthusiastically visit these holy sites,

> Kissing the earth, venerating the places in which they heard that sweet Jesus had sat, stood, or performed a work of any sort. Now beating their breasts, now weeping, now groaning, now sighing with bodily signs of devotion ... they move to tears even many of the Saracens.

Burchard says that he writes to fulfil a spiritual need (4):

> However, seeing some affected by the desire to have at least some mental picture of what they cannot see in reality, and wishing to satisfy their desire as far as I can, I have thought to the best of my ability about that land which my feet have often travelled, and I have diligently noted and assiduously described it, wanting the reader to know this: that I have set down nothing in this description but what I have either seen for myself when present in those places, or what I noted down from my most careful questioning of Syrians or Saracens ...

In short, Burchard is anxious to make his personal knowledge of the Holy Land available to fellow Christians—perhaps especially fellow friars—for their spiritual needs. But it is very clear from his work that he is at heart an academic who bases his knowledge on personal observation and biblical scholarship (for his knowledge of the Bible, lightly worn, underlies his travel and almost every place name mentioned), and who writes for readers curious to know about the geography and topography of the Holy Land rather than seeking spiritual and emotional satisfaction. He takes trouble to identify places, and is sufficiently learned in the texts to be able to distinguish between different places with the same name; thus he can find four different Seirs, and six different Ramahs. He can discuss the location of ancient Jerusalem, or of Bethel and Dan, combining his knowledge of the ground with the evidence of the texts. Burchard understood that knowledge of both texts and topography was important for Christian belief. This scholarly combination must have been understood by others in the thirteenth century, for Burchard's book clearly appealed to a large number of his fellow monks, as is attested by the considerable number of manuscripts of his *Descriptio* still to be found in the medieval libraries of Europe.

BURCHARD'S SOURCES

As there are many medieval descriptions of the Holy land extant, the obvious question of Burchard's sources and his dependence on previous writers must be discussed. Burchard's primary source was of course the Latin Bible, and his use of it has been discussed in the previous section. The next most obvious source for historians and writers on Jerusalem was Josephus, whom Burchard names frequently—as when discussing the source of the Jordan (**22**; III. 6; *Jewish War*, iii. 509–13), the spring at Capernaum (**27**; IV. 8; *Jewish War*, iii. 519), the place Jotapata (**31**; V. 7; *Jewish War*, iii. 110–408), the 'little Jordan' river (**32**; V. 8; *Jewish Antiquities*, v. 178; viii. 226), the plain called Carmelion (**37**; VI. 1; cf. perhaps *Jewish Antiquities*, v. 85, though Josephus writes Carmelon, not Carmelion), Capernaum (**39**; VI. 5), to which has been later and wrongly attached a gloss *quam Josephus Iuliam appellat* based on *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 27, Beth-she'an/Scythopolis (**45**; VII. 8; *Jewish Antiquities*, xii. 348; xiii. 188), the death of John the Baptist at Machaerus (**48**; VII. 17; *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 119), the Akra (**67**; VIII. 1; *Jewish War*, i. 39; v. 253), Mount Moriah (**69**; VIII. 1; *Jewish War*, v. 184–205; *Jewish Antiquities*, xv. 391–402), the size of Jerusalem (**81**; VIII. 4; *Jewish War*, v. 156–8), Herodium (**94**; IX. 16; *Jewish War*, i. 419–21), Caesarea (**99**; X. 4; *Jewish War*, i. 408–15; 3.409; *Jewish Antiquities*, xv. 331–41; xvi. 136–41), the length and breadth of the land (**103–6**; XI. 1–12; *Jewish Antiquities*, v. 80–7). Josephus is thus appealed to mainly as a witness to topographical details; in **48** (VII. 17) Burchard quotes the evidence of Josephus and others, including Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica*, i. 11), that John the Baptist was killed at Machaerus to refute the Greek view (Burchard calls it *friuolum*) that the Baptist had been imprisoned and beheaded at Samaria.

From the early Christian fathers, Burchard draws little of any importance. The one reference appears to be to a legend about Peter's visit to Antaradus (Tartus) found (according to two Austrian manuscripts; see **20**; II. 28, n. 61) in *itinerario* or *aluear io Clementis.* (An *aluearium* was a pot-bellied vessel, and could refer to a beehive or a kneading trough; perhaps the suggestion is that this was a collection of Clementine writings.) The reference is to the so-called *Clementine Recognitions*, vii. 1.2, writings later credited to St Clement of Rome (who flourished at the end of the first century AD). Burchard refers to an inscription marking the site of Origen's tomb in Tyre (**12**; II. 5), but quotes nothing from Origen's works.

Not surprisingly, Burchard pays due tribute to the works of the fourth-century Christian scholars Eusebius and Jerome. He (**20**; II. 5) quotes Eusebius' witness (*Historia ecclesiastica*, vii. 7–viii. 1) to the martyrs who died at Tyre under Diocletian's persecution. He does not mention Eusebius' *Onomastikon*, his study (in Greek) of biblical toponyms and topography, but he knew Jerome's Latin edition (*Liber locorum*) of the same work, and other works by Jerome. Burchard opens his work (thereby presenting his own academic credentials) with a quotation from Jerome's *Epistula liii ad Paulinum.*[188] In the body of the *Descriptio*, he makes four references to Jerome. First, in discussing the location of Dan where Jeroboam set up a golden calf (**50**; VII. 20; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 28–9), he notes that one may choose between two possibilities—a mountain called Dan above Shechem, which he appears to favour, and the city of Dan now called Banias or Caesarea Philippi, which he believes that Jerome favours.[189] Burchard's second reference to Jerome comes when he is rejecting the view mistakenly held by some (**59**; VII. 48) that the Bethel of Jacob's dream was to be identified with Jerusalem; Burchard appeals to the comment on Gen. 13: 3 by Jerome ('who saw the place') that 'Bethel is a little city at the twelfth milestone from Jerusalem, in the tribe of Benjamin, on the right as one goes to Neapolis'.[190] That is, Jerusalem and Bethel are quite distinct. The remaining references to Jerome appear, as one might expect, in Burchard's section on Bethlehem (**93**; IX. 10); they quote nothing from Jerome's writings but simply mention his cell, bed, and tomb, and the cloister buildings where he presided.

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[188] Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 241, n. 1, Jerome, *Epistula* liii, CSEL liv, p. 443 = PL xxii. 540–1.

[189] Burchard gives no reference but Jerome is commenting on Amos 8: 13, 14; see Jerome, PL xxv. 1084.

[190] See Eusebius, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, p. 41.

One wonders whether Burchard might have known the work of Adamnán (Abbot of Iona, 679–704), who recorded in his *De locis sanctis* what Bishop Arculf, a Gaul by birth, had told him of the Holy Land.[191] This work was incorporated by Bede (*c*.720) into his own *De locis sanctis*.[192] Manuscripts of both works were available on the Continent from as early as the ninth century;[193] Marino Sanudo, a generation after Burchard, quotes Bede,[194] and it seems unlikely that Burchard had not heard of him or read him. However, comparison of Burchard's entries (e.g. on Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jericho, Hebron, etc.) with those of Adamnán and Bede does not suggest that he was drawing on their work, but there is one link of great interest. Adamnán (*De locis sanctis* i. 2–6; see n. 199) lists six gates in order round the walls of Jerusalem, northward and then east: (1) the Gate of David; (2) the Gate of the Fuller's Field; (3) St Stephen's Gate; (4) the Gate of Benjamin; (5) the *Portula*, or little Gate, leading to the valley of Jehoshaphat; (6) the Gate of Tekoa; only three of these are to be reckoned main thoroughfares, one on the west, one on the north, and one on the east. (According to Wilkinson,[195] Adamnán was drawing on Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons *c*.434–9, *Letter to Faustus*, for his description of Jerusalem, but Eucherius mentions specifically only 'three important gates, those on the west, east and north'.) The same list as Adamnán's is given in Bede's *De locis sanctis*, i:[196]

> in magno murorum ambitu octoginta quatuor turres, portae uero sex uisuntur. Prima porta Dauid ad occidentem montis Sion: secunda porta uallis Fullonis: tertia porta sancti Stephani: quarta porta Benjamin: quinta portula, id est, paruula porta, ab hac per gradus ad uallem Josaphat descenditur: sexta porta Thecuitis. Celebriores tamen ex his sunt tres exitus portarum: unus quidem ab occasu, alius a septentrione, tertius ab oriente.

in the great circuit of the walls eighty-four towers are visible, but six gates. The first is the gate of David, to the west of Mount Sion; the second the gate of the Valley of the Fuller; the third is the gate of St Stephen; the fourth is the gate of Benjamin; the fifth, the wicket gate, that is, the small gate, descends from here by steps to the valley of Jehoshaphat; the sixth is the gate of Tekoa. Of these the three main exits are the better known: one from the west, one from the north, one from the east.

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[191] See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, pp. 9–10, 93–111; Adamnán, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Bieler, pp. 175–234.

[192] Bede, *De locis sanctis*, ed. Fraipont, pp. 249–80, 'de decollatione Ioannis'.

[193] See Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 12–14.

[194] See Sanudo, *Secrets for True Crusaders*, p. 33.

[195] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, pp. 3–4, 53–5, 95 n. 1.

[196] Bede, *De locis sanctis*, p. 253.

Burchard's list (**82–5**; VIII. 5) has similarities, though by his time the topography of Jerusalem and the names of its gates had changed: his list gives eight gates: (1) *porta Dauid*; (2) *porta uetus*, or *iudicaria*; (3) *porta Effraym... dicitur nunc porta sancti Stephani*; (4) *porta anguli. Dicta est eciam porta Benjamin*; (5) *porta sterquilinii, super torrentem Cedron*; (6) *porta gregis... dicta fuit eciam porta uallis*; (7) *porta aurea (non porta ciuitatis sed templi)*; (8) *porta fontis Siloe siue aquarum*. For identification of these gates see the notes on **82–5** (VIII. 5), where it is suggested that this section had a previous history, and that Burchard was incorporating earlier material. The similarities of his list (incorporated into both longer and shorter versions of the *Descriptio*) with the earlier lists of Adamnán and Bede suggest that Burchard was drawing on a long tradition of the enumeration of Jerusalem's gates. A Jewish version of this tradition perhaps appears in the twelfth-century account of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who notes that 'Jerusalem has four gates, called the gates of Abraham, David, Sion and Jehoshaphat',[197] but Rabbi Benjamin does not elaborate on this; if the David Gate was on the west, the Sion Gate on the south, the Jehoshaphat Gate above the Kidron valley on the east, then perhaps the Rabbi thought of the Abraham Gate on the north. One wonders, however, whether for him these four gates have theological rather than topographical significance.

Burchard may well have known the work of the twelfth-century historian William of Tyre (1130–86), though he does not mention him or give any indication that he used his work. In **12** (II. 5), Burchard describes Tyre as surrounded by a triple wall (*cincta est triplici muro*), a statement confirmed by, but not necessarily dependent on, William of Tyre (*Chronicon*, xiii. 5). However, Burchard did know the work of the biblical scholar and historian Petrus Comestor (died *c.*1178), known as 'Magister Historiarum' and titled by Burchard 'Magister in historiis', whom he quotes (**48**; VII. 17)[198] in support of his view that John the Baptist was beheaded in Machaerus and not elsewhere.

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[197] 'The travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela. A.D. 1160–1173', English translation in *Early Travels in Palestine*, trans. Wright, pp. 63–126, at 83.

[198] Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* 73, PL cxcviii. 1574. For the standing of Comestor among the Dominicans, see Madigan, *Medieval Christianity: A New History*, pp. 218–19.

Another important late twelfth-century work which could have been known to Burchard is the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane.*[199] The *Tractatus* describes Jerusalem's position at the centre of the world, its surrounding nations, and its inhabitants, Christian and non-Christian; among the Christians it comments briefly and critically on the Franks, the Greeks, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Georgians, the Jacobites, the Nestorians, the Latins, the Templars and the Hospitallers, the patriarchs and bishops, and the religious houses, and adds a note about cities without bishops. It then describes various holy places, including Nazareth, Bethlehem, the Jordan, Quarentena where Christ fasted and was tempted, the Lake of Genesareth, Mount Tabor, Jerusalem and its many venerable sites, Sebaste, and Hebron. The *Tractatus* then turns to springs and lakes, to mountains, animals, and trees. The next section, *De mutatione nominum urbium*, offers historical notes on the changing names of various cities. There follow paragraphs on the king of Jerusalem and his constitutional position, and the barons who serve him. Finally the *Tractatus* lists the non-Christian elements of the population: the Jews, the Samaritans, the Assassins, and the Bedouin. Kedar thinks it 'reasonable to assume that the treatise was originally written during the last two decades of the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem', and notes it use by subsequent writers.[200] Thus Thietmar (1217) uses the sections on animals, trees, Christian and non-Christian groups, and the survey of the church in the Holy Land.[201]

One might have expected Burchard to use the *Tractatus*, but in fact there is little or no evidence to suggest that he did. Burchard's longer version includes a section *De fructibus et animalibus terrae sanctae*, but he does not appear to use the *Tractatus*'s sections on animals and trees; the lists differ too widely. Burchard's longer version is much fuller than that of the *Tractatus*, with lengthy passages on the vine and sugar canes. Similarly, Burchard's *De uariis religionibus terrae sanctae* in the longer version does not appear to have been drawn from the *Tractatus*, though the similarities suggest the two accounts belong to the same general Christian tradition.

Parts of the *Tractatus*, however, do appear at the end of the shorter version of Burchard's *Descriptio*. This version's final section, *De Terra*

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[199] On this Tractatus and its relationship to the writing called Innominatus IV see 'The Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane', trans. B. Z. Kedar in France and Zajac, eds., *The Crusades and their Sources*, at pp. 111–33.

[200] Ibid., p. 119.

[201] See Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, pp. 131–3.

Ierosolymitana (**B**68–76), on Jerusalem at the centre of world, draws directly on the *Tractatus* when describing the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites, Nestorians, the Jerusalem Patriarchate, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but it omits the paragraphs about the Latins, the Templars, and the Hospitallers. It also omits the *Tractatus*'s sections on the animals and trees of the Holy Land.

Burchard was clearly far more dependent on the churchman and historian Jacques de Vitry (*c.*1160–1240), from whose work *Historia orientalis* or *Historia hierosolymitana* he seems to have borrowed freely. In his opening *diuisio*, having explained the four Syrias, three Palestines, and the three Arabias within whose regions the Holy Land was situated, Burchard admits (**8**; I. 6) that he had taken this material 'mostly from the words of the venerable father, the Lord Jacques de Vitry, legate of the Holy Roman church in the Holy Land, though I have seen most of these things with my own eyes' (*pro maiori parte de dictis uenerabilis patris Domini Jacobi de Vitriaco, sancte ecclesie Romane legati in terra sancta, quamquam ego oculis meis plurima de his uiderim*).[202] In **39** (VI. 5), describing the extent of the Decapolis, Burchard again quotes from Jacques de Vitry,[203] incorrectly giving him the title *patriarcha ierosolimitanus*, which, as Laurent points out,[204] is hardly a surprising mistake for Burchard, writing some forty-three years after de Vitry's death. Discussing the size of Jerusalem (**81**; VIII. 4), Burchard quotes at length if not entirely accurately from Jacques de Vitry,[205] incorrectly identifying the tower of David with the Antonia, adding a reference to David's burial with other kings, and making Hadrian (instead of Herod Agrippa) responsible for the inclusion of the site of the crucifixion within the city walls (see notes on **81**; VIII. 4). Burchard, then, is not precise in his use of this particular source (though we do not know exactly what manuscript text he was using).

There are a number of other places where Burchard is clearly drawing on Jacques de Vitry without due acknowledgement, as in his description of Tyre (**12**. II. 5; cf. *Historia orientalis*, xliii), the spring at the foot of mount Lebanon (**17**; II.19; *Historia orientalis*, xxxiii), the account of Dan and Beersheba (**21**; III. 4; cf. *Historia orientalis*, xxxv, xxxvi), and the description of Trachonitis (**24**; III. 8; cf. *Historia orientalis*, xlvii). In **47** (VII. 15) Burchard denies the old story that rain or dew never fell on Mount Gilboa; cf. *Historia orientalis*, liv (this belief is mentioned in the *Tractatus*, in the section on mountains, from which de Vitry probably drew it; it is more likely that Burchard was borrowing from de Vitry, or perhaps from Thietmar,[206] than from the *Tractatus*; see above). In **59** (VII. 48) Burchard quotes a crude hexameter/pentameter couplet based on names sometimes given to Jerusalem:

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[202] I. 4; compare this section with Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. Donnadieu, xcviii.

[203] Ibid., xlvii.

[204] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 45f., n. 280.

[205] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, lx.

> *Solima, Luza, Bethel, Ierusalem, Iebus, Helia,*
> *urbs sacra Ierusalem dicitur atque Salem.*

This seems to be a metrical version of the same material in *Historia orientalis*, lv. Burchard's passage on sugar canes (**107**; XII. 2) may possibly owe something to de Vitry's description of the process in *Historia orientalis*, liii. Burchard's chapter *De habitatoribus terre sancte* (**111–17**; XIII. 1–7) contains several passages with close similarities to de Vitry's work; e.g. **111** (XIII. 1), on the villainies of Western immigrants to the Holy Land, where he quotes the same tag from Horace's line (*Epistles*, I.xi.27), *caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt* (cf. *Historia orientalis*, lxxxii), and **113–15** (XIII. 3, 4, 5), where Burchard's description of the Syrians, Greeks, and Armenians may draw to a small extent on de Vitry's descriptions in *Historia orientalis*, lxxv–lxxx.

It would be surprising if Burchard owed no debt to previous travel writers, and examination of Thietmar's account of his pilgrimage (*Liber peregrinationis*), undertaken in 1217–18, some sixty-five years before Burchard's work, may suggest Burchard's familiarity with Thietmar's account. In **54** (VII. 35) Burchard, referring to Mount Quarentena (the Mount of Temptation), notes that Jesus was tempted on another mountain (*sed temptatus in alio monte est, qui per tres leucas distat ab isto, supra in deserto, a latere Bethel et Hahy australi*) ('but he was tempted on another mountain, three leagues away, higher up in the desert, on the south side of Bethel and Ai'). Thietmar (*Liber peregrinationis*, xi.10) also notes that there was another mountain where Jesus was tempted, but locates it not near Bethel and Ai but in Galilee. In **56** (VII. 42), Burchard identifies the *Petra deserti* of antiquity with Monreal and contemporary Karak; Thietmar (*Liber peregrinationis*, xv. 2) identifies a castle-topped mountain called Petra in Latin with a mountain called Monreal in French and Shawbak in Saracen. If Burchard is following Thietmar here, he makes confusion more confounded by identifying Monreal/Shobek with Krak/Karak, but the geography of the Transjordan was not Burchard's strong point, as he admits. In **61** (VII. 53) Burchard, discussing the balsam of En-gedi, refers to its removal to Babylonia in

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[206] 'Thietmar, Pilgrimage (1217–18)', in Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, pp. 95–133, at 99

Egypt (i.e. Cairo), and recounts how the garden was watered by a special spring. Thietmar (ibid., xii.2) has a similar account (though the details differ), as also does Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxxvi), from whom Burchard probably borrowed. Burchard's account of Bethlehem, his references to Jerome, Paula and Eustochium, and the Holy Innocents at Bethlehem (93; IX. 10), the cave at Hebron where the patriarchs and their wives were buried and a church was built (96; IX. 23), the field from which red clay was dug and taken to Egypt (97; IX.24), and the reference to St Chariton and his monks (98; IX. 30) seem both in general content and sequence to follow Thietmar's account (*Liber peregrinationis*, x) rather than that of Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lvii, lxix). Burchard's reference to lemons and *poma Ade* and bananas (108; XII. 3, 5) seems to follow Thietmar (*Liber peregrinationis*, xxix) (though here Thietmar is incorporating material from the *Tractatus*, which Burchard does not seem to have used). It seems likely that Burchard knew Thietmar's work, but did not follow it slavishly.

Burchard's account of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (76–7; VIII. 2) follows almost word for word that in *Innominatus IV*, *Iter ad Terram Sanctam*.[207] This may probably be dated *c.*1270, a decade or so before Burchard wrote.[208] It is interesting that that the two manuscripts cited for this work (Uppsala 14 and Vienna, Latin MS 509) also contain manuscripts of Burchard.

In sum, Burchard seems to know the earlier sources, such as Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* (probably through Rufinus' Latin version of the Greek original), and Jerome's Latin edition (*Liber locorum*) of Eusebius' Greek *Onomastikon*, and to know the thirteenth-century work of Jacques de Vitry, and perhaps, though less certainly, the *Liber peregrinationis* of Thietmar. From the twelfth century he knows the work of Peter Comestor, but he does not seem to know the *Chronicon* of William of Tyre, or the *Tractatus de locis et statu terre sancte ierosolimitane* (though a passage from this latter was appended to the shorter version of Burchard's work, B68–76). He incorporates from some source a list of the gates of Jerusalem. Presumably Burchard had access at some point to a monastic library, or at least to a copy of Jacques de Vitry's work, which he quotes at some length in his prologue and at 81 (VIII. 4). His almost verbatim quotation of *Innominatus IV* on the Holy Sepulchre is particularly interesting; what was Burchard's connection with this near contemporary work? For the few quotations from other sources he might be reliant upon memory. At 111 (XIII. 1) his borrowing from Jacques de Vitry includes a quotation from the Roman poet Horace, but it is not clear that Burchard identified or was aware of the allusion.

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[207] *IHC*, iii. 23–8; see p. 26, paragraph xv.

[208] See Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 398.

It seems clear, however, that Burchard knows that he is producing a work of a known and familiar genre. His sections *De fructibus et animalibus terrae sanctae* and *De uariis religionibus terrae sanctae* obviously relate somehow to similar but not identical work in the *Tractatus*, and probably draw on a long tradition of descriptive writing about the Holy Land. Burchard's approach to his subject, however, is independent. His tone is not pietistic, and his aim does not appear to be to provide a guide for the pilgrim. He is concerned to be factual, and to rely where possible on what he has seen for himself with his own eyes, as he makes clear in his Prologue (4; I. 17), where he says that he wants the reader to know

> quod nihil in hac descriptione posui, nisi quod uel presentialiter in locis illis existens uidi, uel stans in montibus aliquibus uel locis aliis opportunis, ubi accessum habere non potui, a Syrianis uel a Saracenis aut aliis terre ipsius diligentissime, quod querebam, interrogans annotaui.

> That I have set down nothing in this description but what I have either seen for myself when present in those places, or what I noted down from my most careful questioning of Syrians or Saracens or other inhabitants of the land when standing on some mountains or other convenient places, when I could have no direct access.

He examines sites for himself, as when he enters the water channels at the Well of Living Waters near Tyre to test their depth (11; II. 4) or visits the balsam gardens in Egypt (61; VII. 53), or passes wry comment on the story that mortal sinners could not pass between Pelagia's tomb and the wall next to it (86; VIII. 6); he displays the mind of an archaeologist in explaining why so many holy sites are to be found in church crypts (37; VI. 1), or describing the water systems of Jerusalem (70–1; VIII. 1), or arguing that the Dung Gate should be located to the south of the city rather than above the Kidron (85; VIII. 5). He does not limit himself to reproducing his sources or retailing the observations of others; for the most part, he writes his own script, and makes his own observations, as is clear from his account of life in the kingdom of Cilicia and Armenia (*sicut oculis meis uidi*, 118; XIII. 8) ('as I have seen with my own eyes').

Burchard's independence from his sources is seen also in his original approach to his description of the land. He intends to make Acre his starting point, even though it is not at the centre of the land but on the western coast, and from there describe the land in four quarters, each with three divisions, giving twelve divisions in all (Prologue, 4). He does not adhere strictly to this scheme, which I suspect has its origin in a number of exploratory journeys made from Acre as his central base, but this arrangement, a notional one based on the practicality of exploration, shows that he is writing from his experience and not from the pages of other travellers' books. Burchard is his own man, and his book bears his personal and authoritative stamp.

THIS EDITION

This book offers an edition of the texts of both the longer (LV) and the shorter (SV) versions of the *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae.*

Manuscripts Employed For The Text of The Longer Version of The *Descriptio*

B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. qu. 466, fos. 36^{vb}–62^{vb}
Li	Lilienfeld, Stiftsarchiv, 145, fos. 174^{ra}–192^{rb} (Li) (R. 20)
Lo	London, British Library, Add. MS 18929, fos. 1^{ra}–51^{r} (Lo) (R. 23c)
Pb	Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, Cod. 74, fos. 1^{ra}–28^{va} (Pb) (R. 34b)
P	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 288, fos. 1^{ra}–45^{rb} (P)
Zb	Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 315, fos. 121^{va}–154^{rb} (Zb) (R. 50)

The earliest manuscript?

Of the sixty manuscripts currently known of the longer version (see above, pp. xxxviii–xl), there is one which can with reasonable confidence be dated to the early fourteenth century and so possibly from the period around or soon after Burchard's death (though the year of this is unknown). This is Codex 145 from Lilienfeld in Austria, written by Christianus Campililiensis in the opening decades of the fourteenth century.[209] This is perhaps the earliest-known example of the text of

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[209] See Haidinger and Lackner, 'Die Handschriften des Stiftes Lilienfeld', pp. 49–66; Roland, *Buchschmuck im Lilienfelder Handschriften*, p. 48.

Burchard's *Descriptio*, and though an early manuscript may not necessarily provide the best readings, at least such a text has the right to be taken seriously as an early witness. Some twenty-five manuscripts of the longer version appear to date from the fourteenth century, including the manuscripts listed above, and four others, from Oxford (Bodleian MS Lat. Hist. e.1; originally from the Admont collection in Austria), Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania, Codex 60 (formerly Lea 4)), Zwettl (Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 76), and Vienna (Nat. Bibl. 1628). The text from Florence (Bibl. Laur., Plut. LXXVI. 56) is also generally credited to the fourteenth century; it has clear associations with four other later fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century manuscripts, namely, the manuscripts from Florence's Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (F.4. 733), Leiden University (BPL 69), Padua University (1027), and Oxford (Magdalen College Library MS Lat. 43).

The Lilienfeld manuscript stands out from these manuscripts by virtue of several interesting variants. Thus, in the *secunda diuisio* alone, against the received text Lilienfeld omits *contra eandem plagam* (**21**; Laurent III. 2), gives *canales* for *paleas* (**22**; III. 6), *habitant* for *latitant* (**23**; III. 7), and *Galaad* for *Baalgad* (**24**; III. 8). The Lilienfeld manuscript is undeniably early in Burchard's transmission history, and its text is generally close to that of London's BL Add. MS 18929, Berlin's Lat. qu. 466, Bodleian's Lat. Hist. e.1, and Paris's n.a.l. 288; it agrees with these manuscripts, for example, in noting twenty-four (not thirty-one) kings who fought against Joshua (**21**; III. 3), in the reference to Joshua xi (*sic*), not vi (**21**; III. 3, p. 31), and in the reading *Marcus uero* (**22**; III. 6). But some of Lilienfeld's independent readings are slightly puzzling: *habitant* for *latitant* of lions is somewhat flat; *Galaad* for *Baalgad* is possible but geographically less compelling. Such considerations may make us hesitate to adopt the Lilienfeld manuscript, for all its proximity to the date of the composition of the *Descriptio*, as our base manuscript. This suspicion is confirmed by a number of other notable variants and additions elsewhere in the Lilienfeld manuscript. Thus in the Prologue (**2**) the Lilienfeld manuscript gives an unlikely *sanctificauit* for *sonant*; at **14** (II. 10) a bland *tenent* for *aedificauerunt*; at **30** (V. 2) *Matheus* where clearly St George is intended; at **35** (V. 15) the general *uenandi* ('hunting') for *sagittandi* ('archery'); **36** (V. 16) *egreditur* where *ingreditur* is clearly correct; at **40** (VI. 7) the Lilienfeld manuscript makes Nazareth an unlikely seven days' journey, not leagues, from Acre; at **52** (VII. 28) it gives *termini* for the less common *mete*; at **54** (VII. 37) *anathemati percusso* replaces *anathematis idem Achor*; at **95** (IX. 21) it gives *radicem* for *ilicem* (the oak at Mamre); at **111** (XIII. 1) it reads the bland *locum* for *caelum* (spoiling the quotation from Horace, Ep. i. 11. 27, 'caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt'). There seems to be a certain dumbing down of language. The Lilienfeld manuscript also makes many additions to the text, mostly adding historical details; thus at 48 (VII. 17) it adds that John the Baptist was buried at Machaerus; at 81 (VIII. 4) that Jacques de Vitry was an *apostolici sedis legatus*; at 83 (VIII. 5) a reference to 30,000 martyrs killed by Chosroes in AD 614 is added; and at 84 with reference to the Corner Gate adds a note from 4 Kings (2 Kgs.) 14: 13 which, interestingly, also is quoted by the shorter version (B63) at this point; at 88 (IX. 5) he adds a reference to Sennacherib's siege of Lachish (4 Kings (2 Kgs.) 18: 14–17). Many other examples could be added. Clearly the Lilienfeld scribe (or a predecessor) is capable of learned annotations to his text, but also of uninformed 'corrections' such as the alteration to the quotation from Horace. But these changes suggest that we are not dealing here with Burchard's original text. This suspicion is in my view confirmed by the absence from the Lilienfeld manuscript of the long description of Egypt; on Burchard's visit there see below, pp. cxxxviii–cxxxix.

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts

At the heart of the textual tradition seem to lie the manuscripts from London (BL Add. MS 18929, formerly belonging to St Peter's monastery, Erfurt), Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Lat. qu. 466), Oxford (Bodleian MS Lat. hist. e.1; formerly from Admont Stiftsbibliothek, Austria), Paris (Bib. nat. de France, n.a.l. 288), Padua (Bibl. del Seminario Vescovile, Codex 74), Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Library, Codex 60), Vienna (Nat. Bibl. MS 1628), and the two Zwettl manuscripts (Stiftsbibliothek, codices 76 and 315). These manuscripts offer a text generally in agreement; among them the manuscripts from Oxford (Bodleian Library), Berlin (Staatsbibliothek), Padua (Bibl. del Seminario) and Philadelphia in particular have some minor points in common (for example, *boream* for *aquilonem* (21; III. 2), *vi milibus stadiis* (22; III. 6), the omission of *palam* (24; III. 8), 'Seyr' (24; III. 10). Most importantly, the manuscripts named above from London, Berlin, Oxford, Paris, Philadelphia, and Padua (but not the manuscripts from Vienna and Zwettl) all include the additional final section on Egypt (see below pp. cxxxviii–cxl).

Five manuscripts from the later fourteenth or the early fifteenth centuries have certain distinctive common features. These are MS Lat. 43 from Magdalen College, Oxford; MS 1027 from Padua University Library; MS Plut. LXXVI.56 from the Biblioteca Laurenziana in

Florence; MS F. 4. 733 from the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, and MS BPL 69 from Leiden University Library. Among these, the manuscripts from Magdalen College, Oxford, and the Biblioteca Laurenziana of Florence have frequent agreements against other manuscripts.[210] The manuscripts from Leiden (BPL 69) and Florence (Plut. LXXVI. 56) also have minor points in common. Most obviously the manuscripts from Magdalen College, Oxford, the Biblioteca Laurenziana, and the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale from Florence, and MS 1027 from Padua University all omit the final section of the *secunda diuisio* (from *Tercia autem* to *romane ecclesie obedientes*); the fifth manuscript, from Leiden, joins them one sentence later, omitting from *pro eo quod* to *romane ecclesie obedientes*. These five manuscripts thus seem to belong to a different manuscript tradition. If the Florentine manuscript F. 4. 733 belonged to Riccoldo (1243–1320) himself, as Kappler claims,[211] this could reflect an early stage in the development of the manuscript tradition. The common omission from these manuscripts of a major section of the *secunda diuisio* describing the regions of Lebanon to the north and the Transjordan to the east may be the work of a scribe or monastery more concerned with the Holy Land west of the Jordan and less interested in the wider scene, as seems to be the case with the shorter version of the *Descriptio* (see p. lvi). These manuscripts, perhaps for the same reason, lack the final *descriptio Egypti* found in the manuscripts Paris, Bib. nat. de France, n.a.l. 288; London, BL Add. MS 18929; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. qu. 466; Oxford, Bodleian, Lat. Hist. e.1; Padua, Bibl. del Seminario Vescovile, Cod. 74; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Cod. 60.

Two main groups of manuscripts: the final section on Egypt

An examination of the final section of some of these manuscripts reveals an important and major difference between two main groups:

A. The London manuscript (BL Add. MS 18929), the Bodleian manuscript (Lat. Hist. e.1), the Berlin manuscript (Lat. qu. 466, fos. 61^r–62^v), the Paris manuscript n.a.l. 288, the Philadelphia

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[210] Thus in the *secunda diuisio*, for example, for 'contra eandem plagam' they read 'contra aquilonem' (21, *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, III. 2); for 'uniuersus' they read 'populus' (21, ibid., III. 4), for 'effluit' they read 'refluit' (22, ibid., III. 6). Both manuscripts omit, for example, 'Belinas siue Dan' (21, ibid., III. 4), 'quatuor leucis a Cedar ciuitate que est supra in monte sita' (22, ibid., III. 6), 'usque ad aquas Maserephot' (23, ibid., III. 7). Both manuscripts read 'adiacet' for the 'contiguum' of other manuscripts (21, ibid., III. 4).

[211] See Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte*, ed. Kappler, pp. 15–16, n. 19.

Codex 60, and the Padua Codex 74, after the words 'ad ostia Nili fluminis' add, with slight variations, a long passage about Egypt. This ending, not noted in Laurent's 1864 edition, appears also in the (now lost) Paris manuscript of Burchard's *Descriptio*, n. a. l. 781.[212] This ending appears also in the fifteenth-century manuscript from Wolfenbüttel (354 Helmst, fos. 165^{rb}–167^{rb}).[213]

B. Manuscripts of the second group (the Lilienfeld manuscript, the Vienna manuscript 1628 together with the two manuscripts from nearby Zwettl, codices 76 and 315) close the *Descriptio*, as in Laurent's text, with the account of Burchard's journey from Cappadocia via Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine to the mouth of the Nile and to Damietta, but add after *ad ostia Nili fluminis* and before *Inde ueni Damiatam*... the words *ubi sita est Tanis ciuitas Egypti. De qua dicitur in psalterio, Sicut posuit in Egypto signa sua et prodigia sua in campo Taneos* (cf. Ps. 77 (78): 12, 43; Jer. 32: 20). This seems to be a particular feature of these Austrian manuscripts. They do not include the long description of Egypt found in manuscripts of group A above.

At this point we may note that there appears to be considerable variation in the manuscript tradition of the final sections of Burchard's work. This is particularly visible in the London manuscript (BL Add. MS 18929), which presents a version of **99–126** (Laurent's chapters X–XIII) which varies substantially from that known to us from the Parisian and other manuscripts used in this edition, and which adds a different version of Burchard's travel route from Armenia to Egypt (fo. 42^{r}, col. 163), followed by a version of the *Descriptio Egypti* (fos. 42^{rb}–44va) which omits the final two paragraphs of this *Descriptio* printed by Omont, and finally presents further material under the heading 'De Babilonia' (fos. 44va–49^{rb}).[214] This latter section is described by J. Rubin as 'a substantial hitherto unknown continuation' of Burchard's work.[215] It describes further travels by Burchard from Egypt to Italy and back to Acre, and then to Armenia and a return through Cyprus. (On this 'continuation', see above, pp. xxxii–xxxvii.)

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[212] Published by H. Omont in 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de sir Thomas Phillipps', pp. 498–503; see further Baumgärtner, 'Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land', p. 15, n. 31.

[213] See ibid.

[214] See the Excursus below, pp. cxlviii–cl. One must note also that after fo. 33^{v} of this manuscript, three leaves have been cut out, and that fo. 34^{r} continues the account until fo. 50 in a new and different scribal hand. Possibly the new scribe was replacing damaged leaves, but the three leaves visibly cut out have been replaced by seventeen, which suggests much new material.

[215] Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*', p. 181.

The later group of manuscripts

Although the manuscripts just described fall into two groups, each with a different ending, it remains clear that the manuscripts from London (BL Add. MS 18929), Oxford (Bodleian MS Lat. hist. e.1), Paris (BnF MS n.a.l. 288), Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Lat. qu. 466), Padua (Seminario Vescovile, Codex 74), Philadelphia (Univ. of Penn., Codex 60), Vienna (Nat. Bibl, MS 1628), and Zwettl (Stiftsbibliothek, Codices 76 and 315) share a similar text. (The Bodleian text came from the Austrian monastery of Admont, and may have some connections with the other Austrian manuscripts from Vienna and Zwettl, though it includes the *descriptio Egypti* and the manuscripts from Vienna and Zwettl do not.) It may also be noted that the Philadelphia Codex 60 shares some minor readings with the later manuscripts from Florence (Bibl. Laur., Plut. LXXVI. 56), Leiden (BPL 69), Oxford (Magdalen College, MS Lat. 43), and Padua University (MS 1027).

Leiden Manuscript BPL 69

This manuscript, though clearly belonging to this group, nevertheless has major differences from the others and appears at least on present evidence to be *sui generis*. The Leiden manuscript appears to offer a simplified version of the text, with obvious abbreviations, omissions and additions, and draws upon the text of the shorter version of the *Descriptio*. The scribe has felt free to create his own hybrid version. An examination of the Leiden text's version of the *secunda diuisio* is instructive. Comparison of the opening sentence of the *secunda diuisio* (21) in the Leiden manuscript with that of other manuscripts gives a fair example of the Leiden manuscript's approach to the text:

> In secunda distinctione que procedit ab Accon contra aquilonem de Accon ad 4 leucas est castrum quod dicebatur mons fortis fratrum hospitalis Teutonicorum sed nunc penitus est destructum.

Compare the text of the Parisian manuscript n.a.l. 288 at the same point:

> Secunda distinctio procedit ab Accon contra aquilonem, et in ea primo post Accon ad quattuor leucas directe procedendo contra aquilonem est castrum, quod dicebatur Mons fortis. Quod fuit hospitalis Theutonicorum, sed nunc penitus est destructum.

In describing Asor (biblical Hazor) (21), the Leiden text adds a phrase from Josh. 11: 10, *quia inter omnia regna hec Asor principatum tenebat*, and further adds

> Ista ciuitas tempore incarnationis domini re dicebatur Iothapata et est in Galilee seu Ythurea sicut et Thoronum. Muniuerat Josephus contra Romanos tempore dissidii et in ea obsessus et captus fuit sicut ipse testatur, narrans multa de huius preconio ciuitatis, et monstrantur ruine usque in presentem diem. Distat Asor a Tyro per viii leucas contra orientem.

The Leiden text thus identifies Asor with Jotapata, and, most interestingly, quotes directly from the shorter version (SV) of Burchard's *Descriptio* (SV, **B17**; compare LV 31). In both these features, the Leiden text relates closely to the Wrocław manuscript I. F. 221 (of Burchard's shorter version); that is, the scribe of the Leiden (longer) version seems to know the text of the shorter version as presented in Wrocław I. F. 221 (dated 1407). This Wrocław text itself, however, seems to draw on the longer version, incorporating from it material about Mons fortis, Toron, and Asor (**21**; Laurent, III. 1–3 (p. 31).) The Leiden text then follows the received text reasonably closely until *terminus terre sancte*, after which it omits the reference to Beersheba, the Old Testament reference to Elijah at Beersheba, and its identification with Giblin. In the next paragraph on Philip the Tetrarch, the Leiden text adds that Philip named Cesarea Philippi *in honorem Tiberii Cesaris*, again taking information from the shorter version (**B18**). The Leiden text omits the note that Paneas *hodie communiter Belinas appellatur*.

The following section of the Leiden text, on the Jordan, greatly abbreviates the received text and adjusts its order, before returning to the received text at *medio tamen loco*. But the Leiden text then omits *alia medietas in sequenti tercia constituta*, and for *tercia autem* reads *terra autem*, which makes much better sense at this point, and is surely correct (and the reading *terra* here is supported by the London text BL Add. MS 18929 and Padua's Codex 74). The Leiden text ends its version of the *secunda diuisio* with this sentence, and, with the Magdalen College, Oxford, text, the Padua Codex 74, and the Plut. LXXVI. 56 manuscript from Florence, omits the rest of the received text of the *secunda divisio*.

The Leiden manuscript, then, is a highly individualistic representation of the text, with importations from a version of the shorter form of Burchard's *Descriptio* witnessed in Wrocław's manuscript I. F. 221, and with clear links with the three manuscripts just mentioned. It is a late, probably fifteenth-century, hybrid text, with no claim to be an early or basic text of Burchard's work. It shows clear knowledge of the shorter version, and it offers, in the *secunda divisio*, support for one important reading, *terra* for *tercia*. The Leiden manuscript has therefore not been used for this edition of the text of the *Descriptio*.

Excursus: British Library Add. MS 18929: Chapters X–XIV

For **1–98** (Laurent's chs. I–IX) the text of the British Library Add. MS 18929 agrees closely, some additional matter apart, with the text of the Berlin, Lilienfeld, and Paris and other manuscripts. However, at 96 (IX. 23), in the account of the patriarchs' tombs at Hebron at fo. 34^{r}, which itself incorporates much new material, the script and page layout abruptly and visibly change, and from **99–134** the text differs markedly from that of the other manuscripts consulted, showing a number of important variations. (Variant readings from this manuscript for **99–134** have not been included in this edition's *apparatus criticus*, for reasons which will become clear below.)

99–102 (ch. X) describe the *prima diuisio quarte australis* (BL Add. MS 18929, *prima diuisio secunde partis australis*), listing in sequence (1) Acre to Haifa; (2) Castrum peregrinorum; (3) Mount Carmel; (4) Caesarea; (5) Assur; (6) Chaco (= Manetat, Michmethath); (7) Saron; (8) Joppa; (9) Gath; (10) Beth-shemesh; (11) Mount Modein; (12) Ekron; (13) Azotus; (Ashdod); (14) Lidda, Lepna, Acceda, Socoh, Nob; (15) Emmaus (Nicopolis); (16) Beth-sur; (17) Ashkelon; (18) Gaza; (19) Beersheba. The London manuscript presents a different sequence 1–5, 8–13, 17–19, 6–7, 14–16. It also abbreviates and paraphrases the wording, and omits or adds material, thus, for example, reducing Burchard's danger from the crocodiles in the marsh near Caesarea to ignorance of the danger, but adding to the account of Beth-shemesh the story of the ark at Beth-shemesh (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 6: 1–7:2).

103–6 (ch. XI, *De longitudine et latitudine terre sancte*) are an adaptation of Josephus' *Antiquities*, v. 80–7, with some abbreviation and minor changes of content. For example, Mounts Cain and Tabor, places of importance to Christian pilgrims, are added to the description of the tribe of Zebulun (for details see the footnotes.) The London manuscript moves this chapter to the end of its manuscript (fos. 49^{rb}–50^{vb}), and closes the chapter with a short sentence noting that the territory of Judah extended to the river of Egypt, which appears in place of what in the Parisian and other manuscripts appears to be Burchard's personal comment on the value of the description, and his linkage with the next section:

> Ecce, habes totam terram secundum longitudinem at latitudinem et omnem eius situm descriptam fideliter. Que descriptio, ut mihi uidetur, perutilis est pro libris historialibus et tota biblica, si intelligatur, et locis singulis notandis

pariter et sciendis. Restat nunc ut de ritu, moribus et conuersatione et condicionibus habitantium in ea et porro de fructibus qui in ea nascuntur ad eius commendationem aliqua inserantur.

See, you have the whole land by its length and breadth and its every site faithfully described. This description, I think, if understood, is of no small value for study of the historical books and for the whole Bible, and equally for noting and knowing the individual places. It now remains that in commendation of the land something be included about the religion, the customs, the behaviour, and the status of those living there, and, further, about the fruits that are grown in it.

107–10 (ch. XII, *De fructibus et animalibus terre sancte*) is entitled in the London manuscript *De uberitate terre sancte* (fo. 36^{va}), and begins in close agreement with the text of the other manuscripts used in this edition. But when it moves onto describing sugar canes, more exotic fruits grown around Damascus, and the banana plant, it follows the same structure and framework as the other manuscripts but uses somewhat less than 50 per cent of the same phraseology, as a comparison of passages below will make clear:

Paris n.a.l. 288 (fo. 36^{rb-va}) *et alii*	BL Add. MS 18929 (fos. 36^{va}–37^{ra})
Item sunt quidam fructus alii, qui dicuntur poma paradise, admirabiles fructus ualde. Ista crescent in modum botri unius, habentia multa grana. Et est botrus ipse interdum ad modum et ad quantitatem cophini competentis, aliquando habens grana centum uel amplius. Et sunt grana ista oblonga interdum ad latitudinem sex digitorum, spissa uero ad quantitatem oui galline, habent folliculum spissum, sicut est folliculus fabarum, sed coloris crocei delicate ualde. Qui foliculus proicitur, et pomum quod intus est tollitur et commeditur, cuius color est albus recedens tamen ad crocitatem, et est sapor eius	Sunt etiam ibi quidam fructus qui dicuntur poma paradise et collectunt ad quantitatem cophini competenter magni, et grossi inferius superius acuti. Et habet unum pomum quinque centum genera uel plura uel pauciora, et sunt genera ista oblonga ad latitudinem sex digitorum. Spissa uero plurimi ad spissitudinem oui gallini. Folliculum uero habet eadem genera, et sicut est folliculis fabarum dispositum et eiusdem coloris sed ex omni parte integrorum qui folliculus aptus abicitur. Et pomum intus latens tollitur quod non habet

dulcis et delicatus ualde, quemadmodum delicatissimi butyri cum fauo mellis. Nec habent grana ista semen aliquod in se, sed penitus commeduntur. Fructus autem iste uix uno anno crescit. Arbor eciam breui tempore durat, ut magis duobus annis, et statim arescit, sed cum arescere incipit, statim de radice eius arbor alia procedere incipit, et ista facit sicut prior et postea tertia et quarta et sic deinceps. Folia arboris huius longa sunt ad staturam hominis unius, lata uero ita ut duobus foliis posset aliquis cooperire totum corpus suum. Mirabiles ualde sunt condiciones huius arboris.

in se semen aliquid. Sed est molle et album tendens tamen ad aliquam croceitatem. Et est sapor eius delicatus ualde sicut butyri delicati cum melle. Arbor autem huius fructus uno anno crescit et fructiferat. semel tamen et statim arescit, et cum prodire incipit fructus, de arbore procedit simiter et alia arbor de radice que similiter ferat fructum anno sequenti, et statim crescit simili modo et arescit et aliam arborem producit, et sic deinceps faciunt alie successiue. Poma ista licet sint magna habent dispositionem tamen botri vinee fere. Folia huius arboris longa sunt ad staturam corporis humani, et ita late quidem de duabus ante et retro homo posset tegere totum corpus.

In the description of vines and the making of wine, the London manuscript (fo. 37^{ra}) omits a full paragraph on the annual process of harvesting the wine that Burchard observed in Tartus.

111–26 (ch. XIII, 'De cultoribus terre sancte'). The London manuscript heads this chapter *De cultoribus* (fo. 37^{ra}), a title which clearly derives from the opening sentence of the chapter in this manuscript, *cultores non dico fortissimos sed habet pessimos peccatores.* (The Parisian manuscript heads the chapter *De habitatoribus terre sancte.*) Another version of this sentence appears at the end of chapter XII (**110**) in the Parisian and other manuscripts. The London manuscript may have the better division of chapters here, for the following material in **111** (XIII. 1) certainly details widespread wickedness among Christians. The London manuscript, however, presents the opening paragraphs of **111–26** (XIII) in a new order, turning immediately to a description of the followers of Muhammad, in words almost identical with those of **112** (XIII. 2) in the text of this edition, and then discussing the Syrian Christians (emphasizing their closeness with the Saracens), and the Greek Christians (emphasizing their hostility towards the Latin Christians). Text of the London manuscript's description of the Greeks is set alongside that of Parisian and other manuscripts for comparison:

Paris n.a.l. 288 *et alii* (fos. 37^{vb}–38^{ra})	BL Add. MS 18929 (fo. 37^{vab})
114 Greci similiter Christiani sunt, sed schismatici, nisi quod pro magna parte in concilio generali pro Christo sub domino Gregorio decimo ad obedientiam Roman ecclesie redierunt. Isti sine dubio multis erroribus dicuntur impliciti sed hoc de communiter dici non potest. Non nego tamen quin errores plures sunt apud eos. Hoc enim de Latinis dici potest quia et apud eos multe sunt stultitie. Apud Grecos prelate omnes sunt monachi, et multe abstinentie et conversationes mirande. Deuoti sunt ualde. Communiter prelatos suos multum reuerentur et honorant. Audiui ego a patriarcha eorum, quod dixit me presente, 'Sub obedientia Romane ecclesie libenter esse uolumus. . . .'	Greci etiam Christianos se dicunt, sed fere omnes sunt schismatici. Isti et Siriani Latinos omnes mortali odio persecuntur. Item Armeni Georgiani Nestoriani Caldei Perse Mede Ethiopes Egypti Nubiani Sebeni qui non baptizantur aqua sed igni facientes cum calido ferro signum crucis in facie per longum a fronte usque ad mentum. Omnes isti et alii plures habitum habent ualde religiosum et in ieiuniis et oratione et deuotione et similibus ita se habent humiliter et deuote uidentibus possunt esse in exemplum. Sed sunt omnino peruerse et diuersis heresibus infecti. Nec de fide uel de doctrina Romane ecclesie aliqua audire dignantur sed abominantur eam et contempnunt. Loca sancta uisitant cum deuotione magna. Flent pectora sua tundunt, perambulant, orant et ieiunant et cetera similia multa faciunt de genere bonorum, sed odi quod gerunt aduersum Latinos et Romanam ecclesiam. . .

The difference between these two paragraphs is manifest. In the first we see the view of an educated diplomat who is aware of the acts of a church general council and has spoken directly with an Orthodox patriarch; in the second we see a more populist and hostile attitude towards the Greek church. The London text also incorporates material selected from **115** (XIII. 5) about eastern Christians, and the Nubian baptismal practice of branding a cross upon the forehead.

Having criticized Muhammadan, Syrian, and Greek religious failings, the London manuscript turns to the sins of Christians inhabiting the Holy Land in language close to that of **111** (XIII. 1), but adds a severe paragraph on the number of prostitutes to be found in Acre.

Dixit enim mihi patriarcha et uerum fuit, quod suo tempore inuenta sunt et descripta 16 milia meretricium in sola ciuitate Acconensi preter alias et occultas et similes in matrimonio constitutas, quarum statum solus nouit Deus. Hiis omnibus sic se habentibus miror quod non extinguit Deus scintillam ipsam que relicta est, uidens omnes corruptos et abominabiles factos (an allusion to Ps. 52 (53): 2).

For the patriarch said to me—and it was true—that in his time sixteen thousand prostitutes were found and recorded in the city of Acre alone, in addition to others, some in secret, some like them in married state, whose situation God alone knew. All this being so, I am amazed that God has not extinguished that remaining spark, seeing that all have become corrupt and abominable ...

The London manuscript's paragraph on the Bedouin shows some variance:

Paris n.a.l. 288 (fo. 38^{vab})	BL Add. MS 18929 (fo. 38^{ra})
116. Isti cum sint pugnantes ualde non utuntur nisi gladiis et lanceis in bello. Sagittis non utuntur, dicentes esse turpe nimis homini sagitta uitam furari. In bello non induuntur nisi forte pelliceo rubeo et desuper camisia linea magna et ampla caput tantum panno tegentes ut mulieres citra mare. Isti repleuerunt totam Syriam, ut plurimum tamen	Isti sunt pugnatores fortissimo et strenuissimi et pro omnibus armis gladio et lancea utuntur in bello dicentes esse turpe aliquem sagitta hominem interficere, quia hoc sit furari uitam eius. Isti sunt dispersi per totam Syriam declinantes per Arabiam et Siriam ubicumque placet et habent de hoc a Soldano priuilegium speciale, ut plurimum tamen habitant circa fluenta Iordanis a Libano usque desertum Pharan, quia in locis istis sunt montes pro capreolis

habitant circa fluenta Iordanis, a Libano usque ad desertum Pharan, quia ibi sunt montes pro capris et ouibus, campi pro bobus et camelis, et aquarum copia hominibus et iumentis. Oues magne sunt in partibus illis et precipue arietes, et habent caudas tam magnas, et una cauda tribus uel quattuor uiribus sufficeret ad edendum.	et ouibus et campi probubus et camelis et aquarum copia pro hominibus et pecoribus ad bibendum. Oues sunt ualde magne in sancta terra et arietes habent caudas mirabiles, et credo quod uerum est quod ibi communiter dicitur et alibi uix credi potest, quia non est uisum, quod una cauda 6 uel 7 uel 8 uiris sufficient ad comedendum....

In the following sections 117–25 (XIII. 7–11), on Syria, Cappadocia, and the kingdom of Armenia and Cilicia, the text of the London manuscript agrees fairly closely but not entirely verbatim with that of the Parisian and other manuscripts. In particular the London text adds an interesting passage (fo. 41va) about life at the royal court in Armenia:

(124; XIII. 11, after 'a monachis instruuntur') Ab hora tertia usque ad meridiem postquam rex et alii audierunt missam et uerbum Dei, leguntur littere, audiuntur nuntii, agitantur cause, et hi omni die. Pluries hiis omnibus interfui coram rege. Post prandium et dormitionem conueniunt iterum principes et maiores et stante rege ante palatium in cancellis conueniunt balistarii arcarii luctatores saltatores iactatores lapidum et exercent coram rege et principibus quilibet artem suam. Postea si placet regi pro solacio ad campos cum auibus canibus venatitis et retibus et durant ista solacia usque ad tempus cene. Ista sunt consueta cottidie in terris illis. Astante rege habui collationem cum domino katholico de sacramentis ecclesie scilicet que ministrantur et tenentur in ecclesia romana et scilicet quod de ipsis sentit ecclesia orientalis, et non inueni in eis aliquem dissentionem que mihi uidetur periculosa quidem ad salutem.

From the third hour to midday, after the king and others have heard mass and the word of God, letters are read, messengers are heard, cases are argued, and these daily. I was often there for all these things, in the king's presence. After lunch and rest, the princes and ruling class meet again, and with the king standing before the palace in the chancellery the crossbow-men, archers, wrestlers, tumblers, and slingers meet together and practise their individual skills before the king and the princes. Afterwards if it pleases the king they go to the fields for recreation with birds and dogs for hunting and nets, and their recreations last until dinner time. With the king beside me, I had a conversation with the Lord Catholicus about the sacraments of the church, that is, which are ministered and held in the Roman church, and what the Eastern church thinks about them, and I did not find among them any disagreement in understanding which in my view was a danger to salvation.

At the end of the description of mass at the Armenian court, Burchard describes his journey from there to Egypt. The Parisian and London texts vary considerably, as is shown in the table below:

Paris n.a.l. 288 (fo. $42^{ra)}$	BL Add. MS 18929 (fo. $42^{ra–va}$)
125–6. Multa alia uidi in terra illa tam in laicis quam in clericis et monachis commendabilia ualde, que uix in terra nostra fieri crederentur.	Multa alia uidi et perambulaui terram illa(m) que per omnia scribere longum esset. Steti autem hac ultima uice apud regem a festo Iohannis ante portam Latinam usque in crastinum Margarete et sic rediui in Aycium ciuitatem maritimam et ascensa naui processi iuxta Mamistram in Mallotam ciuitatem openatissimam (*sic*; opulentissimam?) de qua legitur in Iudith, et inde per Adenam et Tharsum Cilicie ueni Kurcum ubi habundat crocus bonus.
Transiui totam illam terram usque ad Cappadociam et usque Seleuciam maritimam, et inde nauigaui Cyprum, et ueni in Salaminum, et perambulaui pro magna parte regionem. Inde nauigaui in Syriam et ueni Tyrum, et post dies aliquot inde nauigans per litus Palestine siui Philistiim	De Curco ueni Seleuciam maritimam que est in Capadocia transitaque Capadocea nauigaui Cyprum et applicui Salomine. Peractis negotiis apud regem Cypri nauigaui in Syriam. Veni Thirum et in de Ptholomaidem transactis septem ebdomadibus postquam de Armenia nauigaui. In kalendis Septembris ascensa galea ut nauigarem in Egiptum de Ptholomaide ueni ad montem Carmelum in Caipham.
pertransiui Caypham, montem Carmeli, Doram, Cesaream Palestione, Antipatridam, Ioppen, Iamniam, Accaron, Ascalonem, Gazam, desertum totum arenosum usque ad hostia Nili fluminis ubi sita est ciuitas Pharamia,	Inde Dothan que nunc Castra Peregrinorum dicitur. Inde Cesaream Palestine per Antipatridem et Ioppem et Iamniam per Azotum et Ascolonem per Gazam et Dorre que est in principium solitudinis et inde ad Gulfum Larisse ubi est primus portus Iudee. De gulfo isto in Rasecasse que est prima ciuitas Egipti in solitudine Pharan et inde Pharamiam ciuitatem pulcram et munitam sed non habitat

murata quidem et bene hedificata; sed non est in ea aliquis habitator, quia serpentes eam penitus possederunt. Inde, scilicet de Pharamia usque in Taphnim sunt uiginti leuce...	in ea homo quia serpentes eiectis habitatoribus eam penitus possederunt. Anno Domini 1284 in die natiuitatis beate uirginis intrans Egiptum ueni in Pharamiam ubi sunt hostia Nili fluminis. Hac ciuitas murata quidem et bene edificata sed non est in ea aliquis habitatorum quia serpentes eam penitus possederunt. De Pharamia in Taphnim sunt xx leuce ...

The close similarities between the two texts at the beginning and end of this passage, and the repetition in the London manuscript of the activity of the serpents at Pharamia suggest that the scribe of the London text has incorporated new material into a text already known to him in some form. (The London scribe apparently introduces Dothan in error for Dor.)

The text of the description of Egypt in the London manuscript (BL Add. MS 18929, fos. 42^{va}–44^{va}) and the Parisian (n.a.l. 288, fos. 42^{ra}–45^{rb}) and other manuscripts used in this edition are closely similar, except that the London text defers the paragraph about the annual ritual of placing a chest of relics in the Nile (134; XIV. 17) to the beginning of the description of Burchard's further travels (fos. 44^{vb}–45^{ra}). This lengthy account of Burchard's travels, until the present known only from this London manuscript,[216] vastly increases the importance of this London manuscript for students of Burchard's career.

The scribe of fos. 1–33 of the *Descriptio* in the London manuscript followed the same textual tradition as the scribes of the other manuscripts used in this edition, with minor variants and some additional material, mostly concerned with minor topographical details. The scribe of fos. 34–50 of the *Descriptio* seems to have known the 'standard' tradition from which he deviates, in some sections incorporating identical phrasing into his paraphrase, and in others following the 'standard' text almost verbatim, with some additional material. This scribe seems particularly interested in Burchard's presence at the Armenian court and his conversations with the king and the patriarch, and in Burchard's travels, which are described in greater detail and with a detailed description of what appear to be subsequent diplomatic activities entrusted to this obviously well-informed and observant Dominican monk. For a discussion of Burchard's career in the light of this material, see pp. xxxii–xxxvii above.

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[216] See Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*'. See above, pp.xxxii–xxxvii.

Manuscripts Employed For The Text of The Shorter Version of The *Descriptio*

Be	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lat. Oct. 194, fos. 2^{r}–26^{v} (14th c.)
Lo	London, British Library, Add. MS 15835, fos. 163^{ra}–195^{vb} (14th c.)
M	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Mellicensis. 46, fos. 121^{r}–130^{v} (15th c.)
U	Uppsala, University Library, Codex 14, fos. 1^{ra}–15^{vb} (14th c.)
W	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS IV. F. 191, fos. 142^{ra}–150^{vb} (14th c.)
Wa	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 509, fos. 3^{rb}–18^{va} (14th c.)
Wb	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4739, fos. 104^{r}–120^{r} (15th c.)

The most recent edition of the shorter version of the *Descriptio* is W. A. Neumann's edition of 1880, which drew on the Codex Mellicensis, the two Viennese manuscripts Codex 509 and Codex 4739, and the Uppsala Codex 14.[217] The value of Neumann's edition is limited, however, because it uses few manuscripts and offers no *apparatus criticus*. This present edition seeks to improve on Neumann's edition by adding four *textualis* manuscripts from Berlin, London, Wrocław, and Vienna, and providing an *apparatus criticus*. Neumann includes some unlikely readings: thus *Ductus Libanus* for *Antilibanus* (11; Neumann, Caput VII), *diuinitus euersa* (in describing Hebron) for *dirutus et euersus* (59; Caput L). In Caput XL on Mount Moriah (47), Neumann reads *Mons quoque Moria, in quo est Templum Domini et palacium regis, aliquantulum erat alcior ciuitate*; this makes excellent sense and could be right, but the last four words are not found in the manuscripts used by Neumann, nor yet in the four *textualis* manuscripts cited above, and are probably imported from the longer version of the *Descriptio*. In the 'Prefatio' (3) Neumann conjectures that for *duram prouinciae Babylonis*

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[217] Burchard of Mount Sion, *Liber de descriptione Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Neumann, pp. 91–115

relinquentem we might read *Uram*—the city of Ur—in place of *duram* (which Neumann read as *darum*), and Neumann's text reads *Uram*; this makes sense, but the manuscripts insist on the initial letter *d*, and it is possible that the true reading is *dura*, 'the hardships' of Babylon. Neumann's conjecture, however, in his Caput XXXIV (40), to import the negative *non* into the statement that *ipse Iordanis suas aquas admiscet ipsi mari* is surely correct, and this is confirmed by the reading of the London manuscript BL Add. MS 15835, fo. 180va. Neumann's work is useful, but needs revision.

The following paragraphs outline characteristics and individual features of the several manuscripts listed above.

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka IV. F. 191, fos. 142ra–150^{vb} (14th c., post 1317)

This clearly written manuscript, when compared with the other manuscripts listed above, was an obvious choice as the base text. It presents an apparently straightforward and relatively clean text, offering no major problems of decipherment or interpretation. It lacks obvious lacunae, scribal errors, or editorial insertions. It does not, for example, confuse Accon (Acre) with Accaron, as in several other manuscripts. The text is not disordered, as in the London manuscript of the longer version (see pp. cxli–cxlix), or hybrid, as in the text of the Leiden MS BPL 69 (see pp. cxl–cxli), and its vocabulary is not occasionally simplified, as appears in the manuscript from Melk. Its text seems close to that of Codex 509 from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek of Vienna, while the other manuscripts listed have distinctive differences (see the detailed discussion below). This manuscript offers a useful base text. It should be noted that 'base' manuscript does not necessarily mean 'best' manuscript. The base manuscript readings may be relegated to the *apparatus criticus* whenever there are grounds for a different choice.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. Oct. 194, fos. 2^{r}–26^{v}

When one compares the fourteenth-century Berlin text with the Wrocław text, one notes that the Berlin text lacks some thirty-five words and phrases found in the Wrocław text. Most of these 'omissions' are of minor importance and do not affect the sense; they are the result of abbreviation or haplography. There is the omission of 'India' from the list of foreign monks behaving badly in the Holy Land in the Prologue, and the omission of a line of place names in the description of the second gate of Jerusalem. The Berlin scribe adds about a dozen words or phrases to the text, most notably, for example, when he criticizes the Armenian Christians for acting against the sacraments of the church as well as its law in general. The Berlin text does, however, include a number of what seem to be careless scribal errors: e.g. *gustum* for *gestum*, *magnificatione* for *imaginatione*, *Cylia* for *Lycia*, *altitudine* for *latitudine*. Other variants seem more serious and not simple copying errors but more deliberate: thus *dilectissimo* becomes *sanctissimo* (the opening word); *beata* becomes *sancta*, *Accon* by serious topographical misunderstanding becomes *Accaron*, *depromi* becomes *deponi*, *hortum regis* becomes *fontem gregis*. Further, the Berlin text is disordered;[218] the scribe was copying a text in which two consecutive folios had become detached and were replaced in correct sequence but with each folio reversed, so that with these two folios the proper page sequence *abcd* became *badc*. The Berlin scribe does not seem to have noticed this but simply transcribed his text in the order he found it.

London, British Library, Add. MS 15835, fos. 163^{ra}–195^{vb}

The London manuscript lacks some twenty words or phrases found in the Wrocław text. Most of these 'omissions' are single words of little importance; there are a similar number of 'additions', mostly of single words, again making little or no difference to the sense (though in describing Gethsemane we find the extra phrase *et in lapide alio impressionem digitorum eius quam*, which has all the hallmarks of an addition to the original text, but appears also in the manuscripts from Uppsala and Vienna). There are several verbal variants peculiar (on present evidence) to the London manuscript (Lo), for example *describere* for *conscribere; altissime* for *amplissime; dilecta* for *benedicta* (of Nazareth); *Pheniciam* (perhaps correctly) for *planitiem*; *despoliant* for *expoliant*. Many other variants are shared with other manuscripts; for example, *presentialiter* for *principaliter* (Wb); *Charram* for *terram* (BM); *uolare* for *moveri* (UWaWb); *noscis* for *noscitis* (BUWa); *casale* for *castellum* (BMU); *multe ecclesie sunt in Jerusalem* for *multa sunt loca* (MUWaWb); *remanet* for *manet* (UWaWb); *obliquos* for *aliquos* (UWaWb). It is hard to see these as errors; some of these variants (*describere*, *dilecta*, *despoliant*) perhaps exemplify scribal independence; others (*Pheniciam*,

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[218] The dislocation starts in the pericope 'De puteo aquarum uiuentium'. The section 'maximis et durissimis … et non uidi' (fo. 6^r, line 13 to fo. 7^v, line 8) is in the Berlin manuscript placed after 'locum in terris … et in stag (num)' (fo. 4^v, line 14 to fo. 6^r, line 13). These two sections would have originally been written on two sides of one folio, which became detached and turned round. The section 'num colligitur … contra orientem' (fo. 9^r, line 2 to fo. 10^v, line 4) is set after 'in monte Seir … occidit sacerdotes' (fo. 7^v, line 9 to fo. 9^r, line 2). These two sections would be from the next folio, similarly detached and turned round.

Charram, uolare, multe ecclesie, obliquos) are more persuasive. This London manuscript has a number of details in common with the Berlin, Melk, Uppsala, and Vienna (Wa, Wb) manuscripts against the Wrocław text.

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Mellicensis 46, fos. 121^{r}–130^{v}

The later, fifteenth-century manuscript from Melk (Codex 46, fos. 121^{r}–130^{v}) is notable in that it lacks nearly forty words or phrases found in the Wrocław text. The Melk scribe seems to have cut words he thought unnecessary, and, consistently, added only a few words on his own account. The occasional omission of adverbs like *ualde* or phrases like *ut dictum est,* however, and some longer omissions by haplography hardly indicate a different textual tradition, for these particular omissions are not witnessed in the other manuscripts collated for this edition. The Melk scribe seems to prefer more basic vocabulary; thus *in fundo* becomes *in medio*, *uictima*s becomes *hostias*, *fluuialibus* becomes *fluentibus*, *germen* becomes *herbam*, *luxerunt* becomes *fugiunt*, *claustrum* becomes *castrum*, *integro* becomes *magno*, *suauissimo* becomes *sanissimo*, *appellatur* becomes *dicitur*, and the place *Petram* is generalized to *terram*. The Melk manuscript shares many readings with the Berlin manuscript (Lat. Oct. 194), including the confusion between Acre (Latin *Accon*) and Accaron, and some with the London manuscript (BL Add. MS 15835). The Melk manuscript is unlikely to be a prime witness for the early text of Burchard's shorter version.

Uppsala, University Library, Codex 14, fos. 1^{ra}–15^{vb}

The Uppsala manuscript lacks some twenty-four words or phrases present in the Wrocław manuscript. These omissions are of little significance. Haplography seems frequent. This manuscript shares a number of omissions with the two manuscripts from Vienna (Wa and Wb), particularly with the latter. (For example, the Uppsala scribe shares with Wb the omission of the reference to Burchard's saying the Mass of the Passion and reading the Fourth Gospel's account of the Passion in the *Descriptio*'s account of Golgotha.) Such shared omissions apart, the Uppsala manuscript shares nearly fifty minor variant readings with one or other of these Viennese codices. The Uppsala manuscript shares some readings with the London manuscript (Lo) (see the *apparatus criticus* in the pericope of the woman who cried out 'Beatus uenter …', or the pericope of the history of Belenas/Lesem/Dan/Cesarea Philippi, to take but two examples). Like the Berlin, Melk, and Vienna Wb texts, the Uppsala manuscript shows some confusion between Acre and Accaron, using the latter name on at least five occasions for the former place. This confusion seems to have been common, and can hardly be evidence for any dependency.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 509, fos. 3^{rb}–18^{va}

The Viennese manuscript (Wa) contains some thirty minor words or phrases not found in the Wrocław text, but these are mostly common words like *sunt*, *hoc est*, *ibi*, *ibidem*, *ciuitas*, *leucas*, *plane*, *scilicet*. Important additions are rare. Describing Judith's deeds at Bethulia, Wa adds that she entered (*intrauit*) the valley; describing Christ's agony in Gethsemane, Wa adds that his sweat *decurrebat in terram*; and once Wa adds the title *uenerande* to Mary. The most interesting addition to Codex 509 is the explanatory marginal note *pasta* ('paste'), alongside the text's reading *pascha*, with reference to the image of Christ made by the Jews of Beirut; this marginal note perhaps indicates what might have been the original reading. Of Wrocław's text only about fifteen words (common words like *semper*, *eius*, *habet*) are absent from the text of Codex 509 (Wa), There are very few serious variants from the Wrocław text (Wa); one might cite *exstitit* for *constitit*, *describere* for *conscribere*, *illa dilecta* for *benedicta* (of Nazareth), *licet* for *sed*, *alio nomine* for *aliis nominibus*, *obliquos* for *aliquos*; Wa joins Lo, U, and Wb in the pericope of Jesus' preaching before the gate of Tyre in reading *predicans stetit Ihesus* for the terse *tunc stetit* of the Wrocław text. It seems clear that the Wa text is very close to that of the Wrocław text, and might equally have formed the base text for a critical text of Burchard's shorter version.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 4739, fos. 104^{r}–120^{r}

The later, fifteenth-century Viennese Codex (Wb) shares about seventy minor variants with Wa, but has many more variants of its own. Wb regularly gives different measurements or numbers.[219] But Wb has many other variants: *parum* becomes *modicum*; *ortum solis* becomes *orientem*; *Magdalum* becomes *magnum*; *demergeris* becomes *submergeris*; *conuertit* becomes *uertit*; *operatus esse* becomes *fecisse*; *descenderunt* becomes *fluxerunt*; *omnino* becomes *tota*; *sit* becomes *appareat*; *noscitis* becomes *scitis*; *latus* becomes *situm locum*; *iactum arcus* becomes *iactum*

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[219] Thus six leagues from Acre to the well of living waters becomes seven; the wall of Tyre becomes up to thirty feet thick, not twenty-five; Beritus is ten leagues, not nine, beyond Sidon; the seven disciples fishing become five; Cana is now five leagues from Acre, not seven; the plain (of Esdrelon) is forty leagues wide, not two; Nazareth is seventeen leagues from Jerusalem, not thirty-six; Hebron seven leagues from Jerusalem, not eight; the place where the cross was fixed is thirty feet above the ground, not twenty-eight; and the distance from Ziph to Ceila is three, not six leagues.

unius lapidis; *tota est facta* becomes *omnia hec facta*; *animum reuocante* becomes *reuocato animo*; *uero* becomes *uidi*; *pluuie* becomes *diluuie*; *pellebantur* becomes *propellebantur*; *Ennon* becomes *Gehennon*; *instituta* becomes *statuta*; *episcopis* becomes *archiepiscopis.* All these variants appear to be deliberate rather than mere scribal errors, and peculiar (on present evidence) to the Wb text. This text alone identifies Sephet (Safad) as Cedes (Neptalim), and Caymont or Mount Cain as Mons Borax. Whatever its relationship to the text tradition seen in the Wrocław text and visible in Wa, the text of Wb clearly goes its own way. Among other individual features, it reverses the paragraph on Naason and Dothaim (**24**) with the paragraph on Neptalim, Bethsaida, and Magdalum (**25**).

This examination of the manuscript evidence suggests that scribes felt free to vary conjunctions such as *autem*, *tamen*, and *enim*, or to add *etiam* or *scilicet* or common adverbs like *multum* and *ualde* where they felt appropriate, to omit or introduce *est* or *sunt*, or change verbal moods or tenses. Vocabulary was not entirely sacrosanct and could be varied (e.g. *dilecta* for *benedicta*). Sentences, and sometimes whole paragraphs, might be reordered. Punctuation could be altered and sentences redivided. Scribes could not be entirely unaware of their influence upon the text, especially when making minor additions or corrections to the work of a predecessor. The shorter text of Burchard's *Descriptio* was clearly a popular text, and the manuscript evidence reveals that probably from the start the text had a certain fluidity; indeed, the shorter text was itself an abbreviation of the longer text, and an early part of the original text's reception (see pp. lv–lviii).

The palaeography suggests that the manuscripts themselves can be divided into two main genres in palaeographical and codicological terms, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Wrocław codex (W) uses a *textualis formata* Gothic script which seems to belong to Derolez's *semiquadratus* category.[220] It is usually dated to the first half of the fourteenth century (Laurent notes 'certe post annum 1317');[221] Wa, with a similar script, may also belong to the same period. The Berlin manuscript (B) is of the same general class and probably also belongs to the fourteenth century.[222] The London maniuscript (Lo) is again of the same general type, with a larger, more widely spaced, 'box-shaped' hand, and come from slightly later in the fourteenth century than the other three. However, these four manuscripts of the *textualis* type all differ greatly in script from the manuscripts from Uppsala (U), Melk (M), and Vienna (Wb), which are cursive, less formal in style, and probably derive from the fifteenth century.

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[220] Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, p. 75.

[221] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 6.

[222] Käppeli, *Scriptores*, p. 258.

EDITORIAL POLICY

The edition of the longer text uses as its base manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 288. The base manuscript chosen for the shorter text is Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, IV. F. 191. In each case an *apparatus criticus* is supplied noting major variants in other manuscripts. Where one of these has a reading superior to that of the base manuscript, the latter's reading is relegated to the *apparatus criticus*. A major supplementary purpose of the *apparatus criticus* is to show the fluidity of the text in the process of its manuscript transmission. There is a big difference between scribal error and scribal liberty. The liberties taken by scribes of these texts is an important fact about their reception. Since to print the longer and the shorter text side by side would not be economical of space, the two texts are presented in sequence. Each Latin text is accompanied by an English translation on facing pages. Each text is annotated, the notes for the most part offering a detailed discussion of the identification of Burchard's place names, both biblical and thirteenth-century, in modern scholarship.

An important feature of this edition is that Laurent's reference system of chapters and paragraphs has been replaced by a new system. Laurent's 1864 edition of the *Descriptio* began with the *Prologus*, divided into short paragraphs. Then followed the *Prima Diuisio*, divided into two chapters, denominated by the upper-case Roman numerals I and II; within each chapter paragraphs were indicated by Arabic numerals. The *Secunda Diuisio* was then indicated by the Roman numeral III, and the *Tertia Diuisio* by IV, and so on. Laurent's system was followed by Denys Pringle in his translation of 2012. However, this enumeration is confusing, and as the Paris manuscript contains an extra short paragraph at the beginning, and a lengthy section on Egypt not found in Laurent's edition at the end, it became important to devise a new system to cover the whole manuscript.

Laurent[223] founded his text of the longer version of the *Descriptio* (1864) on a late fourteenth-century/early fifteenth-century manuscript from Hamburg (Petri 30b, fos. 249–275ᵛ, formerly known as Codex Staphorstianus) and the *apographum* based on it, together with the incomplete text from the fourteenth-century Codex 46, fo. 1018, from Bern. Drawing on the work of J. Beckmann,[224] and others, Laurent lists some sixteen other manuscripts of the longer version (for a more complete list of known manuscripts, see above).

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[223] *Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 5.

Laurent's edition was a valuable and important study, but his text was based on limited evidence. The text of the longer version of Burchard's *Descriptio Terre Sancte* presented here selects six manuscripts from a much wider range of manuscripts (see p. cxxxv), which includes also two manuscripts from Oxford (Bod. Lat. Hist. e.1; Magd. Lat. 43), two from Florence (Bib. Laur., Plut. LXXVI.56; Bib. Naz. F. 4. 733), Padua (BUP 1027), Philadelphia (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Cod. 60), Vienna (Bibl. Nat. 1628), Zwettl (Stifts. Cod. 76), and Leiden (BPL 69). The 'collect every manuscript' principle can be inimical to scholarly progress, and often a substantial subset of surviving manuscripts suffices to produce a critical text practically identical to one based on comprehensive collecting. The selection of these six was made in part on the basis of a detailed study of the *secunda diuisio* of the *Descriptio* in each of these manuscripts, and in part on consideration of the wider content of these manuscripts. The Lilienfeld manuscript was an obvious candidate on account of its early dating. The London manuscript commended itself by reason of its content, which includes the description of Egypt which continued with an account of further travels of the author. The Paris, Berlin, and Padua manuscripts include the description of Egypt, while the manuscripts from Lilienfeld and Zwettl offer a shorter ending without the description of Egypt. It was felt important to present evidence for the different versions of Burchard's *Descriptio* known apparently from early stages of the tradition.

For the base text, however, Paris, BnF n.a.l. 288, fos. 1ʳᵃ–45ʳᵇ seems a good choice. The choice clearly had to be made from one of the manuscripts containing the description of Egypt. The London manuscript, at first sight an obvious candidate, contains a number of additional passages especially concerned with topography and measurements not found in other manuscripts (e.g. **22** (III. 6), **46** (VII. 13), **55** (VII. 39), **58** (VII. 46), **80** (VIII. 2), **96** (IX. 23), rewrites several paragraphs completely (e.g. **13** (II. 7), **61** (VII. 53), and presents **99–126** (chs. X–XIII) in a reordered and often variant or paraphrastic version of what appears in the other manuscripts; and in particular, it adds a long section on further travels of the author which has not so far been observed in any other manuscript. (On the details of **99–126** of this manuscript see the Excursus, pp. cxlii–cxlix.) The Berlin text is a serious candidate for the base text, but it makes a large number of small explanatory additions and verbal changes not appearing in the other manuscripts, though its readings often correspond with those of the Padua manuscript. The Paris manuscript commends itself by having comparatively few variants from the main tradition, though it tends to omit minor adverbs and conjunctions. One major change is to the account of the Jews' mockery of the image of Christ (**15**; II. 13), which it rewrites and expands, perhaps reflecting local contemporary anti-Semitism. On a number of occasions its readings may be preferred: at **20** (II. 27) it supports the London manuscript in referring to the Assassins rather than the Assyrians (Berlin, Padua); at **20** (II. 28) it says, surely correctly, that Clement *recepit martirium* rather than *matrem suam*; at **107** (XII. 2) it says of sugar canes that *non sunt cave sed plene quadam porosa* (not '*preciosa*') *substantia*; in **112** (XIII. 2) it adds an important negative and says that the Saracens *(Christum) passum et mortuum non negant*. The Paris manuscript offers a number of very acceptable readings: for example, at **17** (II. 19) *girat* for *circuit*; at **22** (II. 22) *construxit* for *aedificauit*; at **28** (IV. 14) *tendit* for *ducit*; at **32** (V. 9) *copiosam* for *speciosam*; at **47** (VII. 16) *muratum* for *munitum*; at **48** (VII. 17) *uerbum* for *filium*; *circumseptus* for *circumsitus*; at **55** (VII. 39) *uisitatus* for *baptizatus*; at **134** (XIV. 17) *portant* for *ponunt*. In spite of reading *Galaad* for *Galgala* at **44** (VII. 7) and *honorem* for *horrorem* at **61** (VII. 55), two regrettable errors, the Parisian text scribe has done a good job. Given the wider changes made to the textual tradition by the London and Berlin manuscripts, and the absence of the description of Egypt from the Lilienfeld and Zwettl manuscripts, the Parisian manuscript offers the most useful base text of those here examined. It should not be necessary to add that the base manuscript is not treated as the best manuscript. It is frequently corrected from other manuscripts.

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[224] Beckmann, *Litteratur*, ii. 31–70.

This edition, using a mere six manuscripts out of the sixty currently known to exist, already reveals far more clearly than Laurent could that the text of the *Descriptio* at an early stage was subject to considerable editorial revision and was not fixed in any final form. Indeed, as noted in the Preface, this fact provides a major justification for a new edition. Quite apart from the shorter version, which will be considered separately, the longer text itself was fluid in that individual words in the text could be changed (for example, *appellatur* could become *uocatur*, *diebus* could become *temporibus*, or more seriously *filium* (God's son) could become *Verbum*), the order of paragraphs could be changed, paragraphs could be rewritten in their entirety, new paragraphs could be added by way of explanation of geographical or topographical details, whole sections could be paraphrased, or even moved to a new place in the manuscript. Scribes clearly felt free to make alterations, and these alterations (as distinct from mere scribal errors) can be seen from the *apparatus criticus*. Burchard's *Descriptio* seems to have been a popular text, to judge from the number of manuscripts available throughout Europe to this day. What is interesting here is that scribes felt entitled to act like editors or secondary authors. The result is a text that remakes itself before our eyes.

The text of the longer version presented here is divided into sections numbered in Arabic bold type (thus **1**, **2**, **3**, etc.). The Paris manuscript uses the common symbol ¶ to indicate paragraphs, and this text includes the symbols. However, Laurent's system is also noted in the text to enable ease of cross-reference, and a concordance of the two systems may be found at pp. 307–9. The text of the shorter *Descriptio* has also been divided into sections numbered in bold Arabic type, the individual numbers being preceded by **B** (for *Brevior*) (thus **B1**, **B2**, **B3**, etc.).

The editorial aim has been to follow the spelling of the scribe, especially for place names. Thus the scribal use of *Y* for *I* has been followed, as for example in *Ydumea*. Standard abbreviations have normally been spelled out in full, though the diphthong *-ae* (as e.g. in *Galileae*) has been left as -e. Proper nouns and place names have been capitalized in the modern manner. The scribe's use of Roman and Arabic numerals has been preserved. Punctuation is editorial, but (as noted above) P's paragraph symbol ¶ is retained.

SIGLA

B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. qu. 466, fos. 36^{vb}–62^{vb} (14th c.)
Be	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lat. Oct. 194, fo. 2^{r}–26^{v} (14th c.)
Li	Lilienfeld, Stiftsarchiv 145, fos. 174^{ra}–192^{rb} (early 14th c.)
Lo	London, British Library Add. MS 18929, fos. 1^{ra}–50^{vb}, cols. 1–200 with diagram 51^{r} (14th c.)
Lo	London, British Library, Add. MS 15835, fos. 163^{ra}–195^{vb} (14th c.)
M	Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Mellicensis 46, fos. 121^{r}–130^{v} (15th c.)
P	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 288, fos. 1^{ra}–45^{rb} (14th c.)
Pb	Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Padua, codex 74, fos. 1^{ra}–28^{va} (14th c.)
U	Uppsala, University Library, Codex 14, fos. 1^{ra}–15^{vb} (14th c.)
W	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS IV. F. 191, fos. 142^{ra}–150^{rb} (14th c.)
Wa	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 509, fos. 3^{rb}–18^{ra} (14th c.)
Wb	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4739, fos. 104^{r}–120^{r} (15th c.)
Zb	Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, codex 315, fos. 121^{va}–154^{rb} (14th c.)

DESCRIPTIO TERRAE SANCTAE (LONGER VERSION)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France,
n.a.l. 288, fos. 1ra–45^{rb}

DESCRIPTIO TERRAE SANCTAE

1. Incipit[1] opusculum a fratre Brocardo teutonico de ordine predicatorum de descriptione terre sancte quantum ad spatia ciuitatum castrorum uillarum ac portuum maris existentium in ea per distinctionem leucarum galicarum ad inuicem et nominationem earum prout tanguntur in sacra scriptura et prout noncupantur in moderno tempore et quantum ad mores habitantium ac recitationem diuersorum sui animalium seu terre nascentium que ibi inueniuntur specialiter. Insuper de simili descriptione Egypti et moribus habitatorum.

2. (Prologus 1) Cum in ueteribus historiis legamus, sicut dicit beatus Ieronimus,[2] quosdam lustrasse prouincias, maria transfretasse, ut ea, quae ex libris nouerant, coram posita[a] uiderent ut Plato[b][3] Memphiticos uates et Egyptum Appollonius,[4] qui Persas intrauit, transiuit[c] Cacasum, Albanos, Scytas, Massagetas, Indiam, Bragmanos[d] et tandem Egyptum intrauit, ut famosissimam[e] mensam solis[5] uideret in sabulo: quid mirum, si Christiani terram illam, quam [f]Christi sonant ecclesie uniuerse,[f] uidere et uisitare desiderant? (2) Venerabantur antiqui sancta sanctorum, quia ibi erat archa testamenti et Cherubin cum propitiatorio et manna et uirga Aron, que fronduerat, que omnia erant umbra futuri;[6] nonne apud nos uenerabilius est sepulchrum[g] Ihesu Christi, quod quotiens quis ingreditur, totiens inuolutum sindone mentis uidet oculis Saluatorem? (3) Et paululum procedens uidet lapidem reuolutum angelum in eo sedentem et sudarium cum linteaminibus mulieribus ostendentem?

2 [a] positi *Lo* [b] Egyptum Pythagoras *add. BPb* [c] *om. Li* [d] Bragmanos quoque ut Iearcham uideret *LoZbBPb*; in trono aureo sedentem *add. BPb;* Bragmatantem *P* [e] famosam *LiZb* [f-f] Christus sanctificauit in ecclesia uniuersa *Li* [g] dulcis *add. Lo*

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[1] The Paris manuscript BnF n.a.l. 288 (fo. 1^{ra}) of the longer text prefaces Burchard's text with this incipit (in a different hand), identifying the author as a Dominican brother and summarizing briefly the contents of his work. The shorter version ('the abbreviator') identifies (B1) the author as Brother Burchard of Mount Sion, and dedicates the work to a particular individual, another Brother Burchard, 'our most beloved father in Christ, teacher of the Order of Preachers in Magdeburg'.

[2] See Jerome, *Epistula* liii, *ad Paulinum presbyterum* (CSEL liv. 443 = PL xxii. 540–1).

[3] The philosopher lived *c.*429–347 BC. For his visit to Egypt see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, iii, trans. Hicks, i. 280–3.

[4] Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia, an ascetic, neo-Pythagorean philosopher, born about the beginning of the first century AD. He travelled widely, reaching Rome and perhaps

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND

1. Here begins[1] the little work of the German brother Brocardus of the Order of Preachers, about the Description of the Holy Land with regard to the mutual distances (marked by Gallic leagues) between cities, castles, villages, and seaports existing in it, and their names as mentioned in sacred scripture and as given in modern days, and with regard to the way of life of the inhabitants and the listing of its various animals or particular creatures of the land found there; in addition, about the similar description of Egypt and the way of life of its inhabitants.

2. When we read in the ancient histories, as blessed Jerome[2] tells us, that people have visited provinces or crossed seas that they might see set before them what they have known from their books—as Plato[3] visited the seers of Memphis and Apollonius[4] Egypt (he entered Persia, crossed the Caucasus, visited the Albanians, Scythians, Massagetae, India, and the Brahmans, and finally entered Egypt to see the most famous table of the sun[5] in the sand)—what wonder is it if Christians want to visit and see that land of which all Christ's churches sing? (2) The ancients used to venerate the Holy of Holies, because there were the ark of the covenant, the Cherubim with the mercy seat, the manna, and Aaron's flowering rod, all foreshadowing the future.[6] Is not Christ's sepulchre all the more venerable among us because every time one enters it, one sees in the mind's eye the Saviour in his winding cloth, (3) and, going a little further, the stone rolled back, the angel sitting on it, and showing to the women the headband with the grave-clothes?

India. He wrote on sacrifice. He was credited with healing powers and miracles, and has been compared with the figure of Jesus. A life of Apollonius was written *c.*AD 230 by Philostratus at the instance of Julia Domna, the wife of the emperor Septimius Severus (193–211). The value of Philostratus' work is much debated. See *OCD*, p. 1137.

[5] The reference is to Heliopolis, 'City of the Sun', in the Delta region of Egypt, from the time of the Old Kingdom (third millennium BC), a place of learning dedicated to astronomy and the role of the gods Atum and Re-Harakhti in creation. The city was largely destroyed by the Persians in 525 BC, but there is a clear reference to it in Jer. 43: 13, 'he shall break the statues of the house of the sun (RSV, 'the obelisks of Heliopolis') that are in the land of Egypt'. See Strabo, *Geography*, xvii. 1. 29; trans. Jones, viii. 80–5; *OEANE*, iii. 15; *ABD*, iii. 122–3.

[6] a shadow: Burchard means that Christian theology saw the Old Testament Holy of Holies and its contents—the ark of the covenant, the cherubim above it, and Aaron's rod—in the Temple at Jerusalem as forshadowing the redemptive work of God in the New Testament. This idea appears especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews; the phrase 'umbram... bonorum futurorum' (Heb. 10: 1; 'a shadow of the good things to come') is here picked up by Burchard.

(4) Quis Christianus hiis uisis non festinet uenire Bethlehem,[7] contemplans puerum[h] in presepio uagientem, Mariam in diuersorio sub rupe concaua, que usque hodie cernitur, parientem, angelos presentibus pastoribus gloriam Deo et pacem hominibus decantantes, et (quod amplius mirandum est) quomodo tres illi Magi maiestate preclari ante presepium proni ruant non habens tectum desuper nisi rupem dependentem?[i] (5) Redeat postea in Ierusalem, ut uideat et audiat in templo Ihesum predicantem, in monte oliueti discipulos instruentem, in monte Sion cenantem, discipulorum pedes lauantem, corpus suum et sanguinem tradentem, in Gethsemani orantem, sudore sanguineo defluentem, traditorem osculantem, captum trahi, illudi, conspui, iudicatum, crucem baiulantem, sub pondere crucis in porta ciuitatis, ut hodie cernitur, deficientem, Cyreneum Symonem succedentem, in Caluaria pro nobis passionis misteria celebrantem. (6) Horum omnium locorum et singulorum adhuc ita plena et manifesta exstat memoria, sicut illo die[j] exstitit, quando presentialiter erant facta. (7) Certe in hac ciuitate tot sunt dominice passionis et factorum[k] eius loca insignia, quod nullo modo sufficit dies ad singula utiliter[l] perlustranda.

3. (8) Sunt preterea quedam, que in locis illis deuotionem augeant[a] ampliorem. (9) Quis enim enarrare sufficiat, quot monachi, quot moniales de Georgia, Armenia maiore et minore, Caldaea, Syria, Media, Persia, India, Ethyopia, Nubia, Nabenia, Maronite, Iacobite, Nestoriani, Greci, Syri[8] et aliarum nationum, nunc turmatim centeni, ducenteni, plus et minus, discurrentes per loca singula in spiritu uehementi osculantur terram, uenerantur loca, in quibus dulcem Ihesum sedisse, stetisse uel fecisse[b] quippiam operis audierunt? (10) Nunc tundentes pectus, nunc fletus, nunc gemitus, nunc suspiria emittentes gestu[c] corporis et deuotionis, quam foris ostendunt [d]absque dubio[d] intus habent, in lacrimas prouocant plerosque[e] etiam Saracenos. (11) Eya, Domine Deus, uideo secundum ueteres historias Abraam terram, domum patris et cognationem derelinquentem, ad terram hanc festinantem, inter Bethel et Ay tabernaculum figentem, in Geraris, Bersabee et Ebron commorantem, uideo Ezechielem deserentem[f] flumina Babylonis et, ut ueniat in Ierusalem, inter celum et terram capillo capitis[9] portatum[g] illuc transuolantem! (12) Quid dicam de uirgine gloriosa, que, postquam ad eam angelica facta est promissio, licet sciret uterum suum tabernaculum Dei factum, non fuit contenta spatiosis et speciosis campestribus Galilee, sed statim cum festinatione montana Iudee

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[h] *add. LiZb* [i] pendentem *Zb* [j] *LoZb*; *om. P* [k] memorie *Li*; factis *B+* [l] *om. BPb*

3 [a] *B+*; *om. P* [b] uel fecisse *B+*; *om. P* [c] gesta *BPb* [d-d] absque dubio *B+*; *om. P* [e] plerumque *BLoPb* [f] descendentem *BPb* [g] portauit *B*

(4) Having seen these, what Christian would not hasten to go to Bethlehem,[7] contemplating the child crying in the manger; Mary in the lodging house giving birth under a hollow rock still to be seen today; angels singing 'glory be to God and peace to men' before the shepherds there; and, even more wonderful, how the three Magi, brilliant in their majesty, fall prone before the manger which had no roof above except the hanging rock? (5) Let the Christian return later to Jerusalem to see and hear Jesus preaching in the temple, instructing his disciples on the Mount of Olives, having supper on Mount Sion, washing his disciples' feet, handing over his body and blood, praying in Gethsemane, dripping with bloody sweat, kissing the traitor, dragged off as a prisoner, mocked, spat upon, judged, bearing his cross, fainting under the cross's weight at the city gate visible today, supported by Simon of Cyrene, celebrating the mysteries of the passion on calvary for us. (6) The memory of these places, each and every one, remains as full and clear as on the day when these things were really done. (7) Certainly in this city there are so many places famous for the Lord's passion and deeds that in no way is one day enough to visit them all profitably.

3. (8) There are, moreover, some things in those places which stir greater devotion. (9) For who can tell how many monks or nuns from Georgia, Greater and Lesser Armenia, Chaldaea, Syria, Media, Persia, India, Ethiopia, Nubia, and Nabataea, how many Maronites, Jacobites, Nestorians, Greeks, Syrians,[8] and people of other nations, now in groups of one or two hundred, more or less, roam through the individual sites with great enthusiasm kissing the earth, venerating the places in which they heard that sweet Jesus had sat, stood, or performed a miracle of any sort? (10) Now beating their breasts, now weeping, now groaning, now sighing with bodily signs of devotion which they show outwardly and doubtless feel inwardly, they move to tears even many of the Saracens. (11) O, Lord God, following the old histories I see Abraham leaving the land, the home of his father, and his family, and hastening to this land, pitching his tent between Bethel and Ai, living for a while in Gerar, Beersheba, and Hebron; I see Ezekiel leaving the waters of Babylon and, to come to Jerusalem, flying there between heaven and earth, lifted by the hair of his head.[9] (12) What shall I say about the glorious Virgin, who, after the angelic promise had been made to her, though she knew that her womb had been made the dwelling place of God, was not satisfied with the wide and beautiful plains of Galilee but immediately with haste

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[7] Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 241, n. 2; see Hamilton, *Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, pp. 86–8, fig. 15) notes that Burchard seems to have in mind the twelfth-century mosaic in the Cave of the Nativity, described by John Phocas and still partly preserved.

[8] For these peoples, see below, pp. 191–9, and especially p. 195, n. 685.

[9] The reference is to Ezek. 8: 3.

conscendit, uolens locis sanctioribus[h] propinquare? (13) Quid de patriarcha Iacob Ioseph et fratribus eius dicam, qui quia uiui in terra ista esse non poterant, elegerunt mortui[i] sepeliri? (14) Quid plura? (15) Ingemiscere possumus nostri temporis tarditatem[j] populi christiani, qui tot et tanta tantorum habentes exempla tardi sunt[k] de manibus inimicorum eruere terram, quam consecrauit suo sanguine Ihesus Christus, et quam cottidie [l]resonant ecclesie uniuerse.[l] (16) Que enim hora diei uel noctis per totum anni circulum, in qua non recolat cantando, legendo,[m] predicando et meditando omnis deuotus Christianus que facta sunt uel scripta in hac terra et ciuitatibus et locis eius?

4. (17) Verum[a] uidens quosdam affici desiderio ea saltem aliqualiter imaginari, que non possunt presentialiter intueri, et cupiens eorum desiderio satisfacere, quantum possum,[10] terram ipsam, quam[b] pedibus meis pluries pertransiui, quantum potui, consideraui, et notaui diligenter, et studiose descripsi,[c] hoc lectorem scire uolens, quod nihil in hac descriptione posui, nisi quod uel presentialiter in locis illis existens uidi, uel stans in montibus aliquibus uel locis aliis oportunis, ubi accessum habere non potui, a Syrianis uel a Saracenis aut aliis[d] terre ipsius[e] habitatoribus diligentissime, quod querebam, interrogans annotaui. (18) Totam enim terram ipsam [f]a Dan usque Bersabee[f], a mari mortuo usque ad mare magnum, qui sunt eius termini, aut pedibus, ut dictum est, ambulaui,[g] uel oculis, ubi accessum habere non potui, diligenter consideraui. (19) Aduertens autem, quomodo possem hec utiliter describere,[h] ita ut possent a legentibus imaginatione facili comprehendi, cogitaui centrum aliquod in ea ponere et circa illud totam terram modo debito ordinare. (20) Et ad hoc elegi ciuitatem aconiensem, tanquam plus aliis notam,[i] (21) que tamen non est in medio, sed in occidentali eius fine supra mare sita. (22) Et ab ipsa protraxi quattuor lineas,[11] quattuor mundi partibus respondentes, et quamlibet quartam diuisi in tria, ut responderent duodecim diuisiones iste duodecim uentis celi, et in singulis diuisionibus posui ciuitates et loca in scripturis magis nota, ut singulorum locorum[j] situs et dispositio posset de facili reperiri, ad quam partem mundi esset collocata.[12]

[h] superioribus *BPb* [i] mortuos *BPb* [j] *om.* *Lo* [k] sumus *Lo*
[l] resonat ecclesia uniuersa *BLoPb* [m] psallendo *add.* *B+*

4 [a] ego Burchardus ordinis predicatorum *add.* *Lo* [b] *B+*; *om.* *P* [c] *Li+*; scripsi *B*; conscripsi *P* [d] *om.* *BPb* [e] *om.* *LiZb* [f-f] *om.* *B* [g] perambulaui *Lo* [h] scribere *BPb* [i] nominatam *Lo* [j] *B+*; *om.* *P*

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[10] Burchard speaks of wishing to satisfy the desire (*desiderium*) of some to have a mental picture of what they cannot see with their eyes; the abbreviator speaks (B4) of obeying 'your command' (*iussio*) and agreeing to 'your request' for a description of the Holy Land. It seems

climbed the hill country of Judaea, wanting to approach holier places? (13) What shall I say about the patriarch Jacob and Joseph and his brothers, who since they could not enjoy life in that land chose to be buried there in death? (14) What more? (15) We may lament in our own time the slowness of the Christian people who with so many and such great examples before them delay to seize from the hands of their enemies the land which Jesus Christ consecrated with his blood and which the universal churches make resound daily. (16) For what hour is there of day or night all year round in which every devout Christian does not by singing, reading, preaching, or meditating bring to mind again what was done or written in this land and its cities and other places?

4. (17) However, seeing some affected by the desire to have at least some mental picture of what they cannot see in reality, and wishing to satisfy their desire as far as I can,[10] I have thought to the best of my ability about that land which my feet have often travelled, and I have diligently noted and assiduously described it, wanting the reader to know this: that I have set down nothing in this description but what I have either seen for myself when present in those places, or what I noted down from my most careful questioning of Syrians or Saracens or other inhabitants of the land when standing on some mountains or other convenient places, when I could have no direct access. (18) For I have traversed the whole land, from Dan to Beersheba, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean, which are its boundaries, either on foot, as I have said, or by giving it most careful attention with my eyes, where I have had no direct access. (19) Turning then to how I could present these things helpfully, so that they could be grasped easily in the minds of the readers, I thought of setting a central point in the land and about it to lay out the whole land in due order. (20) For this purpose I chose the city of Acre, as being better known than others. (21) However, Acre is not in the middle, but on the western border above the sea. (22) From here I drew out four lines,[11] corresponding to the four quarters of the world, and I divided each quarter into three parts, that these twelve divisions might correspond to the twelve winds of heaven. In each division I placed the cities and places best known in scripture, so that the site and position of the individual places, and the part of the world in which each is located,[12] might easily be found.

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possible that Brother Burchard has written this version in response to his superior and out of respect for his priest's love for him (Prologue). Magdeburg appears later in the abbreviated work (44) as a guide to the size of Jerusalem.

[11] Compare 9. Burchard makes clear that he is dividing the Holy Land into four parts, with the sea to the west.

[12] Burchard aims at meeting readers' concern to locate easily cities and places known from Scripture; the abbreviator omits this academic emphasis.

DE PRIMA DIVISIONE TERRE SANCTE

5.[13] (I. 1) ¶ Sciendum autem est in principio, quod terra ista, quam sanctam dicimus, que cecidit in sortem duodecim tribuum Israel,[a] pro parte aliqua dicebatur regnum Iuda, que erat duarum tribuum, scilicet Iude et Beniamin; pro parte altera dicebatur regnum Samarie, ciuitatis,[b] que nunc Sebaste dicitur et erat caput decem tribuum reliquarum, que Israel dicebantur. Vtrumque tamen regnum istud cum tota terra Philistiim, dicebatur Palestina, que erat pars Syrie, sicut Saxonia uel Francia[c] partes sunt Theutonie, et Lombardia et Tusia partes Ytalie.

6. (2) ¶ Ad hoc autem plenius intelligendum nota, quod plures sunt Syrie, diuersis[a] nominibus nuncupate. Tota enim terra, quae est a Tygri[b] fluuio usque ad Egyptum, generaliter Syria nuncupatur. Pars tamen eius prima, que est[c] inter fluuios Euffratem et Tygrim et protenditur per longum ab aquilone in austrum, hoc est a monte Tauro usque ad mare rubrum, appellatur Mesopotamia Syrie, quasi media inter aquas, et habet gentes multas, ut Partos et Medos. Quibus ab austro coniungitur Caldea in qua est Babylonia, et illi inde ab austro adiacet Arabia usque ad mare rubrum, quod in locis illis sinus arabicus dicitur. Prima tamen [d]pars totius huius Mesopotamie, quae aquilonem respicit, in qua est ciuitas Edissa,[14] quae antiquitus[d] Rages,[15] nunc Rase dicitur,[e] Mesopotamia Syre nuncupatur. Et haec est prima Syria. Secunda est Syria celes, que incipit a flumine[f] Euffrate et terminat in riuo Valanie[16] qui fluit sub castro Margad[17] et cadit in mare magnum in uila Valanie, in qua est sedes episcopalis, per unam leucam a predicto castro distante. In hac Celesyria est ciuitas Antiochena[g] cum urbibus suis suffraganeis, scilicet[h] Leodicia,[18] Apamia et aliis multis.

5 [a] scilicet Iuda et Beniamin *add. P* [b] scilicet *add. LiLoZb* [c] Franconia *Li*

6 [a] scilicet *add.* *B+* [b] adnexa *add.* *Li* [c] *om.* *P* [d–d] *B+*; *om. P* [e] specialiter *add. B+* [f] fluuio *BPb* [g] Antiochia *B+* [h] *om. BPb*

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[13] The abbreviator omits this preliminary description of the world of Syria and Arabia.

[14] Ancient Edessa, modern Urfa, was refounded by Seleucus I in 304 BC. It came under Nabataean and then Roman rule, becoming in the third century capital of the province of Osroene (6–8). Legend spoke of correspondence between King Abgar V (died AD 50) and Jesus, and credited the evangelization of Edessa to the apostle Thomas. There is some evidence for a church building there by AD 201, and for a bishop by 313; it is the home of much early Christian literature in Syriac (a development from Aramaic). (See Ball, *Rome in the East*, pp. 94–6.) Edessa fell to the Arabs in 641, to the Byzantines in 944, and then to the Crusaders in 1100, but in 1144 it was the first Crusader kingdom to fall to the Muslims (Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, p. 80).

ABOUT THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND

5. (I. 1)[13] (1) ¶ First you must know that of the land which we call 'holy', which fell to the lot of the twelve tribes of Israel, one part, consisting of two tribes, namely Judah and Benjamin, was named the kingdom of Judah; the other part was named the kingdom of Samaria, the city which is now called Sebaste, and was the head of the ten remaining tribes, which were called Israel. Each kingdom, however, with the whole land of the Philistines, was called Palestine, which was part of Syria, just as Saxony or Franconia are parts of Germany, and Lombardy and Tuscany are parts of Italy.

6. (2) ¶ To understand this more fully, note that there are several Syrias, called by different names. The whole region, which extends from the River Tigris to Egypt, is called Syria in general. However, its first part, situated between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris and stretching lengthwise north to south, that is from the Taurus mountains to the Red Sea, is called Mesopotamian Syria (as being in the middle between the waters), and contains many peoples, such as the Parthians and Medes. To these is joined on the south Chaldaea, in which lies the land of Babylon, and this similarly is adjacent on the south to Arabia, as far as the Red Sea, which in those parts is called the Arabian Gulf. However, the first, northward looking part of this whole Mesopotamian region, containing the city of Edessa[14] in ancient times called Rages[15] but now Rase, is named Mesopotamian Syria. This is the first Syria. Second is Coele-Syria, which begins from the River Euphrates and ends at the River Baniyas,[16] which flows below the castle of Margat[17] and falls into the Mediterranean Sea at the town of Baniyas (an episcopal see), one league distant from the castle just named. In Coele-Syria lies the city of Antioch with its supporting cities, namely Laodicea,[18] Apamea, and many others.

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[15] In Tobias 4: 21 the name appears as 'Rages a city of the Medes' (cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, xxxi).

[16] The river enters the Mediterranean at modern Baniyas in Syria; Strabo's Belenaea (*Geography*, vi. 2. 12).

[17] Modern Margat. It lay 4 miles (6 km) south of Baniyas on the southern border of the Principality of Antioch. It was sold to the Hospitallers in 1186, but it was captured by the Mamluks in 1285. See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 163–79.

[18] Ancient Laodicea, founded in 300 BC by Seleucus I as a port for Apamea (modern Qal'at al-Mudīq).

7. ¶ Tertia est Syria Phenicis, que incipit a predicto fluuio Valanie ab aquilone, et extenditur[a] uersus austrum usque ad Petram[b] incisam siue districtam sub monte Carmeli, qui locus hodie Castrum peregrinorum[19] dicitur, et est militie templi.[c] In ista[d] sunt ciuitates multe, scilicet Margad, Anteradum,[e] Tripolis, Beritum, Sydon, Tyrus, Acon[f] et Capharnaum.[g] [20] Et appellatur Syria Phenicis a Phenice, filio Agenoris,[21] fratre Cathmi, qui Tyrum instaurauit et metropolim huius terrae constituit, et terram suo nomine appellauit. ¶ Quarta est Syria Damasci, in qua est Damascus ciuitas metropolis. Hec predicte tertie Syrie Phenicis [h]prime ab oriente[h] coniungitur. Dicitur tamen ista quarta Syria etiam Syria Libanica, quia mons Lybani in ea preclarus habetur. (3) ¶ Post istam quartam scilicet[i] Syriam Fenicis sequitur Palestina, que Philistiim proprie nuncupatur, unde nota quod tres sunt Palestine, que tamen omnes sunt Syrie magne partes. Prima Palestina est, cuius metropolis est Ierusalem, cum omnibus montanis suis usque ad mare mortuum et usque ad desertum Cades Barne; secunda, cuius metropolis est Cesarea Palestine siue Cesarea maritima, cum tota terra Philistiim, incipiens a predicta Petra incisa siue Castro peregrinorum, et se extendens usque Gazam contra austrum. Tertia est cuius metropolis est Bethsan, sita sub monte Gelboe iuxta Iordanem. Hec quondam Sitopolis dicebatur. Ista Palestina dicitur propria Galilea siue campus magnus Esdrelon.

8. (4) ¶ Sunt etiam[a] tres Arabie, similiter maioris Syrie[b] partes. Et est prima, cuius metropolis est Bostron, que nunc Busereth dicitur, olim tamen Berstra dicebatur.[22] Huic coniungitur Traconitidis regio et Hyturea[23] ab occidente, Damascus uero fere ab aquilone. Quam ob causam Syria Damasci aliquotiens Arabia uocatur. Vnde Aretha[24] rex[c]

7 [a] protenditur *Li* [b] *B+*; portam *P* [c] templum *Lo* [d] Syria *add. B*
[e] *om. B* [f] Accaron *Li* [g] *B+*; Carphinum *P* [h–h] *om. B*; scilicet *Pb*
[i] *B+*; *om. P*

8 [a] *B+*; enim *P* [b] *B+*; *om. P* [c] regio *Lo*

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[19] Pilgrims' Castle lay at modern Athlit (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 124–7). It was built by the Templars in 1218, and remained in their hands until their departure in 1291. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, xcviii) identifies Pilgrims' Castle with a place *Districtum*; in his translation Stewart (*History of Jerusalem, A.D. 1180*, p. 105, n. 3) identifies this with a place called Dustrey.

[20] Caphernaum is not the Capernaum of the gospels, but is located by Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 244, n. 10) at Kh al-Kanīsa between Haifa and Athlit.

[21] In Greek mythology Agenor was the son of the sea-god Poseidon, the younger brother of Zeus. Agenor's son Phenix (usually spelled Phoenix) had been sent to find Europa (who had been abducted by Zeus), but failing to find her had settled at Sidon in Phoenicia (named after Phoenix). Burchard connects him with Tyre rather than with Sidon.

7. ¶ Third is Phoenician Syria, which begins from the already mentioned river Baniyas in the north, and extends south as far as Petra Incisa or Districta below Mount Carmel, the place today called Pilgrims' Castle,[19] belonging to the Templars. In this region are many cities, for instance Margat, Tartus, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Capharnaum.[20] Phoenician Syria gets its name from Phenix, the son of Agenor,[21] the brother of Cadmus, who restored Tyre, established it as the metropolitan see of this land, and called the land by his own name. Fourth is Syria of Damascus, where the city of Damascus is metropolis. This adjoins the fore-mentioned third Syria Phoenicia first on the east. However, the fourth Syria is also called Lebanese Syria, as it contains the famous Mount Lebanon. (3) ¶ After the fourth Syria (Phoenician Syria) follows Palestine, which is properly named Philistiim. Note from this that there are three Palestines, as follows, which nevertheless are all parts of Greater Syria. The first Palestine, whose metropolitan see is Jerusalem, reaches with all its mountains to the Dead Sea and the desert of Kadesh-barnea. The second Palestine, whose metropolis is Caesarea Palestina or Caesarea Maritima, includes the whole land of the Philistines, and starts from the previously mentioned Petra Incisa or Pilgrims' Castle and extends south as far as Gaza. The third Palestine is that whose metropolis is Beth-shean, set below Mount Gilboa beside the Jordan; this was once called Scythopolis. That Palestine is properly called Galilee or the great plain of Esdraelon.

8. (4) ¶ There are also three Arabias, similarly parts of Greater Syria. The first is that whose metropolis is Bosra, now called Busereth, but once Berstra.[22] This is bordered on the west by the region of Trachonitis and Ituraea,[23] but roughly northwards by Damascus. For this reason Damascene Syria is sometimes called Arabia. Hence Aretas[24] is called

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[22] Bosra (modern Busra ash-Sham, east of Dera'a, about 75 miles (120 km) south-east of Damascus, on the edge of the Hauran) was taken by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. 5: 26, 28). It became part of the Nabataean kingdom; Rabbel II made it his capital in place of Petra. In AD 106 it became capital of the Roman province of Arabia, and the garrison town of the Legio IV Cyrenaica. From the third century it had a bishop; in 512 it acquired a major cathedral, circular, with an octagonal colonnade inside set in a square. (See Ball, *Rome in the East*, pp. 198–204.)

[23] Trachonitis, Ituraea: cf. Luke 3: 1; in north Transjordan, and north of Galilee in modern Lebanon. Philip the Tetrarch (ruled 4 BC–AD 33/34) inherited these regions from his father Herod the Great. (See Ball, *Rome in the East*; Strabo, *Geography*, xvi. 2. 16–20; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xv. 343; xvii. 318–19; *ABD*, iii. 583–4; vi. 624–5.)

[24] Probably Aretas IV of Nabataea (9 BC–AD 40). 2 Cor. 11: 32–3 suggests that he controlled Damascus, at least in Paul's time, through an ethnarch; Aretas himself ruled in Petra. See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiv. 15–16.

Arabie dicitur, qui in rei ueritate erat rex Damasci. Secunda, cuius metropolis est Petra ciuitas, olim Rabath dicta,[25] [d]super torrentem Arnon[d] sita. Ista Arabia erat terra filiorum Amon, licet ciuitas Ar[e] fuerit de Moab. Item fuit de regno Seon, regis Esebon,[f] et includebat regnum Og, regis Basan, et montem Galaad, et coniungitur prime Arabie a parte australi. ¶ Tertia Arabia est, cuius metropolis est Mons regalis, qui nunc Krach dicitur, olim tamen Petra deserti dicebatur,[26] sita super mare mortuum. Et continet sub se terram Moab que proprie Syria Sobal dicitur, et totam Ydumeam, siue montem Seyr, et totam terram circa mare mortuum usque ad Cades Barne et [g]usque ad Syongaber[g] et aquas contradictionis et uersus mare rubrum per latissimas solitudines usque ad flumen Euffraten. Hec Arabia magna, in qua est Mecca, ciuitas sepulture detestabilis Machumeti. Hucusque de situ terrarum terre sancte adiacencium dicta sufficiant, que pro maiori parte de dictis uenerabilis patris, domini Iacobi de Vitriaco,[27] sancte ecclesie romane ecclesie legati in terra sancta, quamquam ego oculis meis plurima de his uiderim, sunt assumta. Ceterum ad particularem descriptionem ipsius terre, que in possessionem decem tribuum cessit stillum uertamus.

9. (5) ¶ Sciendum igitur primo, sicut supra dictum, est quod terram sanctam in quattuor partes diuisi, que partes respondent quattuor plagis celi, scilicet orienti, occidenti, meridiei et septentrionali, licet pars tota occidentalis respiciat mare magnum, et austri et aquilonis similiter partes ille, quae sunt[a] collaterales occidentali. Et incipiam[b] primo a directa linea a ciuitate acconensi, que antiquitus Tholomaida dicebatur,[28] uersus aquilonem procedendo prope ciuitates et loca, que sunt [c]in littore[c] magni maris sita.

[d-d] deinde Areopolis ipsa que in libro Numerorum uocatur Ar in oriente *Lo*; Arnon *B+*; Aron *P* [e] *BLi*; Armon *others* [f] *B+*; Obsebon *P* [g-g] Asasonthamar *Lo*

9 [a] *B+*; *om. P* [b] ergo *add. BPb* [c-c] *add. B+*; *om. P*

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[25] Burchard links Petra with Rabbath, perhaps biblical Rabbath-Ammon (modern Amman) or with Rabbath-moab, modern ar-Rabba (later Areopolis), and with biblical Ar above the Arnon valley (see Num. 21: 14–15, Deut. 2: 18). This link appears earlier in William of Tyre (*Chronicon*, xv. 21). The confusion perhaps arose because the see of Petra had been transferred to Rabbath-moab centuries earlier (Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 244, n. 12). Burchard here is perhaps confusing the two biblical Rabbaths. Burchard admits that he has not travelled in the transjordanian region (103).

[26] Monreal is modern Shobak (see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 23–5). According to Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, xxviii), Monreal was built in Arabia the Third, called Syria Sobal, by King Baldwin I. Krak is modern Karak, well to the north of Shobak. Burchard perhaps follows William of Tyre (*Chronicon*, xv. 21; xx. 26), who identifies Krak with Petra Deserti. The identification of Monreal with Krak perhaps arose because Karak took

king of Arabia, though in fact he was king of Damascus. The second Arabia is that whose metropolis is the city of Petra, once called Rabbath,[25] set above the Arnon torrent. That Arabia was the land of the children of Ammon, though the city of Ar belonged to Moab. It was also part of the kingdom of Sihon, king of Heshbon, and it included the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan, and Mount Gilead, and it bordered on the first Arabia on the south. ¶ The third Arabia is that whose metropolis is Monreal, called Karak, but once Petra Deserti,[26] located above the Dead Sea. It incorporates the land of Moab, properly called Syria Sobal, and the whole of Idumaea, or Mount Seir, and the whole land round the Dead Sea as far as Kadesh-barnea and Ezion-geber and the Waters of Strife, towards the Red Sea through the widest deserts as far as the River Euphrates. This is Arabia Magna, in which lies Mecca, the city of the tomb of the detestable Muhammad. On the situation of the lands about the Holy Land let these words, drawn mostly from the words of the venerable father, Lord Jacques de Vitry,[27] Legate of the Holy Roman Church in the Holy Land, be enough; though I have seen most of these things with my own eyes. But let us turn our pen to the detailed description of the land itself, which fell into the possession of the ten tribes.

9. (5) ¶ First, then, it must be noted, as said above, that I have divided the Holy Land into four parts, corresponding to the four quarters of heaven, that is, east, west, south, and north, though the whole western division looks out to the Mediterranean, as do similarly those parts of the southern and northern divisions which share borders with it. I will start from a straight line from the city of Acre (anciently called Ptolemais)[28] proceeding northwards towards the cities and places set on the shore of the Mediterranean.

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over from Shobak as the seat of rule in 1142, and the identification with Petra arose because the see of Petra was transferred from Rabbath-moab to Karak in 1167. (See Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 245, n. 13. On this identification, see also Brown, 'Petra Deserti (al-Karak) and the landscape of Frankish Transjordan', pp. 703–33, esp. pp. 721–3.) The following identification of Moab with Syria Sobal (the name Sobal seems otherwise unknown) possibly derives from some confusion with the Hebrew Gebal (Latin Gebalene), which is associated with Moab and Edom in Ps. 82 (83): 7–8 (6–7). (See further Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 552, n. 3; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 22, n. 22.)

[27] A French priest, born perhaps *c.*1180, who became bishop of Acre in 1216. He returned to Europe in 1225, and in 1229 was made a cardinal. He died in 1240. For his *Historia orientalis* he drew heavily on William of Tyre.

[28] Burchard's Tholomais is the Vulgate's Accho (RSV Acco) (Judg. 1: 31), modern 'Akko, known to English history as Acre. It became Ptolemais in Hellenistic times; cf. Acts 21: 7. Compare Burchard's description with that of William of Tyre (*Chronicon*, x. 25 (26).

10. (II. 1) Primum igitur descriptionis initium sumitur a ciuitati acconensi, per directam lineam procedendo uersus Tyrum et inde ad alias ciuitates sequentes, de quibus suo loco dicetur. ¶ Sciendum tamen,[a] quod hec ciuitas[b] nunquam fuit de terra sancta, nec a filiis Israel possessa, licet in distributione terre tribui Asser fuerit assignata, quia Asserite nunquam possederunt eam. Est autem in prouincia Phenicis sita, habens ab austro Carmelum montem ad quattuor leucas et ciuitatem Caypham[29] ad pedem montis eiusdem ultra torrentem Cison, ubi Helyas propheta sacerdotes Baal interfecit.[30] Phenicia[c] regio siue Syria Phenicis[31] ad huc extenditur ultra contra austrum ad tres leucas usque ad Petram incisam, quae Castrum peregrinorum dicitur, qui locus terminus Fenicis[d] contra austrum. ¶ Accon autem ciuitas munita est muris, antemuralibus, turribus et fossatis et barbicanis fortissimis,[32] triangulam habens formam, ut clypeus, cuius duae partes cinguntur[e] mari magno, tertia pars campum respicit, qui ipsam circumdat, habens tres[f] leucas latitudinis et plus in partibus aliquibus, uel etiam minus; fertilis ualde tam in agris, quam in pascuis et uineis et ortis, in quibus diuersi generis fructus crescunt, est etiam munita multa militia hospitalis, templi [g]et domus[g] theutonice et castris eorum et arcibus[h] ciuitatis.[33] Que ad regem pertinet,[i] habens portum bonum et capacem ab austro ciuitatis pro nauibus collocandis.

11. (2) ¶ Inde [a]contra aquilonem[a] ad quattuor leucas est casale Lamperti[34] iuxta mare, uineis similiter et iardanis et aquis fluminibusque[b] habundans, sub monte Saron[35] constitutum. (3) Inde transeundo secus[c] montem Saron ad tres[d] leucas est castrum Sandalion,[36] quod Alexander obsidens Tyrum dicitur construxisse. Sed Baldwinus,[e] rex Ierusalem,[37] illud denuo instaurauit et quibusdam nobilibus, qui ibidem cognominantur,[f] tradidit possidendum. Habundat autem[g] pratis, pascuis, ficetis, oliuetis, uineis, fluminibus et iardinis.

10 [a] est itaque *BPb* [b] scilicet Accon *add.* *BLoPb* [c] uero *add.* *B+* [d] Syrie *add.* *B* [e] iunguntur *LiZb* [f] duas *LoZb*; duodecim *Li* [g–g] *om.* *LiZb* [h] *BPb*; arcis *P* [i] pertinent *BPb*

11 [a–a] *om.* *BPb* [b] *BPb*; fluminibus *P*; fluuialibus *Lo* [c] *om.* *B+* [d] quattuor *Lo* [e] *B+*; Balderonius *P* [f] nominantur *Li* [g] sitis *add.* *Li*

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[29] Burchard's Caypha, now Haifa, is known from Roman and Byzantine periods. Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 108. 31) identified it with nearby Sycaminos. Abel (*Géographie*, ii. 347) identified the original site with Tall Abu Hawam.

[30] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 18: 40.

[31] The abbreviator omits the geographical details about Phoenicia.

[32] For Acre's walls and defences see Pringle, *Churches*, iv. 11–15.

10. (II. 1) We begin our description with the city of Acre, and proceed by direct line towards Tyre and then to other cities in sequence, to be mentioned in their place. ¶ You must know, however, that this city was never part of the Holy Land, nor was it possessed by the people of Israel, though in the distribution of the land it was assigned to the tribe of Asher, but they never held it. It is situated in the province of Phoenicia, having Mount Carmel 4 leagues to the south and the city of Haifa[29] at the foot of the same mountain beyond the torrent of Kishon, where the prophet Elijah killed the priests of Baal.[30] The region of Phoenicia, or Phoenician Syria,[31] extends 3 leagues further to the south, as far as Petra Incisa, called Pilgrims' Castle, which is the southern border of Phoenicia. ¶ The city of Acre is defended by walls, outworks, towers, and ditches and extremely strong barbicans.[32] It has a triangular shape, like a shield; its two sides are bordered by the Great Sea, its third overlooks the surrounding plain. It is 3 leagues broad in some places, and more, or even less, in others; it is also extremely fertile, as much in the fields as in the pastures and vineyards and gardens, in which grow different kinds of fruit. It is defended by the great military strength of the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Teutonic Order and by their camps and the citadels of the city.[33] It belongs to the king, and has a good and capacious harbour on the south of the city for mustering ships.

11. (2) ¶ Four leagues north of there, by the sea, is the village of Imbert,[34] similarly rich in vineyards, gardens, water, and rivers, set below Mount Sharon.[35] (3) Across from there beside Mount Sharon, 3 leagues away, is the castle of Scandalion,[36] which Alexander is said to have built when he besieged Tyre. But Baldwin, king of Jerusalem,[37] again rebuilt it and handed it over to the possession of certain nobles, who took their titles from it. It is rich in meadows, pastures, orchards of figs, olive groves, and vineyards, and in streams and gardens.

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[33] The Hospitallers had a church in Acre by 1149 and a hospital by 1175; the Templars had a house there by 1165. See Pringle, *Churches*, pp. 18, 82–114 (Hospitallers); pp. 18, 166–72 (Templars). The Teutonic Order had its quarter in the eastern part of the walled city. The abbreviator omits reference to the Teutonic Order, and adds the pious hope that the Orders might prevail over the Saracens.

[34] The village of Casal Imbert (at modern Akhziv, just over 9 miles (15 km) north of Acre) was built in 1123 in opposition to Saracen-held Tyre. In the thirteenth century it belonged to the Teutonic Order. The abbreviator omits.

[35] The modern 'Ladder of Tyre' at Ras en Naqoura.

[36] Modern Iskanderun, south of Tyre (165285): Burchard draws on Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, xxix, xliii; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xi. 30. It was built by Baldwin I in 1117. It was named after Aurelius Alexander Severus (Roman emperor, 222–35), not Alexander the Great, to whom it was later attributed. The abbreviator again omits reference to this castle.

[37] Baldwin I (1058–1118) was crowned king of Jerusalem on Christmas Day 1100.

(4) Inde modicum amplius quam per leucam unam est puteus ille admirabilis aquarum uiuentium,[38] iuxta uiam euntibus Tyrum, quantum iacere potest arcus. Cuius aque, sicut dicitur in Canticis, 'fluunt impetu de Libano'. Quamuis autem singulariter dicatur puteus,[h] sunt tamen quattuor eiusdem dispositionis, sed disparis quantitatis. Vnus enim, qui precipuus est, habet quadraginta cubitus longitudinis et latitudinis, ut ego per me mensuraui, et est quadratus, alii tres circa uiginti quinque [i]longitudinis et latitudinis[i] sunt, omnes muris fortissimis, de lapidibus durissimis, de opere insolubili ad altitudinem haste uel amplius circumdati. In quibus ita colligitur aqua et exaltatur, quod ad omnem partem aqua defluit ultra muros. Sunt tamen nihilominus inde aqueductus facti, per riuos inde descendentes, tante profunditatis et latitudinis, quanta est statura unius hominis. Quod per memet ipsum expertus sum, intrans canalem, per quem fluit aqua. Deducuntur autem aque iste per totam planitiem Tyri, et rigantur[j] iardini, orti, uinee, canamelle, quae in magna quantitate crescunt ibidem, de quibus dominus Tyri recipit redditus ualde magnos. Distant[k] fontes isti a mari magno modico amplius, quam iaceri possit arcus, et in isto modico spatio impellunt sex rotas molendini[39] satis magnas, et statim in mari [l]absorbentur fontes isti. Ad[l] litteram uidetur conuenire illud Ecclesiastici 24: 'Rigabo ortum plantationum et inebriabo pratus mei fructum, et ecce factus est mihi trames habundans et fluuius meus appropinquauit ad mare.' Multas commoditates conferunt incolis aque iste.[40]

12. (5) ¶ De isto fonte minus quam leuca una est ciuitas Tyrus in corde[a] maris sita.[41] De cuius preconio satis dicitur in Ezechiele, Ysaia, Ieremia et ceteris sacre scripture libris. Habuit autem de dicto[b] puteo aquarum uiuentium uenam unam per tracones et piramides mirabiles,[42] quarum uestigia et ruine adhuc uidentur, ductam. Que omnia circumiui et oculis mei uidi. Ciuitas Tirus dicitur a Tiras,[43] filio Iaphet, constructa post diluuium, sed a Phenice, ut dictum est supra, instaurata, metropolis Phenice est effecta. Magnum habet murorum ambitum, et meo iudicio maior est ciuitate acconensi, formam habens rotundam, sita in corde maris in rupe durissima et undique mari[c] circumdata, nisi

[h] *B+*; *om.* *P*   [i-i] *om.* *B+*   [j] *add.* unde *B+*   [k] autem *add.* *B+*
[l-l] absorbentur. Fonti isti ad. *B+*

12   [a] *BPb*; littore *P*   [b] predicto *LiZb*   [c] *B+*; muris *P*

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[38] The 'well of living waters' is the spring and accompanying pools at Ras al-'Ain, south of Tyre. The masonry is Roman, incorporating older arches. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, ix. 287 refers to this water supply. On the basis of the reference in S. of S. 4: 15 medieval writers credited its construction to Solomon (cf. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, vii. 22, and xiii. 3).

(4) A little over a league onwards is the wonderful well of living waters,[38] a bowshot from the road for travellers to Tyre. Its waters, as it says in the Song of Songs, 'run with a strong stream from Libanus'. Although the well is spoken of in single terms, there are, however, four wells of the same shape but of unequal capacity. The principal well measures 40 cubits in length and breadth, as I have measured for myself, and is square; the other three measure 25 cubits in length and breadth, all surrounded by the strongest walls, of the hardest stones, of solid masonry, to the height of a spear or more. Within these the water is collected and its level raised, so that water flows down beyond the walls to every part. Nevertheless aqueducts have been built from there, descending through channels as deep and wide as a man's height. I have tested this myself by entering the channel through which the water flows. Those waters are led down through the whole plain of Tyre, irrigating gardens, orchards, vineyards, and sugar canes, which grow there in great quantity and from which the ruler of Tyre receives very large financial returns. These fountains are a little further than a bowshot from the Great Sea, and in that short space they drive six sufficiently large mill-wheels,[39] and these fountains are immediately swallowed up in the sea. The words of Ecclesiasticus 24 seem to fit to the letter: 'I will water my garden of plants, and I will water abundantly the fruits of my meadow, and behold, my brook became a great river, and my river came near to a sea.'[40] These fountains bring many advantages to the local inhabitants.

12. (5) ¶ Less than one league from this fountain is the city of Tyre, set on the sea coast.[41] It receives sufficient praise in Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other books of sacred scripture. It had an artery from the above-mentioned well of living waters brought to it through pipes and wonderful pyramids,[42] traces and ruins of which are still visible. All of this I went round and saw with my own eyes. The city of Tyre is said to have been built after the Flood by Thiras,[43] the son of Japhet, but restored by Phoenix, as stated above, it became the Phoenician metropolis. It has a large circuit of walls, and in my opinion is larger than the city of Acre. It has a circular shape, is set in the heart of the sea on a very hard rock, and is surrounded on all sides by sea

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[39] Six mill wheels: the abbreviator (B6) gives only four.

[40] Ecclus. 24: 42. The abbreviator omits the quotation.

[41] See Ezek. 27: 1–36: 19; Isa. 23: 1–12. Cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, xxv, xliii; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xiii. 4.

[42] The abbreviator omits the architectural details.

[43] Burchard links Tyre with the Thiras (RSV Tiras) of Gen. 10: 2. The abbreviator omits the reference.

in fronte ciuitatis contra orientem, ubi primo Nabuchodonosor et postea Alexander fecerunt eam contiguam terre, quantum iactus est lapidis. Vbi[d] tamen cincta est quadriplici[e] muro,[44] et forti et alto, et ad uiginti quinque pedes spisso. Qui etiam muri muniti sunt duodecim turribus fortissimis, quibus in omnibus mundi partibus non recolo me uidisse meliores. Hiis etiam turribus continuatur arx ciuitatis siue castrum munitissimum et in rupe in corde maris situm, munitum etiam turribus et palatiis fortissimis,[45] que expugnare non deberet [f]meo iudicio[f] merito totus mundus. Multe sunt in ciuitate ista reliquie, sicut colligitur ex historia ecclesiastica de martiribus[46] sub Diocletiano[47] ibi passis, quorum numerus est soli Deo notus. Origenes[48] ibidem in ecclesia sancti sepulchri[49] requiescit in muro conclusus. Cuius titulum ibidem uidi. Sunt ibi columpne marmoree et aliorum lapidum tam magne, quod stupor est uidere. Sedes archiepiscopalis est in ciuitate ista. Et est metropolis Phenicie, habens suffraganeos beritensem, sidoniensem et acconensem episcopos. Et extenditur ista metropolis usque ad Petram Incisam[g] [h]siue Castrum peregrinorum[h]. Decem diebus fui[i] in ea, et pluribus uicibus aliis[j] consideraui eam quantum potui diligenter.[k]

13. (6) Ante portam eius orientalem ad iactum duarum sagittarum inter arenas ostenditur locus predicationis Ihesu Christi, ubi extulit uocem mulier de turba, dicens: ‘Beatus uenter qui te portauit [a]et ubera que subxisti’[a] [50] et est ibi lapis magnus, in quo tunc stabat Ihesus Christus. Qui locus nunquam harena operitur, cum tamen harena illa leuis sit et uolatilis, sicut[b] in partibus occidentis et aquilonis nix uolare [c]consueuit. Ibi autem tempore hyemis facit tumulos[c] circa sepes et loca similia impulsu uenti. Iste tamen[d] locus in medio harenarum semper

[d] uerum *Pb*   [e] *om.* *LiZb*   [f–f] *om.* *B+*   [g] add ut dictum est *BLiPb*   [h–h] *om.* *Li*   [i] *B+*; *om.* *P*   [j] *B+*; *om.* *P*   [k] *B+*; diligentius *P*

13   [a–a] *om.* *LiZb*   [b] sicut *B+*; que *P*   [c–c] consueuit tempore hiemis et tumulos facere *B+*   [d] enim *B+*

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[44] quadruple wall: cf. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xiii. 5, ‘muro clausa triplici’, ‘threefold’.

[45] palisades: the word *palatium* (or *palitium*) may be a derivative of *palus*, ‘stake’ (Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, p. 329); Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 247, n. 26) suggests ‘palisades’, which makes excellent sense.

[46] Burchard refers to Eusebius (*c.*260–340), who mentions the martyrdom of Tyrannios, bishop of Tyre, *Historia ecclesiastica*, viii. 13.3 (GCS ix, *Eusebius* ii. 2, p. 772; *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Oulton and Lawlor, ii. 294–5), and of a youth called Ulpian at Tyre, *De Martyribus Palestinae*, v. 1 (GCS ix, *Eusebius Werke*, ii. 2, p. 918).

[47] Proclaimed Roman emperor by the army in 284, Diocletian focused all power on himself as a near-divine ruler. Persecution of Christians began in 303, and was ended by Constantine in 312. Diocletian abdicated and retired in 305, having reformed and reorganized the empire.

except on the eastern face of the city, where first Nebuchadnezzar and then Alexander made it touch the land the length of a stone's throw. Here, however, it is surrounded by a quadruple wall,[44] strong and high, and up to 25 feet (7.6 m) thick. These walls are defended by twelve very strong towers; I do not recollect having seen any better in any part of the world. These towers are a continuation of the city's citadel, or highly defended castle, set on a rock in the midst of the sea, also defended with the strongest towers and palisades,[45] which, in my judgement, the whole world should not take in fair fight. There are many relics in that city, as one gathers from the Ecclesiastical History about the martyrs[46] who suffered there under Diocletian,[47] whose number God alone knows. Origen[48] lies there in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,[49] enclosed in a wall; I saw his inscription there. There are columns of marble and of other stones there so large that they are a wonder to see. There is an archiepiscopal see in that city. It is also the metropolis of Phoenicia, having suffragan bishops at Beirut, Sidon, and Acre. The metropolitan see extends to Petra Incisa, or Pilgrims' Castle. I was there for ten days, and on many other occasions I have examined it as carefully as I could.

13. (6) Two arrow-shots before its eastern gate amid the sands is shown the place where Jesus Christ preached and where a woman from the crowd raised her voice saying, 'Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the paps that gave thee suck',[50] and there is there the great stone on which Jesus Christ was then standing. This place is never covered by sand, since that sand is light and flies about, just as snow is accustomed to swirl about in the west and in the north. But there in winter, driven by the wind, it makes heaps about the hedges and similar places. However, that spot amid the sands always remains bare, summer and

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[48] A Christian biblical scholar and theologian of lasting fame, probably born in Alexandria (*c.*185–254). Origen established a school at Caesarea in Palestine, and suffered in the Decian persecution of 250, dying a few years later. According to Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, xliii, quoting Jerome, *Epistula* lxxxiv, to Pammachius and Oceanus (CSEL lv, 130 = PL xxii. 749), Origen's death took place in Tyre. The abbreviator omits reference to Diocletian's persecution and to the inscription.

[49] The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Tyre was established there on a new site by the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. For the church, see Pringle, *Churches*, iv. 216–17. The abbreviator omits the reference to Burchard's careful examination of the city, assuming that here as elsewhere his readers are not interested in architectural details, and omits the details of church administration in Phoenicia as of little concern to his readers.

[50] See Luke 11: 27. For the place, see Pringle, *Churches*, pp. 220–7.

nudus[e] permanet et estate et hyemi, [f]sicut oculis meis uidi. (7) ¶ Est insuper[g] in eodem loco columpna quedam per longum strata, ubi, sicut dicitur, quidam peregrini locum illum uisitantes a Sarracenis insidiantibus fuerunt interfecti.[f] [51] (8) ¶ De Tyro ad tres leucas modicas contra aquilonem fluuius Eleuterus[52] intrat mare magnum ad quem usque Ionathas persecutus est regem Demetrium, sicut dicitur primo Machabeorum.[53] Iste fluuius uenit de Yturea[54] siue Galilea gentium, de confinio illo, quod dicebatur antiquitus terra Rob et postea Cabul,[55] et fluit sub castro Beloford,[h] quod fuit militie templi, iuxta Horma,[56] usque quo Iosue persecutus est uiginti quattuor reges, sicut dicitur Iosue. (9) ¶ De isto fluuio ad duas leucas est Sarepta Sydoniorum,[57] ante cuius portam australem ostenditur capella in loco, ubi Helyas propheta uenit ad mulierem sareptenam, ubi mansit, et eius filium[i] suscitauit. Et ostenditur ibidem cenaculum, in quo quieuit. Sarepta uix octo domos habet, cum tamen ruine eius ostendant eam ualde fuisse gloriosam.

14. (10) ¶ Inde ad duas leucas est Sydon,[58] magna urbs Fenicis, cuius magnitudini[a] adhuc ruine eius attestantur, que etiam scripte uix crederentur. Fuit autem in campo per longum disposita, tendens ab austro in aquilonem, sub monte Antilibano, inter ipsum et mare, speciosa ualde. De ruinis tamen eius alia est hedificata, parua quidam, sed munita, si haberet defensores. Et est ex parte una in corde maris sita,

[e] uiridis *Lo*   [f-f] quod est in illa terra ualde rarum et maxime estate quia tunc sol omnia gramina comburit et exsiccat. Est tamen locus modicus ibidem magis uiridis reliquo campo et herbosus ubi dicitur mulier illa stetisse que extulit uocem de turba. Anno tamen Domini 1283 dominus Tyri edificauit capellam in eodem loco et posuit lapidem illum retro altare super columpnam quandam marmoream multum honeste et fuit dedicata ipsa capella in dominica 'oculi mei semper' [*3rd Sunday in Lent*] et ego ante ramos palmarum in eodem loco pluries dixi missas presenti regine Ierusalem et domino Tyri et archepiscopo cum multis aliis *Lo*   [g] etiam *B+*   [h] *LiZb*; Belofrod *P*; Belofort *Pb*   [i] *B+*; filiam *P*

14   [a] magnitudinem *LiZb*

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[51] The abbreviator omits the reference to the column and the fate of the pilgrims.

[52] See 1 Macc. 11: 7; 12: 30; Strabo, *Geography*, xvi. 2. 12. The Eleutherus river is usually identified with the Nahr al-Kebir, north of Tripoli (see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 257, 463; ii. 117, 128, 137), but Burchard clearly identifies it with the Litani.

[53] See 1 Macc. 12: 30. Jonathan was a brother of Judas Maccabaeus; the Seleucid king was Demetrius II, and the date 144 or 143 BC.

[54] Ituraea was the mountainous region north of Upper Galilee (i.e. in modern Lebanon), which Burchard seems to identify as 'Galilee of the Gentiles' (Isa. 9: 1).

[55] Roob (Rehob) and Cabul (Chabul; RSV Kabul) appear in the territory of the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19: 27, 28), along with Burchard's 'Horma' (Josh. 19: 29). Here Burchard is following the Vulgate's reading 'Orma' for the MT's 'Ramath' (RSV Ramah). This reading 'Orma' (Horma) leads him to connect this place in Galilee with the account of Joshua's battle with the thirty-one kings (Josh. 12: 7–24). Kabul appears again in connection with Galilee in

winter, as I saw with my own eyes. (7) ¶ Moreover, in that same place there is also a column, lying lengthwise, where as it is said, certain pilgrims visiting the place were killed by Saracens lying in ambush for them.[51] (8) ¶ Three short leagues north of Tyre the River Eleutherus[52] enters the Mediterranean Sea. To this point Jonathan pursued king Demetrius, as recounted in 1 Maccabees.[53] That river comes from Ituraea[54] or Galilee of the Gentiles, from that territory which in antiquity was called the land of Rehob and later Kabul;[55] it flowed below the castle of Belfort,[56] which belonged to the Templars, alongside Horma, to which Joshua pursued the twenty-four kings, as is recounted in the book of Joshua. (9) ¶ Two leagues from that river is Sarepta of the Sidonians,[57] before whose southern gate is shown the chapel in the place where Elijah the prophet came to the woman of Sarepta, and where he dwelt and revived her son. There is shown in the same place the little room in which he rested. Sarepta has scarcely eight houses, though its ruins reveal it to have once been a very splendid city.

14. (10) ¶ Two leagues onward is Sidon,[58] a great Phoenician city; its present ruins attest its size, which even if described in writing would scarcely be believed. It was laid out along a plain, stretching from south to north below Mount Anti-Lebanon, between it and the sea, a very fair place. From its ruins another city was built, small, but fortified, had it men to defend it. It is set partly in the midst of the sea, with a well-fortified

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3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 9: 13, and is the name of the modern village 14 kilometres (nearly 9 miles) south-east of modern 'Akko (Acre).

[56] The castle of Belfort (Qala'at al-Shaqīf (200303)) sits above the sharp bend of the River Litani, with a commanding view (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 42–5). It was taken by the Crusaders in 1139, by Saladin in 1190, and by the Crusaders again in 1240. It was sold to the Templars in 1260, but in 1268 the Mamluk Baybars recaptured it.

[57] Sarepta (modern Sarafand, 50 miles (80 km) north of Mount Carmel, or 14 miles (22.5 km) north of Tyre, on the Lebanese coast) is the biblical Zarephath (Vulgate Sarephta); (cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 8–24; Obad. 20; Luke 4: 26). It was a large port in Roman times. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, xliv) says that Christians built a small chapel at the site of the miracle near the city gate (Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 282). The abbreviator typically drops the reference to Sarepta as a splendid city.

[58] Sidon (modern Saida, 25 miles (40 km) north of Tyre), 'a great Phoenician city': Strabo (*Geography*, xvi. 2. 22) knew of it in antiquity. It is mentioned in Hittite, Ugaritic, Egyptian, Assyrian, Homeric, and biblical sources. It never belonged to Israel but was seen as Canaanite (cf. Gen. 10: 19), often coupled with Tyre (cf. Acts 12: 20), and called 'metropolis of Tyre' on Seleucid coins (see *ABD*, vi. 17–18; Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia*, p. 112). Sidon was taken by Baldwin I in 1110 (cf. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, xxvii) and recaptured by Saladin in 1187. In 1227–8 French and English crusaders built a castle on the rock in the sea and in 1229 Sidon was granted to the Franks. In 1260 the Templars bought the castle and held it (apart from 1278–83) until 1291, when they finally vacated it (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 121–4).

habens hinc inde duo castra satis munita, unum ab aquilone, in rupe quadem in corde maris situm,[59] quod ibidem[b] hedificauerunt[c] peregrini, qui de Theuthonia uenerant, aliud ex parte australi, in colle situm, satis firmum.[60] Que castra cum ciuitate[d] milites templi tenent. Terra adiacens fertilis est ualde, habundans omnibus bonis et aere saluberrimo. Et sunt ibidem canne mellis et uinee ualde bone. (11) Ante portam orientalem ciuitatis antique, que nunc est deserta,[e] hedificata capella[61] in loco, ubi [f]ad Dominum uenit[f] rogans pro filia demonica [g]mulier cananea[g] in uia,[62] que uersus Ytuream et Cesaream Phylippi ducit.[h] (12) ¶ Mons Antilibanus distat a Sydone ad unam leucam contra orientem. [i]Incipit autem mons iste super fluuium Eleutherum, de quo dictum est ante,[i] et protenditur usque[j] Tripolim ad duas[k] leucas fere per duas[l] dietas, et numquam recedit a mari per duas leucas, nisi iuxta Tripolim, ubi fere distat per tres leucas. Interdum tamen ita accedit ad mare, quod locus est immeabilis omnino. Habundat autem uineis optimis secundum illud: 'Memoriale eius ut uinum Libani.'[63] Et [m]continuatur bonitas[m] huius uini usque[n] Margatum.[o][64]

15. (13) ¶ Vltra Sidonem ad nouem leucas est nobilis illa ciuitas et antiqua Berithus,[65] ubi dicitur etiam Dominus predicasse, ubi etiam [a]quidam Iudeus uocatus ad prandium ab alio Iudeo reperit in domo eius imaginem crucifixi quam ibi ex obliuione reliquerat quidam Christianus qui primo inhabitauerat domum illam. Quod cum denuntiatum est synagogue, nescientes Iudei illuserunt imagini et tandem crucifigentes et lancea perforantes latus ipsius imaginis sanguinem in magna quantitate extraxerunt ab ea que hodie in multis locis uenerationi habetur. Quoddam quidem miraculum in istoria ecclesiastica est notatum. Fertur tamen ab aliis quod de pasta ipsi Iudei eandem fecerunt, qui et postea illuserunt.[a] (14) Episcopus huius ciuitatis [b]sicut et Sidoniensis[b] suffraganeus est Tyrensis. Et terminatur metropolis

[b] *om.* *Li* [c] tenent *Li* [d] et peregrinis *add.* *Li* [e] destructa *BPb* [f–f] Cananea occurrit Christo *B* [g–g] *B om.* [h] tenditur *B* [i–i] *B*+; *om.* *P* [j] ultra *add.* *B*+ [k] quinque *LiZb* [l] quinque *LiZb* [m–m] *B*+; continuantur bonie *P* [n] ultra *add.* *B*+ [o] castrum *add.* *LiZb*

15 [a–a] *P* (*P reads* illuxerunt *for* illuserunt); Iudei factam Christi imaginem de pasta ei illuserunt et tandem crucifigentes sanguinem ab ea in magna quantitate extraxerunt qui usque hodie (in multis locis *add.* *BLoPbZb*) in magna reuerentia (ueneratione *Lo*) habetur *B*+ [b–b] *B*+; Sidonis *P*

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[59] 'one on the north, set on a rock': a thirteenth-century castle on the island of Kal'at al-Bahr, built 1227–8.

[60] 'the other on the south': the Castle of St Louis (Louis IX); in 1253 Louis IX, re-capturing it from the Ayyubids, rebuilt it above the Fatimid fortress; it was further rebuilt in the seventeenth century (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 121–2).

castle on either side, one on the north, set on a rock in the midst of the sea,[59] built there by pilgrims who had come from Germany, and the other on the south, set on a hill, and strong enough.[60] These castles, together with the city, are held by the Knights Templar. The adjacent land is very fertile, rich in every good thing and with a very healthy climate. There are sugar canes and excellent vineyards there. (11) Before the east gate of the ancient city, now deserted, is a chapel[61] built in the place where a Canaanite woman came to the Lord,[62] on the road leading to Ituraea and Caesarea Philippi, pleading on behalf of her demonized daughter. (12) ¶ Mount Anti-Lebanon is one league east of Sidon. The mountain begins above the River Eleutherus (mentioned above) and extends almost 2 leagues as far as Tripoli, a two days' journey; it never recedes as much as 2 leagues from the sea, except near Tripoli, where it is almost 3 leagues distant. Sometimes, however, it is so close to the sea that the place is impassable. It abounds in the best vineyards, according to scripture: 'His memorial shall be as the wine of Libanus.'[63] The fine quality of this wine extends as far as Margat castle.[64]

15. (13) ¶ Nine leagues beyond Sidon is the noble and ancient city of Beirut,[65] where our Lord is said to have preached. Here too a certain Jew called to a dinner by another Jew found in his house an image of the crucified which a certain Christian who had once inhabited that house had forgotten and left there. When this was reported to the synagogue, the Jews in ignorance mocked the image, and finally, crucifying it and piercing the side of the image itself with a spear, drew from it a huge amount of blood, which is kept in veneration to this day in many places. This miracle indeed is noted in the Ecclesiastical History. However, it is reported by others that the Jews themselves made it from paste and later mocked it. (14) The bishop of this city, like that of Sidon, is a suffragan of the archbishop of Tyre. The metropolis of Tyre

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[61] See Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 321–2.

[62] See Matt. 15: 21–8; Mark 7: 24–30. The abbreviator sets this story (B12) after his description of Mount Anti-Lebanon.

[63] 'His memorial . . .': Hos. 14: 8.

[64] On the coast, between Tripoli and Latakia (see above, n. 5).

[65] Beirut is about 25 miles (40 km) north of Sidon; the text's 'nine leagues' is more likely than the 5 leagues of the Lilienfeld manuscript. Beirut is not mentioned in the Bible; the suggestion that Jesus preached there may be based upon Mark 7: 24. Burchard took this story from Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, xxvi) (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), iii. 443, n. 5). Beirut fell to Baldwin I in 1110, and to Saladin in 1187. It was recaptured by the Franks in 1191, and remained in Christian hands until 1291. Beirut had a twelfth-century cathedral, converted to a mosque after 1291 (Pringle, *Churches*, i. 111–19).

tyrensis ultra ad tres leucas in flumine, qui passus canis dicitur,[66] qui ibidem [c]magnum mare ingreditur.[c] Terminatur similiter patriarchatus Ierosolimitanus ibi,[d] et incipit patriarchatus Antiochenus et comitatus Tripolitanus. Qui locus[e] passus canis dicitur, et est locus inmeabilis per terram, nisi de Sarracenorum uoluntate. Pauci enim uiri prohiberent ibi transitum[f] [g]de facili[g] toti mundo.

16. (15) ¶ De Beritho ad sex leucas supra mare est Biblium,[67] ciuitas prima de patriarchatu antiocheno habens episcopum. De ista dicitur in Ezechielis uiginti septem[a] in commendatione Tyri: 'Senes Biblii et prudentes eius[b] habuerunt nautas ad ministerium uarie suppellectilis tue.' Dominus Biblii uasallus est comitis tripolitani. Nunc ciuitas ipsa Gibleth dicitur, et est satis parua. (16) ¶ De Biblio ad quattuor leucas est Botrun ciuitas,[68] opulenta quondam ualde nobilissimo uino et omnibus [c]bonis mundi,[c] sed nunc[d] funditus est destructa. (17) Inde ad tres leucas est castrum Nephym,[69] in mari situm fere totum. Quod est principis antiocheni. In quo uidi uiginti[e] turres bonas et locum munitum ualde. Vinum huius uille magis nominatum est inter omnia uina partium illarum. (18) De Nephym ad duas leucas est ciuitas Tripolis[70] nobilis ualde et fere tota in corde maris posita,[f] sicut Tyrus, et est populosa multum. Habitant[g] in ea Greci, Latini, Armeni, Maronite, Nestoriani et multe alie gentes. De serico multa fiunt in ea opera.[71] [h]Audiui pro certo quod essent in ea textores serici et cameloti et similium amplius quam quadraginta milia.[h] Terra illi adiacens potest dici absque dubio paradisus propter amenitates infinitas in uineis, oliuetis, ficetis, cannellis, quibus omnibus in aliis partibus non recolo similia me uidisse. Campus ante ciuitatem continet in longitudine leucam unam, in latitudine dimidiam. In quo spatio sunt iardini centum uiginti,[i] in quibus fructus diuersi crescunt et in tanta quantitate, quod dicuntur singulis annis ualere suis dominis trecenta milia bysancticorum aureorum.[72]

[c–c] mare intrat *B*   [d] *om. B+*   [e] *om. B*   [f] aditum *Li*   [g–g] *om. LiZb*

16   [a] triginta *Li*   [b] *B+*; *om. P*   [c–c] *om. Lo*; bonis abundans *Li*   [d] peregrini templi *Lo*   [e] duodecim *LiZb*   [f] sita *B+*   [g] enim *add. B+*   [h–h] *om. Li*; audiui . . . quattuor milia *BLoPb*   [i–i] *om. LiZb*; quasi infiniti *BPb*

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[66] Modern Nahr al-Kalb, north of Beirut: in ancient times the River Lycus ('Wolf River'). It was seen by Rameses II (ruled 1290–1224 BC) as marking the boundary between the Egyptian and the Hittite empires. The abbreviator ignores this topographical detail.

[67] Modern Jebail, 26 miles (42 km) north of Beirut: see Ezek. 27: 9 (for *Biblii* there is an alternative Vulgate reading *Giblii*). Byblos was biblical Gebal; the Crusaders called it Gibelet, whence modern Jebail. The Greek name Byblos derives from the trading of papyrus scrolls (*biblia*) through the port from Egypt. The city has been occupied from Neolithic times to the present day. The Crusaders captured it in 1103 and built a castle (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 64–7); Saladin took it in 1187. The Crusaders recovered it, but it was retaken by Baybars in 1266. Burchard seems to ignore this fact and presents Byblos as a Christian city. The abbreviator, however, omits reference to the bishop of Byblos and to the seafaring activities of the place.

ends 3 leagues further on at the river called the Dog's Pass,[66] which there enters the Mediterranean Sea. The patriarchate of Jerusalem likewise ends there, and the patriarchate of Antioch and the county of Tripoli begin. This place is called 'Dog's Pass', and is impassable by land without the permission of the Saracens, for a few men there could easily prevent the whole world from crossing.

16. (15) ¶ Six leagues from Beirut, above the sea, is Byblos,[67] the first city of the patriarchate of Antioch. It has a bishop. This place is spoken of in Ezekiel chapter 27 in commendation of Tyre: 'The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof furnished mariners for the service of thy various furniture.' The master of Byblos is a vassal of the county of Tripoli. Now the city itself is called Gibleth, and is quite small. (16) ¶ Four leagues from Byblos is the city of Botrun,[68] once rich in the very best of wine and all the good things of the world, but now completely destroyed. (17) Three leagues further on is the castle of Nephin,[69] almost entirely in the sea. It belongs to the prince of Antioch. Here I saw twenty good towers and a well-fortified site. This town's wine has the best reputation of all the wines of those parts. (18) Two leagues from Nephin is the most noble city of Tripoli,[70] set, like Tyre, almost completely in the midst of the sea. It is highly populated. In it live Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, and many other peoples. Much work in silk is done there.[71] I have heard for certain that there were there more than forty thousand weavers of silk, of camlet, and other similar fabrics. The adjacent region can doubtless be called a paradise on account of its unbounded amenities in vineyards, groves of olives and figs, and sugar canes. I do not recall seeing anything similar to all this in other places. The plain before the city measures one league in length, half a league in width. Within this area are 120 gardens, in which grow various fruits, in such quantity that they are said to be worth to their rulers each year three hundred thousand Byzantine gold coins.[72]

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[68] Modern Batroun: the Crusaders built Mseilha fort immediately west of Batroun. The abbreviator ignores the place.

[69] Modern Enfeh, by the promontory of Theouprosopon. The Crusader castle on the promontory was defended by a moat cut through the rock at sea level, but the knights abandoned the fortress in 1289, a few years after Burchard's visit. The abbreviator again ignores the place.

[70] Tripolis, now Tripoli, was captured for the Crusaders by Raymond IV of Toulouse (1041–1105) in 1104. The Crusaders built a castle, Mons Peregrinus, or Sanjil, beside it in order to besiege it (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 63). The town was retaken by the Muslims in 1289.

[71] Baedeker (*Palestine and Syria*, pp. 336–7) gives silk weaving as its chief industry, and refers to 'a beautiful forest of orchards' beyond the town. The abbreviator omits the details of the town's population and industry.

[72] The coins were known in the late medieval period as 'bezants'. Wyclif used the word to translate the biblical 'talent'. The abbreviator again ignores these details.

17. (19) ¶ Libanus distat a ciuitate ista per tres leucas. Ad cuius pedem oritur fons ortorum, 'fluens impetu de Libano', sicut dicitur in Canticis.[73] Fons iste[a] humiliter nasci uidetur, sed subito inualescens fluuium facit uehementem et magnum ualde. Iste rigat omnes ortos et planitiem inter Tripolim et Libanum, et commendat mirabiliter regionem. Aque eius optime sunt, frigide et dulces, et plura loca religiosa[b] constructa sunt super riuos eius et ecclesie multe. Venit autem, sicut dictum est, de radice montis et pro parte[c] girat[d] montem leopardorum,[74] et postea [e]per ortos[e] deducitur, rigans ipsos. Tribus enim[f] fluminibus bene magnis mare ingreditur, preter riuos alios, qui in locis diuersis tandem similiter in mare fluunt. Et pro certo de isto fonte uerum est, quod dicitur in Hesthere[75] quod fons paruus creuit in [g]fluuium magnum[g] et in aquas plurimas redundauit. (20) ¶ De Tripoli ad duas[h] leucas est mons leopardorum, rotundus in aspectu et satis altus, distans a Libano ad unam leucam. In huius pede aquilonali uidi speluncam, in qua erat monumentum, habens uiginti sex pedes longitudinis, quod Sarraceni deuote frequentant, dicentes illud esse sepulchrum Iosue;[i] non credo uerum esse, quia textus dicit[76] esse sepultum in Tampnathsare, que est iuxta Sichem in latere montis Effraym. Ego potius credo istud esse sepulchrum Chanaan, filii Cham, filii Noe, uel[j] alicuius similium[k] filiorum eius, qui ad literam circa loca illa habitasse probantur, ut infra dicetur.

18. (21) De spelunca ista ad tres leucas contra aquilonem fere est finis Antilibani et Libani similiter. Et ubi uterque terminatur, ostenditur hodie castrum Arachas,[77] quod Aracheus, filius Chanaam, edificauit [a]post diluuium[a] et suo nomine appellauit, sicut dicit glossa Genesis et Paralipomenon primo.[b] Gloriosa ualde et pulchra et fertilis est terra ista. Vbi Libanus terminatur, de cuius situ et longitudine infra dicetur, cum de Cesarea Phylippi et Iordannis exortu[c] fecero mentionem.

17 [a] *B+; om. P* [b] monasteria *add. Li* [c] sicut dictum est *add. Li*
[d] circuit *B+* [e-e] *B+; om. P* [f] autem *B+* [g-g] flumen maximum *BPb*
[h] tres *B* [i] quod *add. B+* [j] filii *add. Li* [k] filium *BLoPbZb*
18 [a-a] *om. LiZb* [b] *om. Li* [c] *Li+*; exordio *B*

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[73] S. of S. 4: 15, 'fons hortorum puteus aquarum uiuentium quae fluunt impetu de Libano'. This quotation has already been used (11) to describe the fountain between Acre and Tyre at Ras al-'Ain. Burchard describes the fountain and its course at great length; the abbreviator, however, describes two springs (B15), one emerging with sweet water from the bottom of the sea.

[74] Robinson identifies this with Jabal Turbul, about 5 miles (8 km) east of Tripoli (Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1867), iii. 583, n. 2. See his 'A New Map of Palestine and also

17. (19) ¶ From this city Mount Lebanon is 3 leagues distant. At its foot arises the garden fountain, which 'run with a strong stream from Libanus', as the Song of Songs says.[73] The fountain seems to have poor origins, but suddenly gaining strength creates a forceful and mighty stream. It waters all the gardens and plain between Tripoli and Lebanon, and improves the region wonderfully. Its waters are excellent, cool and sweet, and on its banks are built many religious houses and many churches. It comes, as said, from the mountain's foot, partly circles Leopards' Mountain,[74] and then is led down through the gardens, watering them. It enters the sea in three goodly sized rivers, along with other streams which similarly finally flow into the sea in different places. It is surely true of that fountain, as said in Esther,[75] 'a little fountain grew into a very great river, and abounded into many waters'. (20) ¶ Two leagues from Tripoli is Leopards' Mountain, round in appearance and fairly high, one league distant from Lebanon. At its northern foot I saw a cave, in which was a monument, 26 feet (8 m) long; the Saracens visit it devoutly, saying that it is the tomb of Joshua. I do not believe this to be true, since the text says[76] that he is buried in Timnath-heres, which is near Shechem on the flank of Mount Ephraim. I believe rather that this is the tomb of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, or one of Noah's other sons, who are shown literally to have lived about this place, as shall be noted below.

18. (21) About three leagues north of that cave is the boundary of Anti-Lebanon as similarly of Lebanon. Where each ends is shown today the castle of 'Arqa,[77] which Aracheus son of Canaan built after the Flood and called by his own name, as says the gloss on Genesis and 1 Chronicles. That land is especially glorious, beautiful, and fertile. Of the boundary of Lebanon, its position and length, I will tell below when I make mention of Caesarea Philippi and the source of the Jordan.

Syria and Coelesyia (1856)' in the same volume, and the map 'Northern Lebanon' in Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, between pp. 332 and 333). The abbreviator ignores this section, and all the following material about the coastal cities in this first division of the work.

[75] Esther 11: 10 (Vulgate).

[76] Judg. 2: 9. See *ABD*, vi. 557–8; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 442.

[77] Modern 'Arqa, 7.5 miles (12 km) north-east of Tripoli: Tall 'Arqa is evidenced from Neolithic times. The name is preserved in the Arkites (Vulgate, Arcites) of Gen. 10: 17, where the Vulgate gives Araceus as one of the sons of Canaan. 'Arqa is mentioned in Josephus (*Jewish War*, vii. 97; *Jewish Antiquities*, i. 138) and Pliny (*Historia naturalis*, v. 16 (76); Loeb, vol. ii, pp. 278–9). Raymond of Toulouse unsuccessfully besieged it in 1099; in 1108 the Crusaders took it, losing it in 1138, regaining it and finally losing it to Baybars in 1266. See Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1867), iii. 579–82; Thalmann, 'Tell 'Arqa (Liban Nord)'.

(22) ¶ De castro Arachas ad dimidiam leucam contra orientem est Syna opidum, quod Syneus,[78] filius Chanaam, frater Arachei, post diluuium[d] non procul ab Arachas construxit,[e] sicut dicit glossa Genesis. Nestorianus tamen quidam ibidem habitans requisitus dixit mihi opidum illud appellari Synochim.[79] Et idem dixit mihi quidam Sarracenus ibidem. (23) Sub castro Arachas et oppido Synochim est planities magna et amena et fertilis ualde, usque [f]circa castrum Krach,[f] quod fuerat hospitalis Sancti Iohannis,[80] fere per leucas decem[g] longitudinis et [h]per octo leucas latitudinis usque in Anteradum,[h] que nunc Tortosa dicitur.[81] Planities ista multa habet casalia et pulchra nemora oliuarum et ficuum et arborum aliarum diuersi generis et ligna multa. Preterea habundat fluminibus et pascuis pinguibus supra modum. Vnde Turcomani et Madianite et Boduuini ibidem habitant in tabernaculis[i] cum uxoribus et filiis et pecoribus suis et camelis. Vidi ibidem gregem maximum camelorum, et credo, quod plura milia camelorum ibi erant. (24) Planitiem istam circumdant quedam montana ab oriente non multum alta,[j] que incipiunt iuxta Arachas et protenduntur usque in Krach. In hiis montanis habitant quidam Saraceni, qui dicuntur Vannini,[82] gens effera et maliciosa et Christianis infesta.

19. (25) ¶ De Arachas et Synochim oppido[a] usque in Anteradum sunt octo leuce per planitiem supradictam. Anteradum autem[b] dicitur quasi ante Radium sita. Est autem[c] Aradium insula in corde maris,[83] a terra firma per dimidiam leucam distans. In hac adhuc diebus nostris erat ciuitas bona, de qua dicitur Ezechiele uiginti septem:[d] 'Filii Aradii cum exercitu tuo super muros tuos in circuitu tuo. Glossa: Aradium ciuitas tota cincta mari, contra Anteradum sita, uicina[e] Tyro.' Verum est, [f]quod distat ab eo[f] per duas[g] dietas. Condidit autem hanc ciuitatem Aradius, filius Chanaam, post diluuium.[h] (26) ¶ Hic nota, quod Cham, filius Noe, genuit Chanaam post diluuium.[84] Chanaan autem genuit

[d] *B*+; *om. P* [e] edificauit *B*+ [f-f] ad castrum Baracha *B* [g] undecim *LiZb* [h-h] per octo leucas latitudinis *LoP*; *om. LiBPb*; sex *Lo* [i] *B*+; *om. P* [j] lata *BPb*

19 [a] oppidis *Lo* [b] *B*+; *om. P* [c] *B*+; *om. P* [d] uiginti septem *LiPb*; *om. Lo*; triginta septem *BP* [e] uero est *add. B* [f-f] *om. B* [g] quinque *LiLoZb*; decem *B* [h] nota quod fuit terra Chananeorum ubi dicitur de filiis Noe *add. B*

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[78] The reference is to the Sinites of Gen. 10: 17 (Vulgate, Sinaeus). The location of this Canaanite group is unknown. The name Syn appears in Ugaritic texts with reference to a city-state south of Ugarit called Siyanna; see Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, p. 449, entry 1750; cf. Sianum on the coast south of Ugarit in the Neo-Assyrian text (Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, p. 308).

[79] The name Synochim is otherwise unknown.

[80] The castle of Krak (Krak des Chevaliers, modern Qala'at al-Hosn) began as a Kurdish settlement. The Hospitallers took it over and rebuilt it in 1142. Saladin failed to capture it in

(22) ¶ From the castle of 'Arqa it is half a league eastwards to the town of Syn, which Syneus,[78] son of Canaan, brother of Aracheus, built after the Flood not far from 'Arqa, as says the gloss on Genesis. But a certain Nestorian living there, being questioned, told me that the town was called Synochim,[79] and a Saracen there told me the same thing. (23) Below the castle of 'Arqa and the town of Synochim is a large plain, beautiful and very fertile, extending to the castle of Krak,[80] a hospital of St John. It is almost 10 leagues long and 8 leagues broad, as far as Tartus, now called Tortosa.[81] The plain has many villages and fine groves of olives and figs and various other trees, and much wood. Further, it abounds beyond measure in streams and rich pastures. For this reason Turcomans, Midianites, and Bedouin live here with their wives and children, their flocks and camels. I saw there an enormous herd of camels and I believe that there were several thousand camels there. (24) The plain is surrounded on the east by some mountains, not very high, which begin near 'Arqa and extend as far as Krak. In these mountains live certain Saracens called the Vannini,[82] a wild, spiteful people, hostile to Christians.

19. (25) ¶ From the towns of 'Arqa and Synochim to Tartus it is 8 leagues through the plain just mentioned. Tartus (Antaradus) is so called as standing over against Arvad. Arvad is an island in the heart of the sea,[83] half a league distant from dry land. There stood on it until our time a fair city, of which it is said in Ezekiel chapter 27, 'The men of Arad were with thy army upon thy walls round about'; the gloss says 'Aradium, a city totally surrounded by sea, set opposite Anteradum, a neighbour to Tyre'. In fact, it is two day's journey from Tyre. Aradius, son of Canaan, founded this city after the Flood. (26) ¶ Note here that Ham, son of Noah, fathered Canaan after the Flood.[84] Canaan fathered

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1188. In the first half of the thirteenth century the Hospitallers controlled the region from here, but in 1271 the castle submitted to Baybars (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 145–63).

[81] Antaradus, Tortosa (modern Tartus) lay on the mainland opposite the island of Arvad (ancient Aradus, modern Ruad, Gen. 10: 18; Ezek. 27: 8, 11). The Byzantine town (named Constantine) was taken by the Arabs, and captured in 1099 by the Crusaders, who fortified it. From 1152 it was held by the Templars (surviving Saladin's attack in 1188) until they retreated to Arvad in 1291 and finally to Cyprus in 1302. Burchard thus saw the area in the final years of Crusader possession, and notes the strong presence of Arab tribes.

[82] See below, 110.

[83] This was biblical Arvad (Gen. 10: 18), modern Ruad, supplying oarsmen for Tyre's fleet and defenders for its walls (Ezek. 27: 8, 11). According to 1 Macc. 15: 23, Aradus among other cities received in 142 BC a copy of a Roman letter announcing Rome's friendship and alliance with the Jews.

[84] Burchard draws on Gen. 10: 6, 15–20 for the genealogy.

Sidonem, primogenitum suum, Etheum et Iebuseum et Amoreum, Gergeseum et Eueum et Aracheum.[i] Per hos disseminati sunt populi Chananeorum. Ex hiis undecim[j] filiis Chanaam quattuor, scilicet Sidon primogenitus, qui hedificauit Sydonem, et Aracheus,[85] qui Arachas condidit, et Sinoim,[k] qui Synoim,[l] et Aradium, qui Aradium condidit, ut dictum est supra—quattuor, inquam, isti manserunt in terra ista contra principium Libani,[m] ut patet; reliquos autem [n]septem, scilicet Etheum, Iebuseum, Amoreum, Gergeseum, Eueum, Amarithem et Amatheum[n] reliquit Dominus Deus Israel,[o] ut haberet[p] Israel[q] consuetudinem preliandi.[r] Piramides[86] autem istorum quattuor et sepulchra ostenduntur hodie citra Anteradum ad unam leucam sumptuosa nimis et stupende magnitudinis. Lapides in eis[s] mensuraui enim[t] [u]sedecim octodecim[u] pedum longos et latos et spissos ad staturam hominis bene longi, ita ut stupor sit uidere et miraculosum[v] ualde, quomodo erigi potuerunt uel in hedificio collocari.

20. (27) A latere Anteradi ad dimidiam leucam contra orientem sunt montana quedam[87] non multum alta nec inaccessibilia, ut quidam dicunt. Qui terra Assisinorum[a] dicuntur[88] et sunt. De ritu istorum et moribus infra plenius dicetur. (28) In Anterado beatus Petrus multo tempore predicauit, cum Antiochiam pergeret, sicut scilicet[b] in itinerario[c] Clementis legitur.[89] Et Clemens ibidem[d] martirium[e] recepit.[f] Ibi[g] beatus Petrus primam ecclesiam in honore beate uirginis[90] construxit. Que hodie permanet. In hac ego celebraui missam, nam sex diebus ibi steti.[h] (29) ¶ De Anterado septem leucis est castrum Mergad,[91] fratrum hospitalis Sancti Iohannis, supra ciuitatem Valaniam, unam leucam distans a mari, munitum ualde et in monte altissimo situm. Sedes episcopalis, que erat in Valania, propter insultum Saracenorum in castrum est translata. Et est episcopus ille suffraganeus archiepiscopi appamiensis, sicut et episcopus arachensis.[92] (30) In ciuitate Valania et in fluuio

[i] Serecheum, Amaritam, Amatheum et Syneum *add. BPb*; Sineim, Aradium, Amarithem, Amatheum *add. Lo* [j] *add. B+* [k] Syneus *BPb*; Synoym *LiLo* [l] Synachim *BPb*; Syneoum *LiLoZb*; condidit *add. LiLo* [m] *B+*; *om. P* [n-n] *om. BPb* [o] *B+*; *om. P* [p] haberent *BLoPbZb* [q] *om. B+* [r] *om. Pb* [s] magnitudinis lapides in eis. Mensuraui *B+P* [t] lapides *add. BLoPbZb* [u-u] uiginti quattuor *LiZb*; sedecim et uiginti *BPb*; sedecim et undeuiginti *Lo* [v] *B+*; miratur *P*

20 [a] *Lo*; Assiriorum *B+*; Assinorum *P* [b] *om. BPbZb* [c] alueario *LiZb* [d] Ibi *B*; idem *Lo* [e] matrem suam *BLiPbZb*; patrem suum et matrem *Lo* [f] inuenit *BPb*; reperit *Zb* [g] etiam *add. B+* [h] fui *Pb*

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[85] Comparison with the list of the 'four' above suggests that Aracheus is an error for the missing Samareus, i.e. the Samarites (RSV Zemarites) of Gen. 10: 18.

[86] Probably the Persian-Hellenistic period tombs at Amrit (ancient Marathus), 4 miles (7 km) south of Tartus, the mainland port for the island of Arvad. Compare the Hellenistic

Sidon, his firstborn, Etheus, Iebuseus, Amorreus, Gergeseus, Eueus, and Aracheus. Through these the Canaanite peoples were spread abroad. Of these eleven sons of Canaan four, namely Sidon the firstborn, who built Sidon, Aracheus,[85] who founded ‘Arqa, Sinoim, who founded Synochim, and Aradius, who founded Arvad, as mentioned above—four, I say, remained in the land about the capital of Lebanon, as is clear; the remaining seven, namely Etheus, Iebuseus, Amorreus, Gergeseus, Eueus, Amarithes, and Amatheus, the Lord God of Israel left, that Israel might have the experience of fighting. The pyramids[86] of the four, and the tombs, sumptuous in the extreme and of amazing size, are shown today one league this side of Tartus. For among them I measured stones 16 feet (4.9 m), 18 feet (5.5 m) long and as wide and thick as a tall man’s stature, such that they are a wonder to see. How they could have been erected and set in place in the building is a matter for great wonder.

20. (27) Beside Tartus, half a league to the east, are some mountains,[87] not very high, nor inaccessible, as some say. These are said to be the land of the Assassins,[88] and so they are. Of their rites and customs more will be said below. (28) In Tartus, when he was on his way to Antioch, blessed Peter preached often, as indeed we read in Clement’s *Itinerary*.[89] Clement received his martyrdom there. Blessed Peter built there the first church in honour of the Blessed Virgin;[90] it survives today. I have celebrated mass in it, for I stayed there six days. (29) ¶ Seven leagues from Tartus is the castle of Margat,[91] belonging to the Hospitaller brothers of St John. It lies above the city of Baniyas, one league distant from the sea, well defended and set on a very high mountain. The episcopal see, formerly in Baniyas, was transferred to the castle on account of an assault of the Saracens. That bishop, like the bishop of ‘Arqa, was a suffragan of the archbishop of Apamea.[92] (30) The city of Baniyas and

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Maccabaean tombs (1 Macc. 13: 27–8). (See Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 356; *OEANE*, i. 111–13.)

[87] mountains: the Jabal al-Ansariyya.

[88] See below, p. 198, n. 601.

[89] The ‘itinerary’ is to be identified with the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies 12 (PG ii. 301–20); the Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 176^{va}) and the Zwettl Codex 315 (fo. 126^{rb}) read ‘alveario’. An ‘alvearium’ was a beehive or kneading-trough (Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, p. 100); cf. Rufinus (trans.), *Clementine Recognitions*, vii.1.2, in PG, i. 1355–64. See ‘Clementine Literature’, *ODCC*, p. 365.

[90] Church in honour of the Blessed Virgin: for the church, see the works referred to by Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 252, n. 68.

[91] See above (7). Burchard’s reference suggests that Margat was still in Christian hands, and must therefore be dated before May 1285 when the Sultan Qalā’ūn of Egypt captured it.

[92] For the transference of the bishopric from Arqa to Apamea, see Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 253, n. 70.

eiusdem nominis,[i] qui ipsam preterfluit, terminatur regnum Iherusolimitorum. Incipit etiam principatus antiochenus,[93] terminato ibidem nihilominus comitatu tripolitano. Distat autem locus iste ab acconensi ciuitate per octo dietas, et sunt quattuor diete ab isto usque Antiochiam, et licet ultra processerim in terra ista contemplando eam, tamen de ipsa nihil scripto, quia non propono de aliis terris scriptare nisi de terra sancta. Et haec de ista prima diuisione dicta sufficiant.

INCIPIT SECVNDA DISTINCTIO TERRE SANCTE

21. (III. 1) ¶ Secunda distinctio procedit ab Accon contra aquilonem,[a] et in ea primo post Accon ad quattuor leucas directe procedendo contra aquilonem est castrum, quod dicebatur[b] Mons fortis. Quod fuit[c] hospitalis Theothonicorum, sed nunc penitus est destructum.[94] (2) Inde quattuor leucis [d]contra eandem plagam[d] est Thoron[e] castrum, munitum ualde,[95] quod dominus Tiberiadis[f] contra Tyrum hedificauerat, cum tenerent eam Saraceni, distans a Tyro septem leucas. (3) Inde quattuor leucis est ciuitas antiqua, Asor dicta,[96] in qua habitauit rex Iabin ille potens qui cum uiginti quattuor regibus pugnauit contra Iosue et Israel ad aquas Maron. De qua etiam dicitur Iosue .xi.:[g] quod 'solam Asor munitissimam uorax flamma consumpsit'. [h]De huius preconio ciuitatis ruine eius attestantur usque in praesentem diem.[h] [i]Distat autem a Tyro per octo leucas contra orientem.[i] (4) De ea per sex leucas contra aquilonem[j] est Belenas[97] ciuitas,[k] in pede montis Libani,

[i] *om. Li*

21 [a] boream *BPb* [b] dicitur *BLiPb* [c] fuerat *LiPb* [d] *om. Li* [e] *om. Li* [f] *LiLoZb*; Tiberiadem *BPb*; Tiberiacen *P* [g] *Li*; sex *PPb* [h–h] *om. BPb* [i–i] *om. BLiPb* [j] fere *add. B+* [k] siue Dan *add. B*

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[93] Antioch was where the name 'Christian' was first used (Acts 11: 26), and by the fourth century it ranked as the third patriarchal see in the Roman empire, after Rome and Alexandria. In 1100 the Orthodox Patriarch of the Byzantine world withdrew to Constantinople and the Crusaders appointed a Latin Patriarch. They also created the Principality of Antioch, under Bohemond of Taranto and then Tancred of Hautville. It lasted until 1268, falling to Baybars.

The abbreviator (**B16**) replaces Burchard's description of the northern coast in **17–20** by a brief description of Laodicea (which Burchard's longer text does not mention), linked with Coele-Syria and Antioch, Cilicia and its metropolis Tarsus, and begins this section with Jotapata 'as if from the centre', thus making Jotapata, not Acre, his starting point. Laodicea (modern Latakia) is mentioned as hostile to Christian pilgrims by Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211–12) (I, xii; in Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 171). The abbreviator's identification of Armenia Minor with Cilicia, Lycia, or Lycaonia (**B16**) is correct: in the thirteenth century Armenia Minor and Cilicia belonged together under one ruler (see **118**, **124**).

[94] Montfort (modern Qala'at al-Qurein, 8 miles (13 km) north-east of Nahariya) was built by the Teutonic Order as its headquarters in 1229, destroyed by Baybars in 1271 (see Kennedy,

the river of that name which flows past it mark the boundary of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Here also begins the principality of Antioch,[93] with the county of Tripoli likewise ending here. The place is eight days' journey distant from the city of Acre, and it is four days' journey from it to Antioch, and though I have travelled beyond that in viewing the land, nevertheless I write nothing about it, because I do not propose to write about any other land than the Holy Land. Let these words suffice for the first division.

THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND

21. (III. 1) ¶ The second division runs north from Acre; in it, four leagues after Acre, proceeding directly north, one comes first to the castle which used to be called Montfort. This was a hospital of the Teutonic knights, and is now totally destroyed.[94] (2) Four leagues beyond Montfort towards the same county is the well-fortified castle of Toron,[95] which the ruler of Tiberias had built against Tyre when the Saracens held it; it was seven leagues distant from Tyre. (3) Four leagues beyond Toron is the ancient city named Hazor,[96] where lived the powerful king Jabin who with twenty-four kings fought Joshua and Israel at the waters of Merom. About this Joshua 11 also says that 'only Asor that was very strong he consumed with fire'. The ruins of this city attest its fame to this day. It is eight leagues distant from Tyre, to the east. (4) Six leagues north from here, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, is the city of Banias,[97] which (as is said in the book of Judges) was first

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Crusader Castles, pp. 129–31; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 40–3; Boas, 'The Montfort Castle'. The abbreviator omits mention of Montfort, Toron, and Hazor as irrelevant to his readers.

[95] The castle of Toron (modern Tibnin in southern Lebanon) was built by Hugh of Falkenberg, the ruler of Galilee, in 1105–6, in opposition to Saracen-held Tyre, surrendered to the Saracens in 1187, and dismantled in 1219. The site was bought by the Teutonic Order in 1220, passed to the Ayyubids in 1239, was recovered by the Crusaders in 1241, and fell to Baybars in 1266 (see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 40–2; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 367–8).

[96] Hazor, modern Tall al-Qedah (203269); see Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 436; Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 345; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 306–11. See Josh. 11: 1–15 (at 11: 13): 'unam tantum Asor munitissimam flamma consumpsit'. Burchard has changed 'unam' to 'solam', dropped 'tantum', and introduced the adjective 'vorax'.

[97] Belenas (modern Banias), was known in Hellenistic times as Paneion, after a cave and spring dedicated to the god Pan. It was named Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16: 13–20; Mark 8: 27–30) after Tiberius Caesar and Philip, son of Herod the Great. Later the name Paneas reasserted itself; hence modern Banias. Burchard, with Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, xxxv) mistakenly identifies it with biblical Dan (the modern Tall al-Qadi), but the two sites are a mere 4 miles (6.5 km) apart at the southern end of Mount Hermon. Belenas was in Crusader hands 1128–72, 1240–64; it was destroyed with its cathedral in 1264.

que, sicut in libro Iudicum dicitur, primo Lachis dicebatur, et [l]cum esset[l] procul a Sidone[m] fere decem[n] leucis, et cum nemine quicquam societatis haberent homines illi (siti[o] in regione Rohob)[98] ceperunt eam filii Dan et uocauerunt eam Lesendan,[p] nomine patris sui Dan. Sepe tamen simpliciter Dan dicitur,[99] secundum illud: 'Congregatus est uniuersus Israel a Dan usque Bersabee.'[100] Est enim hec ciuitas contra septentrionem terminus terre sancte, Bersabee uero contra austrum, secundum illud quattuor[q] Regum: 'Venit Helyas in Bersabee Iuda.'[101] Et infra: 'Et abiit in desertum.' Quod absque dubio ciuitati illi est contiguum. Et nunc Giblin[102] appellatur. Philippus autem cum esset tetrarcha Yturee et Traconitidis regionis, istam ciuitatem[r] Belenas siue Dan suo nomine Cesaream Phylippi uoluit nominari. A Grecis autem Paneas appellatur. Sed hodie omnia nomina hec cessauerunt, et communiter Belenas appellatur.

22. (5) ¶ Supra hanc ciuitatem [a]hinc inde[a] oriuntur duo fontes: Ior et Dan,[103] et in pede montis Libani. Qui ante portam ciuitatis conuenientes in unum Iordanem fluuium efficiunt. (6) Nota tamen, quod in rei ueritate iste non est uerus ortus Iordanis. Dicit enim Iosephus, et uerum est, quod ab isto loco [b]contra austrum[b] fere sex centum[c] stadiis est fons, qui appellatur Phyala, semper plenus et numquam effluens, sed subterraneo meatu usque ad locum istum fluit et ibi effluit, et Dan uocatur. Quod per paleas[d] [104] in Phyalam[105] missas et in fontem Dan receptas sepe[e] est probatum. Saraceni autem fontem illum non Phyalam, sed Medan, uocant, id est aquas Dan.[f] 'Me' enim 'aque' Arabice dicitur. Dan uero fons est unus de duobus[g] supradictis. Matheus uero locum illum Magadan appellat, Marcus uero Dalmanutha.[106] Est autem non longe a Suatha ciuitate, iuxta piramidem

[l–l] hec est *Li*   [m] hoc est *add. B+*   [n] undecim *LiZb*   [o] sita *P+*
[p] *LoZb*; Lesedan *BLiPb*; Selendam *P*   [q] *om. BPb*   [r] scilicet *add. BPb*

22   [a–a] *om. LiZb*   [b–b] *om. Li*; contra orientem *BPb*   [c] milibus *BPb*
[d] canales *Li*   [e] sepius *B+*   [f] quasi dicant, Iste sunt aque Dan *add. B+*
[g] *om. LiZb*

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[98] MSS Lachis clearly refers to biblical Laish. Cf. Judg. 18: 28, where Laish is in the valley belonging to Beth-rehob (Douai–Reims, 'in the land of Roob'); cf. Num. 13: 21; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 10: 6. Rehob was probably somewhere between the Huleh and Beka'a valleys.

[99] See Judg. 18: 27–9; Josh. 19: 47–8.

[100] The phrase is commonly used to indicate the northern and southern limits of Israel, e.g. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 17: 11. Burchard wrongly identifies Dan with Caesarea Philippi/Banias, and Beer-sheba with Bet Guvrin.

[101] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 3, 4. Burchard slightly adapts the Vulgate's text. The abbreviator omits this story.

called Lachish. Since it was far from Sidon (almost 10 leagues) and since its men, set in the region of Rehob,[98] had no contact with anyone, the Danites captured it and called it Lesendam, from the name of their patriarch Dan. But it was often simply called Dan,[99] as in that quotation 'let all Israel be gathered, from Dan to Bersabee'.[100] This city is the northern boundary of the Holy Land, but Beersheba the southern, according to 3 Kings: 'Elijah came to Beersheba of Judah',[101] and, further on, 'He went away into the desert', which certainly borders that city. Beersheba is now called Giblin.[102] Philip, however, when tetrarch of Ituraea and Trachonitis, wished that city (Banias or Dan) to be named Caesarea Philippi after his own name. By the Greeks, however, it is called Paneas. But today all these names have gone, and it is commonly called Banias.

22. (5) ¶ Above this city, on either side and at the foot of Mount Lebanon, arise two springs, Jor and Dan.[103] They unite before the gate of the city and make the river Jordan. (6) Note, however, that in fact this is not the true source of the Jordan. For Josephus says, correctly, that about 600 stadia south of Banias is a spring called Phiala, which is always full and never overflows, but flows by an underground course to that place and emerges there, and is called Dan. This has often been shown by straws[104] thrown into Phiala[105] and taken up at the spring Dan. The Saracens, however, call that spring not Phiala but Medan, that is, 'waters of Dan', for *me* is Arabic for *waters*. Dan in fact is one of the two springs mentioned above. Matthew in fact calls this place Magedan, but Mark Dalmanutha.[106] It is not far from the city of

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[102] Giblin (modern Bayt Jibrin) is to be identified with Eleutheropolis, not Beer-sheba; Burchard here follows William of Tyre (*Chronicon*, xiv. 22). There was a Crusader citadel here from 1134 to 1244 (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii, p. 272; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 116; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 213–18).

[103] From Jerome's time if not earlier these two springs 'Jor' and 'Dan' were seen as the sources of the Jordan: 'Dan autem unus e fontibus est Iordanis; nam et alter uocatur Ior, quod interpretatur...riuus' (Jerome, *Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesim*; PL xxiii. 961; CCSL lxxii. 19). Jerome does not note the name's origin in the Hebrew root *yrd*, to descend.

[104] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, iii. 506–15, who credits the story of the straws to Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis. The abbreviator ignores completely the topographical details of this paragraph.

[105] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, iii. 510–15. Since Seetzen (who travelled in 1806), the pool of Phiala has been identified with Birkat ar-Ran or ar-Ram (222293), south-east of Banias (Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 334–5; Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1867), iii. 398–400; Abel, *Géographie*, i. 489–90).

[106] See Matt. 15: 39; Mark 8: 10.

sepulchri beati Iob[107] in Traconidite regione. De hoc autem infra plenius dicetur.[h] Iordanis autem fluuius, ut dictum est, ante portam ciuitatis Belenas congregatus de duobus illis fontibus post longos circuitus, quos facit, Traconitidem et Ytuream[108] separando tandem inter Capharnaum[109] et Corozaim[110] mare Galilee ingreditur, quattuor leucis a Cedar ciuitate,[111] que est supra in monte sita.

23. (7) Medio tamen loco inter Belenas et mare Galilee quandam uallem ingrediens in stagnum colligitur tempore resolutionis[a] niuium de Libano, quod stagnum dicitur hodie ad aquas Maron.[112] Vbi Iosue cum Iabin rege Asor et aliis uiginti quattuor regibus[113] dimicauit, et uictor existens persecutus est eos usque ad aquas Masrepha[114] et usque ad Sydonem magnum fere per octo leucas. Hec[b] aqua tempore estiuo exsiccatur pro magna parte. Vnde crescunt ibi arbusta et herbe dempse,[c] in quibus latitant[d] leones et ursi et bestie alie. Et sunt ibi uenationes regie. Medietas huius uallis est in hac secunda diuisione, que respicit aquilonem, alia medietas in sequenti tertia constituta. Terra[e] autem, que est ultra hanc uallem et in littore Iordanis orientali pertotum usque ad Libanum, qui est ad sinistram, et usque ad montem Hermon, qui est contra uulturnum, et usque ad ciuitatem Bosra,[115] que est ad orientem in monte Suuanir,[116] qui coniungitur cum monte Hermon,

[h] Medan siue Fiala distat de Cesarea Phylippi quindecim milia passuum. ab ortu Iordanis usque miliadem que est Capharnaum quindecim milia passuum sunt. Item ab eodem loco ad finem maris mortui sunt octo diete *add. Lo*

23 [a] solutionis *LiZb* [b] sed *Li* [c] ualde *add. B+* [d] habitant *Li*
[e] *BPbLo*; tertia *LiZbP*

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[107] If Suetha is modern es-Suweida on the western edge of Jabal Hauran and Jabal ad-Druz, it is over 50 miles (80 kilometres) south-east of the Phiala spring, on the road between Bostra and Damascus. The pyramidal tomb of Job (in fact, an Egyptian monument in basalt of the Egyptian Pharaoh Rameses II) was shown at Sheikh Sa'd (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 159; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 239–40). However, the Magedan (or Magdala) of Matthew and Dalmanutha of Mark (though there is confusion about the names; see *ABD*, ii. 4) are clearly on the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee, far away from Phiala, Dan, or the tomb of Job. Sanudo and Vesconte's map of 1321 (see Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas', Tafel ii) shows Suetha and Job's tomb east of Lake Huleh. Burchard here is clearly in some confusion, as frequently in discussing Transjordanian geography.

[108] See above, n. 23.

[109] Capernaum is modern Tel Hum/Kaphar Nahum (204254) on the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee (see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 292–3; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 250–5). See also under 27.

[110] Chorazin, according to Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 174. 23) 2 miles (3 km) north of Capernaum, may be identified with Khirbat Karazeh (see van der Velde, *Memoir*, p. 304; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 257–8). Some medieval maps, however, such as the twelfth-century map of the Holy Land from Florence (Röhricht, 'Karten und Pläne', vi (1895), Tafel v), and the later map from Florence dated *c.*1300 (Röhricht, 'Karten und Pläne', i–iii (1891), Tafel i), and Sanudo and Vesconte's map (which draws on Burchard) of 1321 (Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 107–27) show Corrozaim (Chorazin) at Kursi

Suetha, near the pyramidal tomb of blessed Job[107] in the region of Trachonitis. Of this more will be said below. The river Jordan, as has been said, comes together before the gate of Banias from the two springs, and, after long circuits which it makes separating Trachonitis and Ituraea,[108] finally enters the Sea of Galilee between Capernaum[109] and Chorazin,[110] 4 leagues from the city of Kedar,[111] which lies above on the mountain.

23. (7) Midway between Banias and the Sea of Galilee the river enters a certain valley and when the snow melts on Lebanon the waters are gathered into a pool, which today is called the Waters of Merom.[112] This is where Joshua fought Jabin king of Hazor and twenty-four other kings,[113] and emerging victor pursued them almost 8 leagues to Misrephoth-maim[114] and to Great Sidon. This water mostly dries out in summer, and so bushes and grasses grow there densely in which lurk lions, bears, and other beasts. Royal hunts are held there. Half this valley lies in this second division, which looks north; the other half has been placed in the following third division. The land which lies beyond this valley and on the east bank of the Jordan all the way to Lebanon on the west and to Mount Hermon to the south-east, and to the city of Bosra[115] to the east on Mount Senir[116] (which is joined with Mount

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(ancient Gergesa) on the east coast of the Sea of Galilee, as indicated here by Burchard, who has the Jordan enter the Sea of Galilee between Chorazin and Capernaum. However, the map from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, attributed to Matthew Paris (Harvey, ibid., pp. 60–73), marks Corrozaim clearly on the north-west coast of the Sea of Galilee.

[111] In the biblical, Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian sources the name Kedar (RSV Kedar) belonged to sheep-rearing and tent-dwelling desert tribes (cf. Gen. 25: 13; Jer. 49: 28–33; Ezek. 27: 21; Isa. 21: 16–17; 42: 11; 60: 7; S. of S. 1: 5). The twelfth-century Florence map shows Kedar as a city south-east of the Sea of Galilee; the Florence map of *c.*1300 shows 'Cedar ciuitas' east of Chorazin, as does the Sanudo–Vesconte map. Burchard follows this tradition, but it is not clear where the idea of a 'city' of Cedar comes from.

[112] See Josh. 11: 1–9. Abel identified Merom with Meirom (191265) on the eastern slopes of Jabal Jarmaq (near Safad); Aharoni and others identify Merom with T. al-Khureibeh (190275) (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 385; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, pp. 225–6). The 'waters of Merom' would be the water source of the city of Merom (*ABD*, iv. 705). However, Burchard appears to think of a site midway between Belenas and the Sea of Galilee, and so in the Jordan valley north of the Sea of Galilee, i.e. at Lake Huleh, as indeed shown on the Sanudo–Vesconte map.

[113] For the kings, see Josh. 12: 7–24.

[114] Perhaps modern Khirbat Musheirefeh; cf. Josh. 11: 8; 13: 6, on the border of Sidonian territory (cf. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 270). Some important manuscripts read 'twenty-four' kings. Burchard's following description suggests that he is referring to the Huleh valley. The abbreviator omits reference to this toponym, and omits completely the rest of this section on land east of the Jordan.

[115] Not Bozrah of Edom (e.g. Gen. 36: 33; Isa. 34: 6; 63: 1) but probably Bostra in the Hauran (modern Busra ash-Shams) east of Dera'a (1 Macc. 5: 26, 28).

[116] Deut. 3: 9 gives Sanir (RSV Senir) as the Amorite name for Mount Hermon; cf. S. of S. 4: 8; Ezek. 27: 5 says that ships' planks were made from its fir trees.

appellatur in Iosue planities Libani siue regio Traconitidis pro eo, quod, cum aquis fluuialibus[f] omnino careat terra ista, incole[g] tempore pluuiarum aquas colligunt in berkilibus[h] et cisternis, quas per tracones[117] de loco ad locum ducunt, ut et se et iumenta sua allant.

24. (8) Hoc necessarium uidetur, quia de montibus Libano et Hermon et Sanir[a] mentionem feci,[b] plenius de eis dicam ad intellectum aliorum. Vnde sciendum, quod montana[c] [118] super torrentem Arnon,[119] et que sunt inter Arnon et Moab et Amorreos, item mons Galaad, qui est contra[d] in terra Og, regis Basan, mons Sanir et Hermon supra Baalgad[e] [120] et mare Galilee, et mons Libani—sunt omnia unus mons continuus, sed in diuersis locis diuersis nominibus appellatur,[f] sicut palam[g] est uidere in alpibus, que separant Theotoniam et Lombardiam. (9) Mons tamen Galaad altissimus est inter omnes montes istos et omnium[h] uidetur [i]quasi caput esse.[i] Vnde ad litteram dictum credo illud Ieremie: 'Galaad tu mihi caput Libani.'[121] (10) Monti Galaad coniungitur mons Sanir, et appellatur etiam Sayr,[122] quia ibi habitauit aliquando Esau ut infra dicetur, et est ultra mare Galilee, et cecidit in sortem dimidie tribui Manasses.[123] (11) Illi ibidem[j] coniungitur Mons Hermon, qui circuit Traconitidem regionem et procedit[k] usque iuxta Damascum ubi cum Libano se copullat[l] inter Belenas et Damascum. (12) Ipse autem Libanus supra ciuitatem Belenas[m] est altior meo iudicio, quam sit usquam per totum spatium, quo Libanus appellatur. Distat autem [n]iste locus[n] a Tyro per duas[o] leucas, et plane uidetur in Tyro, et ego in media nocte lucide etiam ibidem uidi eum. Habet autem quinque[p] dietas in longitudine. Et habet per totum illud spatium caput niuibus

[f] fluminum *Li* [g] tamen eius *add. Li*; terre *add. Lo* [h] *LiLoZb*; brachilibus *BPb*; barilibus *P*

24 [a] Seir *BPb* [b] fecimus *Li*; factam mentionem *B* [c] que sunt *add. B+* [d] *om. B+* [e] Galaad *Li* [f] nominantur *Li* [g] *om. B* [h] *om. BPb*; pro omnibus *Li* [i-i] *om. Li* [j] eidem *BPb*; idem *Lo* [k] protenditur *LiZb* [l] copulatur *Li* [m] *om. BPb* [n-n] *B*; isto in loco *P+* [o] undecim *BPb* [p] *B+*; duas *P*

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[117] The district name Trachonitis is etymologically more accurately connected with Greek *trachon*, a rugged district; cf. the Greek adjective *trachus*.

[118] Burchard presents the Transjordanian mountains in order from south to north: Mount Gilead, Mounts Senir and Hermon (taken together, apparently, as a pair of two different mountains; contrast Deut. 3: 9), and Mount Lebanon.

[119] The modern Wadi Mojib, flowing from north of Karak westwards into the Dead Sea. The Sanudo–Vesconte map, following Burchard, has the Arnon entering the Jordan well north of the Dead Sea.

Hermon), is called in the book of Joshua the plain of Lebanon or the region of Trachonitis because, since that land totally lacks river waters, in the rainy season the inhabitants collect water in mangers and cisterns, which they take from place to place through pipes[117] to provide water for themselves and their flocks.

24. (8) It seems necessary here, since I have mentioned Mounts Lebanon, Hermon, and Senir, to say more about them, for the better grasp of other things. It should be understood that the mountains[118] above the torrent of Arnon,[119] and which lie between Arnon, Moab, and the Amorites—that is, Mount Gilead (which is opposite in the land of Og, king of Bashan), Mounts Senir and Hermon above Baal-gad[120] and the Sea of Galilee, and Mount Lebanon—are all one continuous mountain but are named differently in different places, just as is evident in the Alps which separate Germany and Lombardy. (9) Mount Gilead, however, is the highest among all those mountains, and seems to be as it were the head of all. Thus I believe that phrase of Jeremiah, 'Thou art to me Galaad, the head of Libanus',[121] is literally true. (10) To Mount Gilead is joined Mount Senir; it is also called Seir,[122] because there once lived Esau, as will be mentioned below; it lies beyond the Sea of Galilee and fell into the lot of the half tribe of Manasseh.[123] (11) There it joins Mount Hermon, which encircles Trachonitis and reaches as far as Damascus, near where it joins itself with Lebanon between Banias and Damascus. (12) Lebanon itself above the city of Banias is in my judgement higher than anywhere else in the whole area called Lebanon. That area is 2 leagues distant from Tyre and is clearly seen from Tyre; in the middle of the night there also I have seen it clearly. It is five days' journey in length, and through the whole distance it has

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[120] According to Josh. 11: 17, 'in the plain of Libanus below mount Hermon'; cf. Josh. 13: 5; probably in the region of Banias. The Lilienfeld manuscript 145, fo. 177^{rb}, however, reads Galaad for Baalgad.

[121] Jer. 22: 6: 'Galaad tu mihi caput Libani' ('Thou art to me Galaad, the head of Libanus').

[122] The connection of Esau of Seir (and so Edom) with the region of Gilead and the river Jabbok (Gen. 32: 1–33: 17) led to the medieval geographers' location of Seir and Idumaea in the region of Mounts Hermon and Senir, as on the twelfth-century map from Florence, which places Seir and Idumaea around Damascus. The Florence map of *c.*1300 puts Mount Seir and Idumaea north of Gilead and south of Mons Senir and Mons Hermon; the Sanudo–Vesconte map also puts Mount Seir and Idumaea with Bostra in north Transjordan (for references, see above under n. 17).

[123] In the Old Testament tradition the half tribe of Manasseh, together with the tribes of Reuben and Gad, were given land east of the Jordan: Josh. 12: 1–6; 13: 29–31. Josh. 13: 29–31 indicates that half Manasseh received Bashan and Gilead, which covers the area designated by Burchard.

coopertum, et magis ac magis accedit ad mare, in tantum ut, cum in principio sui, scilicet super Belenas, distet a mari per undecim[q] leucas, in fine, hoc est iuxta Arachas,[124] non distat nisi per tres leucas. Videtur autem a nauigantibus mare a Tyro usque ad Anteradum[125] per totam uiam, et sub ipso Antilibanus similiter ad mare semper[r] propius accedendo. Valles autem in ipso Lybano et Antilibano fertiles sunt et bene culte, habundantes pascuis, uineis ortis et pomeriis et breuiter omnibus bonis mundi. Habitant in eis[s] gentes multe, sicut dictum est supra, ut Maronite, Armeni, Greci, Nestoriani, Iacobini, Georgiani, qui omnes sunt Christiani,[126] et, ut ipsi dicunt, romane ecclesie obedientes.

DE TERTIA DISTINCTIONE TERRE SANCTE

25. (IV. 1) ¶ Tertia distinctio[a] procedit ab Accon contra uulturnum.[127] Et in hac ad quattuor leucas est castellum[b] Iudin dictum,[128] in montanis Saron, quod fuit domus theutonice,[c] sed modo est destructum. (2) Inde una leuca est castellum regium[129] in ualle, quondam domus eiusdem, habundans omnibus bonis et fructibus, qui etiam in terra illa rari sunt nisi ibi. Nunc Sarraceni tenent illud. (3) ¶ Inde leucis quattuor contra aquas Maron est uallis Sennyn,[130] ubi Heber Cineus tetenderat tabernaculum, non longe a ciuitate Asor. Cuius uxor nomine Iahel Sisaram, principem militie Iabin, regis Asor, clauo tabernaculi transfixum per tempora interfecit, sicut dicitur [d]in libro[d] Iudicum.[131] (4) ¶ Ab[e] ista ualle ad duas[f] leucas est castrum[g] Cabul,[132] quod Sarraceni Zabul uocant, [h]a quo[h] terra illa terra Zabul[i] est appellata, quod displicentiam sonat, ut dicitur tertio Regum. (5) ¶ Inde contra austrum [j]ad duas leucas est

[q] *LiZb*; duas *LoP*; quadraginta *BPb*   [r] *om. BPb*   [s] eo *BLoPb*; ea *LiZb*

25   [a] diuisio *B+*   [b] castrum *BPb*   [c] Theutonicorum *Zb*   [d–d] *om. BPb*
[e] *B+*; sub *P*   [f] tres *BPb*   [g] *om. LiZb*; castellum *Pb*   [h–h] *om. LiZb*
[i] Zabulon *B*   [j–j] *om. Li*

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[124] See above, n. 77.

[125] See above, n. 81.

[126] See 118 below, pp. 200–1.

[127] south-east (*contra uulturnum*): this seems strange, since the places named are north-east rather than south-east of Acre (so too Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 257, n. 100).

[128] Judin (modern Qala'at Jiddin, 10 miles (16 km) north-east of Acre), built in 1220 or soon after and held by the Teutonic Order, fell to Baybars in 1266 (see Pringle, Petersen, Dow and Singer, 'Qal'at Jiddin', and Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 131). The abbreviator ignores Judin, Kings' Castle, the valley Za-anannim, Kabul, and Safad (**25**).

its head covered with clouds. It approaches the sea ever closer, to such an extent that while at the beginning, that is, above Banias, it is 11 leagues distant from the sea, at the end, that is, near 'Arqa,[124] the sea is only 3 leagues distant. It is visible the whole way to those sailing from Tyre to Tartus,[125] and below it Anti-Lebanon similarly comes closer to the sea. The valleys in Lebanon itself and Anti-Lebanon are fertile and well tended, rich in pasture, vineyards, gardens, and orchards, and in short in all the good things of the world. Many peoples live there, as noted above: Maronites, Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, who are all Christians,[126] and, as they themselves say, loyal to the Roman church.

ABOUT THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND

25. (IV. 1) ¶ The third division proceeds south-east from Acre.[127] In this division, 4 leagues from Acre is the castle called Jiddin,[128] in the mountains of Sharon. This was a house of the Teutonic order, but is now destroyed. (2) One league from here is the Kings' Castle,[129] in a valley; it was once that order's home, rich in all good things and fruits, which even in that land are uncommon except here. Now the Saracens hold it. (3) ¶ Four leagues on towards the waters of Merom is the valley Zaanannim,[130] where Heber the Kenite had pitched his tent, not far from the city of Hazor. His wife, named Jael, killed Sisera the general of Jabin king of Hazor, pierced through his temples with a tent peg, as is said in the book of Judges.[131] (4) ¶ Two leagues below that valley is the castle of Kabul,[132] which the Saracens call Zabul. From which that land is called 'the land of Chabul', as it says in 3 Kings, because it means 'displeasure'. (5) ¶ From here 2 leagues to the south is the

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[129] This castle, at Mi'ilya, about 20 miles (32 km) north-east of Haifa, was founded *c.*1160 under Baldwin III of Jerusalem. See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 37–8; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 30–2. Saladin took it in 1187; in the early thirteenth century it came into the hands of the Teutonic Order, but by Burchard's time it was back in Saracen hands.

[130] See Judg. 4: 11; Vulgate Sennim, RSV Za-anannim, cf. Josh. 19: 33; perhaps located in the Mount Tabor region (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 221), though Burchard locates it near Hazor further north.

[131] For the story of Jael and Sisera, see Judg. 4: 17–22; 5: 24–30.

[132] Kabul (170253) is 9 miles (14.5 km) south-east of Acre (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 14, 67, 286; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 309; cf. Josh. 19: 27; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 9: 13). Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 257, n. 105) suggests that Burchard was referring to Kh. Zābūd, nearly 4 miles (6 km) west of Safad.

castrum et[j] ciuitas Sephet,[133] pulchrius et firmius meo iudicio omnibus castris que uidi, situm in monte altissimo. Quod fuerat militie templi, sed proditum et captum ignominiose[134] nimis et in iacturam totius Christianitatis, quia Soldanus[135] de illo tenet totam Galileam, scilicet tribum Zabulon et Neptalim, Aser, et Ysachar et Manasse, et omnem terram usque[k] Accon et Tyrum et Sidonem. (6) Inde contra aquilonem quattuor leucis iuxta uallem[l] Senin fere est Cedes Neptalim.[136] De hac fuit[m] Barach, filius Achinoe, qui contra Sisaram pugnauit in monte Thabor. Hec fuit ciuitas fugitiuorum in tribu Neptalim, habundans omnibus bonis mundi. Et monstrantur adhuc ibidem ruine magne et sepulchra pulcerrima antiquorum.[n]

26. (7) ¶ De castro Sephet duabus leucis, in descensu montis contra orientem, ad iactum lapidis[a] a mari Galilee, supra uiam, que ducit ad orientem, est ascensus montis illius,[b] in quem totiens ascendit Dominus[c] Ihesus Christus, in quo fecit sermonem illum longum[137] secundum Matheum, in quo saturauit quinque milia hominum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus.[138] Illuc dimissa turba ascendit solus orare. Fugit in ipsum, cum eum uellent facere regem.[139] Ibi docuit discipulos orare. In eo erat pernoctans in oratione. Ibi eo descendente supplicauit centurio pro puero paralytico.[140] Ibi ad eum uenit multitudo languentium et qui uexabantur a spiritibus immundis. Ibi tetigit leprosum et sanauit eum.[141] Et ibi stetit in loco campestri et turba discipulorum eius. De isto monte uidetur totum mare Galilee et Yturea et Traconitidis regio usque ad Libanum, et mons insuper Suuanir[d] et Hermon, terra Zabulon et Neptalim usque Cedar et uniuersa Cenereth usque Dotaym et Betuliam et alia loca multa. Est autem longus quantum iactus est duorum arcuum, latus quantum iactus est lapidis uel amplius, herbosus et amenus et abilis ad predicandum. Ostenditur autem[e] adhuc ibi lapis, in quo sedit predicans Dominus

[k] *BPb om.*   [l] mare *BPb*   [m] *B+; om. P*   [n] *om. Li*

26 [a] arcus *Li*   [b] in quo saturauit quinque milia hominum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus *B sets here from below*   [c] ipse *Li*   [d] siue Sayr *add. BPb*   [e] *om. B+*

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[133] Saladin destroyed a small castle at Safad (now Zafet) in 1188. In 1244 the Crusaders regained Safad and the Templars rebuilt the site, but it fell to Baybars in 1266. The castle was destroyed by an earthquake in 1837 (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), iii. 327–30; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 206–9; Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 91–2; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 128–9). See Tobias 1: 1.

[134] shamefully (Latin, *ignominiose*): the garrison was betrayed, and Baybars massacred it.

[135] Sultan: i.e. of Egypt and Damascus.

[136] See Josh. 19: 37; 20: 7; 21: 32. According to Aharoni (*Land of the Bible*, pp. 224, 438), Kedesh Naphtali is not Tall Qadesh in Upper Galilee but Khirbat Qedish east of the valley

castle and city of Safad,[133] finer and stronger in my judgement than all castles I have seen. It is set on a very high mountain. It had belonged to the Knights Templar, but it was betrayed and taken, shamefully,[134] to the loss of all Christendom, because from that castle the Sultan[135] controls all Galilee, that is, the land of the tribes Zabulun, Naphtali, Asher, Issachar, and Manasseh, and the whole land as far as Acre, Tyre, and Sidon. (6) Four leagues north of here, close by the valley of Zaanannim, is Kedesh Naphtali.[136] From here came Barach, son of Abinoam, who fought against Sisera at Mount Tabor. This was a City of Refuge for the tribe of Naphtali, abounding in the world's good things. To this day are shown there great ruins and the most beautiful tombs of the ancient peoples.

26. (7) ¶ Two leagues from the castle of Safad, as one descends the mountain eastward, a stone's throw from the Sea of Galilee, above the road leading east, is the way up that mountain which the Lord Jesus so often ascended, on which according to Matthew he delivered that long sermon,[137] on which he filled five thousand men from five loaves and two fish.[138] From there, the crowd dismissed, he ascended alone to pray. He fled to it when they wanted to make him king.[139] There he taught the disciples to pray. On it he spent the night in prayer. There, as he descended, the centurion pleaded with him for his paralytic son.[140] There came to him there a crowd of the sick, and those troubled by unclean spirits. There he touched and healed the leper.[141] And there he stood in a plain, with a crowd of his disciples. From that mountain can be seen the whole Sea of Galilee, Ituraea, the region of Trachonitis as far as Lebanon, and above that Senir and Hermon, the land of Zabulon and Naphtali as far as Kedar, and all Chinnereth as far as Dothan and Bethulia, and many other places. It is two bowshots long, one stone's throw or more wide, grassy, pleasant, and perfect for preaching. There is shown there today the stone on which the Lord

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of Jabneel (202237), between Tabor and the Jordan, near where Barak assembled his troops (cf. Judg. 4: 10–12). Burchard, however, identified it with Tall Qadesh, '4 leagues north' of the Jordan's entry to the Sea of Galilee (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 416). The abbreviator omits the details about Sisera and Naphtali's city of refuge.

[137] Matt. 5: 1–7: 28, the 'sermon on the mount'.

[138] It is not clear where exactly Burchard places the feeding of the five thousand (Matt. 14: 15–21; Mark 6: 32–44; Luke 9: 10–17; John 6: 1–13). Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), iii. 240) thinks that Burchard had the Horns of Hattin in mind. This would be south of Safad, not east. Burchard is probably thinking of a hill south-east of Safad between it and the Sea of Galilee.

[139] John 6: 15. The abbreviator omits.

[140] Matt. 8: 5–13; Luke 7: 1–10; John 4: 46–53. The abbreviator omits.

[141] Matt. 8: 1–4; Luke 5: 12–14; cf. Mark 1: 40–4.

Ihesus Christus, et apostolorum sessiones. Vocatur autem a Christianis tabula siue mensa.[142]

27. (8) ¶ In pede montis huius iuxta mare ad triginta passus fere oritur fons uiuus[143] muro circumdatus, quem dicunt uenam esse Nili,[144] quia coracinum piscem nutrit,[145] qui nusquam alibi inuenitur. Iosephus fontem hunc appellat fontem[a] Capharnaum, quia totus campus, qui est ab isto fonte usque ad Iordanem per duas[b] leucas, Capharnaum appellatur. (9) De fonte isto ad uiginti passus supra mare Galilee est locus, ubi[c] post resurrectionem suam [d]stetit Ihesus in littore,[d] [146] septem discipulis piscantibus, dicens eis: 'Pueri numquid (6) pulmentarium habetis?' Vbi etiam in lapide[147] uidi tria uestigia Domini Ihesu lapidi impressa in die Beati Augustini,[148] cum ibi essem, sed cum postea in festo annunciationis redissem, Sarraceni lapidem illum detulerant de loco illo. (10) Inde ad decem passus est locus, ubi egressi discipuli de naui uiderunt prunas positas et piscem superpositum et panem.[149] (11) ¶ De loco isto ad unam leucam contra orientem est Capharnaum ciuitas,[150] quondam gloriosa, sed nunc est ualde uilis, uix habens septem[e] domos pauperum piscatorum. Et est uere impletum in ea illud uerbum Domini Ihesu: 'Et tu, Capharnaum, si in celum ascenderis, usque ad infernum demergeris.'[151] (12) ¶ De isto loco ad tres[f] leucas Iordanis fluuius mare Galilee ingreditur, in cuius ulteriori littore uidentur adhuc ruine ciuitatis Corozaym[152] supra mare Galilee. (13) ¶ De loco isto, scilicet Corozaym, ad unam leucam incipit ascensus montis[g] Suuanir, siue Seyr secundum quosdam, et introitus Idumee.

27 [a] *om. LiZb* [b] tres *BPb* [c] Dominus apparuit *add. B* [d-d] *om. B*
[e] octo *BPb* [f] *BP*; duas *LiLoPbZb* [g] *om. LiZb*

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[142] The sentence is clearly a gloss, which appears in some manuscripts also at 27 (IV.10). The abbreviator here omits a long section (27–9), which includes the note on the 'vein of the Nile' and its fish, paragraphs on the Way of the Sea and the waters of Merom, Suetha and the plains below Suetha, the city of Kedar, and Trachonitis.

[143] The spring is generally identified as 'Ain at-Tabghah (200251); in Greek, *heptapegon chorion*, 'place of seven springs'. The site was associated with the feeding of the five thousand, the Sermon on the Mount, and the post-resurrection appearances of Christ by the lake, and Byzantine churches were built to commemorate each (see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 334–9). Egeria describes the place (see *Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, pp. 41–3, 97–9; *ABD*, vi. 300–2; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 314–16).

[144] Cf. Josephus, *Jewish War*, iii. 519–20 (Loeb edn., ii. 723): 'Some have imagined this to be a branch of the Nile, from its producing a fish resembling the *coracin* found in the lake of Alexandria.'

[145] See Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, ix. 24 (87), 32 (68); Loeb vol. iii, pp. 200–1, 208–9 (cf. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*), pp. 285–6).

[146] See John 21: 1–19.

[147] Burchard probably refers to the rock-cut steps mentioned by Egeria and to the site of the chapel (*Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, p. 97, n. 9; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 318–19).

Jesus Christ sat preaching, and the apostles' seats. The place is called by Christians the 'tabula' or 'mensa'.[142]

27. (8) ¶ At the foot of this mountain, some 30 paces from the sea's edge, rises a living spring,[143] surrounded by a wall. They call it a vein of the Nile[144] because it rears the *coracinus* fish,[145] which is found nowhere else. Josephus calls this spring Capernaum, because the whole plain, which from the spring to the Jordan covers 2 leagues, is called Capernaum. (9) Twenty paces from that spring, above the Sea of Galilee, is the place where after his resurrection Jesus stood on the shore[146] and said to seven disciples as they fished, 'Children, have you any meat?' Here too on a stone[147] I saw three footprints of the Lord Jesus impressed on the stone; it was St Augustine's day[148] when I was there, but when I returned later on the Feast of the Annunciation the Saracens had removed the stone from the place. (10) Ten paces away is the place where the disciples, having disembarked, saw coals set, and fish placed on them, and bread.[149] (11) ¶ One league to the east from there is the city of Capernaum,[150] once splendid but now it is a miserable place, having scarcely seven poor fishermen's houses. And truly in it was fulfilled the word of the Lord Jesus: 'And thou, Capharnaum, if thou shalt ascend up to heaven, thou shalt be thrust down to hell.'[151] (12) ¶ Three leagues from there the River Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. On its further shore, above the sea of Galilee, are still seen the ruins of the city of Chorazin.[152] (13) ¶ One league from there, that is, from Chorazin, begins the way up to Mount Senir, or Seir according to some, and the entrance to Idumaea.

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[148] St Augustine's day is 28 August; the Feast of the Annunciation is 25 March. Burchard therefore makes two visits over a period of nine months.

[149] John 21: 9.

[150] Modern Tel Hum (204254): cf. Matt. 4: 13; 11: 23–4; Mark 2: 1; Luke 7: 2–5. The excavations from 1968–85 (see *ABD*, i. 866–9; *OEANE*, i. 416–19 for summary, with references) uncovered a Hellenistic courtyard house, two rooms of which had been altered into a house church, whose walls bore graffiti from Christian pilgrims. In the fourth century this was reconstructed. This is probably the building of which Egeria noted (*Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, p. 194) that Peter's house had been made into a church, with its original walls still standing. In the fifth century this was replaced by an octagonal church. Excavation also revealed two synagogue buildings, the 'late synagogue' (for this, see *ABD*, i. 868; for what Egeria saw, see *Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, p. 97, n. 6) and below it a first-century synagogue, perhaps that built by the Roman centurion (Luke 7: 5). In the eleventh century, the site seems to have been abandoned; hence Burchard's comment.

[151] Matt. 11: 23; Luke 10: 15. Burchard's citation conforms wholly to neither the Matthaean nor the Lukan version.

[152] Burchard believes Corozaim (Chorazin) to be on the east side of the Jordan as it enters the Sea of Galilee, perhaps identifying it with Kurzi, but in fact it was on the west side. See above, n. 110.

28. (14) ¶ Inde ad tres[a] leucas est Cedar ciuitas,[153] gloriosa et firmo loco sita, in monte Sanir, contra orientem. Et per hanc ciuitatem transit uia, que, ut dictum supra, ducit[b] per littus maris Galilee, et tendit[c] ad occidentem, sicut dicitur in Tobia.[154] In Ysaia autem uia ista uocatur 'uia maris trans Iordanem Galilee gentium'.[155] 'Via maris' dicitur,[d] quia omnino procedit in littore maris. 'Trans Iordanem' additur quia ducit ultra Iordanem in regionem [e]que dicitur[e] Aran. 'Galilea gentium'[f] ibidem in Iordane terminatur. (15) ¶ Ab isto autem loco, ubi Iordanis influit mare Galilee, usque Cedes Neptalim[156] sunt quattuor leuce. In medio loco inter eas est alia medietas aquarum Maron, de qua dictum est supra. Transit autem Iordanis [g]per medium[g] huius uallis aquarum Maron, et egrediens de ipsa dirigit cursum contra orientem primo, deinde contra austrum, et sic mare ingreditur Galilee. (16) ¶ De ciuitate Corrozaym et hostio fluuii Iordanis quattuor[h] leucis contra aquilonem est Suuetha ciuitas,[157] unde in Iob dicitur Baldach Suithes.[158] Iuxta eam est piramis[i] Iob[159] ad orientem. (17) In planioribus locis sub ciuitate ista uersus ciuitatem Cedar consueuerunt conuenire Saraceni de Haram et Mesopotamia et Haman et Syria, de Moab et Amon et tota terra orientali circa fontem Fiale,[160] de quo dictum est supra, et habere[j] nundinas toto tempore estatis propter locorum amenitatem et erigere[k] tentoria diuersorum colorum, que in ciuitate Cedar existentibus in monte pulchrum generant prospicium[l] ualde. Que tabernacula Cedar in Canticis appellantur.[161] (18) ¶ De ciuitate Corrozaym quattuor leucis contra orientem est[m] ciuitas Cedar,[162] in monte alto sita, quam Iosephus appellat Camelam pro eo quod mons, in quo sita est, [n]ad modum[n] cameli est dispositus in principio longior in modum colli et capitis cameli, in medio gibbum habens, ut dorsum, incipiens in fine in modum caude declinare.

28 [a] *B+*; duas *P* [b] *BPPb*; transit *LiLoZb* [c] *P*; ducit *B+* [d] *om. BPb* [e–e] *B+*; *om. P* [f] additur quia in rei ueritate Galilee gentium *add. Lo*; dicitur quia Galilea *LiZb* [g–g] *om. Li* [h] decem *BPb* [i] beati *add. LiLoZb* [j] habent *BPb* [k] erigunt *BPb* [l] *B* aspectum [m] alia *add. B* [n–n] in monte *B*

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[153] city of Kedar: see above, n. 111. Burchard admits that he had not travelled in Transjordan, and therefore had not seen this place himself. Below, he identifies the city with the Gamala of Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 1–8 (see below, n. 162).

[154] The reference to the road running west comes from the Codex Sinaiticus text of Tobias 1: 1, followed by the Vulgate ('post uiam quae ducit ad occidentem', 'beyond the way that leadeth to the west'). See *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlfs, i. 1002.

[155] Isa. 9: 1.

[156] See above, n. 136.

[157] Suetha was the region of the Jaulan, perhaps the Sawad (the 'black country') of Arab geographers (cf. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 537, n. 3, p. 553; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 532–3). Abel (*Géographie*, i. 68) refers to the mountain

28. (14) ¶ Three leagues from there lies the city of Kedar,[153] a splendid place, on a strong site, on the eastern side of Mount Senir. Through this city passes a road which, as said above, leads along the shore of the Sea of Galilee and tends west, as is said in Tobias.[154] In Isaiah that road is called 'the way of the sea beyond the Jordan of the Galilee of the Gentiles'.[155] It is called 'the way of the sea' because it proceeds entirely along the seashore. 'Beyond the Jordan' is added because it leads beyond the Jordan into the region called Aram. 'Galilee of the Gentiles' is bounded there by the Jordan. (15) ¶ From the place where the Jordan flows into the Sea of Galilee to Kedesh Naphtali[156] is 4 leagues. Midway between them is another half of the Waters of Merom, of which we wrote above. The Jordan crosses through the middle of this valley of the waters of Merom, and on leaving it directs its course first eastwards, then south, and so enters the Sea of Galilee. (16) ¶ Four leagues north of the city of Chorazin and the mouth of the river Jordan is the city of Suetha;[157] hence in Job Bildad is called the Shuhite.[158] Near it to the east is the pyramidal tomb of Job.[159] (17) On the plains below that city, towards Kedar, the Saracens from Aram, Mesopotamia, Hamath, Syria, from Moab, Ammon, and the whole eastern region around the fountain of Phiala[160] (of which I have spoken above) were accustomed to meet and hold fairs throughout the summer because of the beauty of these places, and to erect tents of various colours, which created a fine view for those living in the city of Kedar on the mountain. In Song of Songs these are called the tents of Kedar.[161] (18) ¶ Four leagues east of the city of Chorazin is the city of Kedar,[162] set on a high mountain. Josephus called it Camela, because the mountain on which it is set is shaped like a camel; it is long in front, in the form of the neck and head of a camel; it has a hump in the middle as its back; and at the rear it begins to go downwards like a tail.

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range of *es-Suweit* east of Jerash. Burchard, however, here seems to locate Suetha as a city in the Jordan valley north of Chorazin.

[158] English versions, Bildad the Shuhite; Douai–Reims, Baldad the Suhite; cf. Job 2: 11.

[159] pyramidal tomb of Job: see above, n. 107.

[160] Phiala: see above, n. 105.

[161] See S. of S. 1: 4.

[162] Burchard identifies the city of Kedar with Josephus' Gamala (Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 1–8) on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, situated between two branches of the Nahal Daliyyot, at es-Sunas near Dayr Qeruh (*NEAEHL*, ii. 459–63; *OEANE*, ii. 382). But Burchard's location is not clear; he may be thinking of Jamla on the east side of the Nahal Rukkad (229246). The identification of this site with the Kedarites is difficult because the biblical texts (e.g. Isa. 21: 13–16; 42: 11; Ezek. 27: 20–2) seem to connect Kedar with the Nabataeans and Edomites and Arabians further south (see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 296; *ABD*, iv. 9), though Jer. 49: 28 links Kedar with the kingdoms of Hazor defeated by Nebuchadnezzar.

29. (19) ¶ Hic nota, quod, sicut dictum est supra, tota terra ultra Iordanem in littore eius orientali appellatur Traconitidis regio siue planities Libani usque ad montem Hermon et Bosra.[a] Littus uero[b] Iordanis occidentale appellatur Galilee gentium, siue Yturea siue Cabul, siue Decapollis,[c] [163] et uia maris transit per medium eius, ab Accon scilicet procedens per uallem terre Asser, que nunc[d] sancti Georgii appellatur,[164] in sinistro habens ciuitatem Sephet, et per littus maris usque ad Cedar, ad[e] montana scilicet[f] Traconitidis regionis,[165] supra quam est terra[g] Aram. Vnde dicit quedam glosa: 'Vir erat in terra Hus[166] nomine Iob.' Glossa: 'Aram pater Syrorum, qui condidit Damascum et Syriam, genuit Hus, conditorem Traconitidis regionis. Hic inter Celesyriam et Palestinam tenuit principatum. Que terra ab eo terra Hus est dicta.' Vnde: 'uir erat in terra Hus' siue in regione Vsitide. Hanc habuit Philippus tetrarcha,[167] sicut et Ytuream, que est citra Iordanem[h] ad occidentem[i] usque ad montes Sidoniorum et Tyriorum et Acconensium, [j]que Pheniciam[j] ab ipso diuidunt, tam in ista tertia diuisione, quam in precedenti secunda, et terminat in Libano ad aquilonem, in Iordane ad orientem, [k]in mari Galilee ad meridiem,[k] in montibus Phenicis ad occidentem.

QVARTA DIVISIO TERRE SANCTE

30. (V. 1) ¶ Quarta diuisio incipit ab Accon et procedit directe contra orientem iuxta castrum Sephet,[168] illud relinquens ad sinistram. Transitur[a] inde in littore maris Galilee ante ciuitatem Capharnaum, ante locum, ubi Dominus Matheum uocauit de telonio,[169] cuius domus

29 [a] Circa Iordanem uero tota terra que est a Sophet usque ad *add. Lo* [b] *om. Lo* [c] Pentapolis *Lo* [d] ciuitas *add. Li* [e] per *BPb* [f] *om. B* [g] *om. B* [h] regionem Iordanis *LiZb* [i] *B+*; adiacentem *P* [j-j] et Phenicianorum *BPb* [k-k] *om. BPb*

30 [a] *add. Li*; *om. P*; transit *Zb*

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[163] Decapolis: Mark 5: 30; 7: 31; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, v. 16. (74) (Loeb, vol. ii, pp. 276–9); Ptolemy, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, i/2, ch. v. 14.18, pp. 978–82. The exact list of its cities is uncertain, but includes Abila, Canata, Dios, Gadara, Gerasa, Hippos, Pella, Philadelphia, and Scythopolis, all but the last being east of the Jordan. (Burchard's list gives Tiberias, Safad, Kedes Naphtali, Hazor, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum, Jotapata, Bethsaida, Chorazin, Beth-she'an/Scythopolis, of which only Caesarea Philippi and Beth-saida are east of the Jordan.) Burchard's reference to Decapolis as another name for Galilee and Ituraea is not historically accurate (see *ABD*, ii. 116–21).

[164] the valley of St George: Laurent (*Peregrinatores*, p. 37, n. 196) connects the name of this valley with wadi ash-Shāghūr (Sajur, in the Biq'at Bet Kerem).

29. (19) ¶ Here take note that, as said above, the whole territory beyond Jordan on its eastern bank as far as Mount Hermon and Bosra is called the region of Trachonitis or the plain of Lebanon. However, the western bank of the Jordan is called Galilee of the Gentiles, or Ituraea, or Cabul, or Decapolis,[163] and the Way of the Sea crosses through its middle, that is, passing from Acre through the valley of the land of Asher, now called the valley of St George,[164] with the city of Safad on the left, and along the seashore to Kedar, that is, to the mountains of Trachonitis,[165] beyond which is the land of Aram. Hence the gloss on 'There was a man in the land of Hus,[166] whose name was Job' says 'Aram, the father of the Syrians, who founded Damascus and Syria, fathered Hus, the founder of the Trachonitis region. He ruled between Coele-Syria and Palestine. The land was named after him the land of Uz.' Hence: 'there was a man in the land of Hus', or in the Uzite region. Philip the Tetrarch[167] held this land, just as he also held Ituraea, which is this western side of the Jordan, as far as the mountains of the peoples of Sidon, Tyre, and Acre, which divide Phoenicia from it (in this third division just as in the preceding second). This region is bounded by Lebanon to the north, the Jordan to the east, the Sea of Galilee to the south, and the mountains of Phoenicia to the west.

THE FOURTH DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND

30. (V. 1) ¶ The fourth division starts from Acre and proceeds directly east by the castle of Safad,[168] leaving it to the left. It passes from there on the shore of the Sea of Galilee before the city called Capernaum, in front of the place where the Lord called Matthew from the toll house;[169]

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[165] Burchard's Cedar, at Gamala, is in Gaulanitis, not Trachonitis.

[166] Job 1: 1. Gen. 10: 23 and 22: 21 suggest the connection of Uz with Aram (Syria), and Gen. 36: 28 and Jer. 25: 20 with Edom (see *ABD*, vi. 770–1). Christian medieval tradition connected Job (and so Uz) with Sheik Sa'd in southern Syria near Bosra, on the borders of Idumaea and Arabia (cf. Job 42: 17, *Septuaginta*, ed. Rahlfs, ii. 344).

[167] Philip the tetrarch (ruled 4 BC–AD 33/4): cf. Luke 3: 1; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xvii. 319; *Jewish War*, ii. 95. Philip was the son of Herod the Great. His territory included land on both sides of the Jordan valley, Ituraea and Trachonitis as well as Batanaea, Auranitis, and Gaulanitis. He refounded Panias, naming it Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8: 27), and Bethsaida, renaming it Julias (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 158; *ABD*, v. 310–11).

The title 'Fourth Division of the Holy Land' is strange and inaccurate. This is the first division of the eastern quarter; thus the next section is entitled 'second division of the eastern quarter'.

[168] For Safad, see above, n. 133.

[169] Matt. 9: 9.

et locus sessionis hodie ibi cernitur in strata regia. Et inde ultra riuum Iordanis ad montana Hermon conscenditur.[b] Sunt autem in hac diuisione ciuitates iste. (2) ¶ Prima post Accon ad quinque leucas est casale, quod dicitur Sangeor,[170] ubi idem sanctus[c] creditur natus fuisse. Et est situm inter montana, in ualle[d] pingui ualde et fertili et amena. Que amenitas protenditur usque ad mare Galilee. Et fuit uallis sortis Aser usque[e] Sephet per decem[f] leucas. Et propter eius amenitatem ad litteram dici poterat illud Genesis: 'Aser pinguis panis eius et prebens delicias regibus.'[g] [171] Quod utique uerificatum fuit in sorte tribus huius. (3) ¶ Inde ad quattuor leucas contra austrum fere, sed declinando aliqualiter contra orientem est uilla[h] Naason[172] de tribu Neptalim, in ualle sita. De qua legitur in Tobia. (4) Inde ad tres leucas contra austrum est Dothaym,[173] ubi Ioseph inuenit fratres suos, situm sub montem Bethulie[174] ad unam leucam, opidum ualde amenum, in uineis, oliuetis et ficubus habundans et pascuis pinguibus.

31. (5) ¶ Ibidem adhuc in campo ostenditur cisterna, in qua fuit missus Ioseph. Quam etiam ibi uidi iuxta uiam, que de Galaad ueniens coniungitur in Bethsayda[175] cum uia, que de Syria ducit in Egyptum. Ascendens[a] de Dothaym iuxta montem[b] Bethulie et inde per campum Esdrelon procedens sub monte Thabor ad sinistram per campum Magedo et ascendit[c] montem Effraym, et [d]uenit in Ramatha Sophym,[d] [176] per Gazam ducens[e] in Egyptum. Per hanc uiam uenerunt Himahelite,[177] qui emerunt Ioseph. De ista uilla[f] Dothaym legitur quarto Regum,[178] quod Syri uallauerunt in ea Helyseum, qui eos inde[g]

[b] *Li*; conscendit *P* [c] Matheus *add. Li* [d] loco *Li* [e] iuxta *add. B+* [f] decem *B+*; uiginti *P*; fere *add. LiZb* [g] *B+*; regales *P* [h] *om. Li*

31 [a] ascendit *Pb* [b] montem *B+*; montes *P* [c] descendit *B* [d-d] *om. BPb* [e] ducit *BLiPb* [f] uia *Li* [g] *B+*; uidelicet *P*; uidit *Zb*

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[170] Sangeor: i.e. St George. According to Stewart (*Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 32, n. 1) at al-Ban'eh (176258) (Al-Ba'ina, Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 261, n. 143), east of Acre, in the valley of St George. Laurent (*Peregrinatores*, p. 38, n. 200) points to the region of Râmeh (184261) and esh-Shâghûr (182262), presumably modern Ramah and Sajur on the road between modern 'Akko and Safad. The abbreviator omits the description and Genesis quotation. The same saint ('idem sanctus'): the Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 178^{rb}) adds 'Matheus', apparently referring back to the previous paragraph, and appearing not to have known of St George.

[171] Gen. 49: 20: 'Aser pinguis panis eius et praebebit delicias regibus.' For 'et praebebit' Burchard gives 'prebens'.

[172] Naason: from Tobias 1: 1: 'Tobias ex tribu et ciuitate Nepthalim quae est in superioribus Galileae supra Naasson...'; for 'above Naason' the Greek text gives 'above Azor'. The name Naason, otherwise unknown, is suspect as a possible corruption of Hazor/Asor (*Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, pp. 38–9, n. 204). Burchard seems to locate Naason well south-south-east of Sangeor, and Dothan well south of that, but this hardly fits with a Dothan near Bethulia (cf. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 262, n. 145).

his house and office are seen today on the King's Road. The road thence ascends beyond the Jordan's bank to the mountains of Hermon. In this division there are the following cities. (2) The first, 5 leagues after Acre, is the village called Sangeor,[170] where that saint is believed to have been born. It is set among the mountains, in an extremely rich, fertile, and beautiful valley. This beauty extends as far as the Sea of Galilee. The valley was allotted to Asher as far as beside Safad, for 10 leagues. Because of its beauty it could literally be said in Genesis, 'Asher: his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to kings',[171] a saying shown true in the allotted portion of this tribe. (3) ¶ Four leagues south of here, but a little to the east, is the village of Naason,[172] of the tribe of Naphtali, set in a valley. It is mentioned in Tobias. (4) Three leagues south of here is Dothan,[173] where Joseph found his brothers. It lies one league from the foot of Mount Bethulia,[174] and is a very pleasant town, abounding in vineyards, olive orchards, fig trees, and rich pastures.

31. (5) ¶ To this day is shown there on the plain the cistern into which Joseph was put. I also saw it there, beside the road which coming from Gilead at Beth-saida[175] joins the road leading from Syria to Egypt. Climbing from Dothan beside the mountains of Bethulia, and continuing thence through the plain of Esdraelon, below Mount Tabor, to the left through the plain of Megiddo, it ascends Mount Ephraim, reaches Ramathaim-zophim,[176] and leads through Gaza to Egypt. The Ishmaelites[177] who bought Joseph came along this road. It is said of the village Dothan in 4 Kings[178] that in it the Syrians surrounded Elisha,

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[173] Modern Tall Dothan, south-west of Jenin (173202): see Gen. 37: 17. Burchard seems to place Dothan further north, near Bethulia and the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee.

[174] Bethulia is usually identified with Sanur between Dothan and Samaria. But Bethulia as a place name is itself suspect. Burchard seems to think of somewhere further north, 2 leagues north-west of Magdala (see 32 below). The description of the course of the road suggests that Dothan and Bethulia for Burchard lie between Beth-saida and the plain of Esdraelon (see *ABD*, i. 715–16). But the geography of Judith may be somewhat fictional.

[175] Beth-saida (see John 1: 44; 12: 21) is identified with modern al-Araj and at-Tall (208255) on the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee, east of the entry of the Jordan. Philip the tetrarch rebuilt the city at at-Tall and named it Julias, and arranged to be buried there (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 28; see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 279–80; *ABD*, i. 692–3). The abbreviator ignores the important road to Egypt.

[176] 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 1: probably to be identified with Ramah, modern ar-Ram; see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 428–9; *ABD*, v. 613–14). Samuel's story is connected with places like Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, and the Benjamin tribal area north of Jerusalem and south of Mount Ephraim. Burchard, however, locates Ramatha-Sophym (RSV, Ramathaim-zophim) on the route between Megiddo and Gaza, perhaps identifying it with Ramla, nearer Gaza (cf. Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 185, 199).

[177] Gen. 37: 25.

[178] 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 6: 13–19.

duxit ad medium Samarie, que distat inde fere per unam dietam. (6) ¶ Nota[h] tamen,[179] quod Dothaym non solum est uilla sed etiam contracta ab ipsa uilla dicta, quia illi ab antiquo adiacet, sita in terra campestri inter montes hinc inde non multum altos,[i] irrigua fontibus et ideo pascuosa et alendis[j] pecoribus apta. (7) ¶ De Naason duabus leucis contra orientem, de Dothaym tribus[k] contra aquilonem est ciuitas Neptalim,[180] de qua fuit Thobias, firmo loco sita ualde. Habet enim ab occidente montem altum ualde et penitus inaccessibilem,[l] nisi a parte orientis per breue spatium. Hanc puto tempore excidii secundum Iosephum Iotapatam[181] dictam.[m] In quo idem Iosephus obsessus fuit a Romanis et captus, ut ipse testatur. Nunc Syrin dicitur, et distat a Sephet parum plus quam leucam.

32. (8) De Neptalim per tres[a] leucas in angulo maris Galilee, ubi idem ab aquilone curuari incipit contra austrum, sita est Bethsayda,[182] ciuitas Andree et Petri et Phylippi. Nunc uix habet sex domos, iuxta uiam, que de Syria ducit in Egyptum. Habuit antiquitus aqueductum de fluuio, quem Iosephus uocat paruum Iordanem, qui medio loco inter ipsam et Capharnaum ingreditur mare Galilee. Huius uestigia adhuc apparent. (9) ¶ Inde[b] duas leucas contra meridiem est Magdallum,[183] castellum[c] Marie Magdallene, cuius domum adhuc uidi ibidem et intraui. Situm est autem in littore maris, distans a Bethulia tribus[d] leucis contra uulturnum fere. Et habet a parte occidentis et aquilonis planitiem magnam et copiosam.[e] (10) Et nota, quod ista quarta[f] diuisio non habet uillas aliquas amplius[g] citra mare Galilee, sed in alio eius littore[h] sunt ciuitates et castella plura ad hanc diuisionem pertinentia in terra Gerasinnorum, que huic terre[i] directe est opposita. (11) In hac

[h] notandum *BPb* [i] altos *B+*; altas *P* [j] alenda *Zb* [k] *om. Li*
[l] inascendilem *Zb* [m] *B+*; dictum *P*

32 [a] *BPPb*; duas *LiLoZb* [b] per *add. BPb* [c] castrum *BPb* [d] duabus *Lo* [e] pascuosam *LiLoZb*; spaciosam *BPb* [f] contracta seu *BPb* [g] *om. Li* [h] latere *BPb* [i] *om. B+*

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[179] The abbreviator ignores the topographical note.

[180] See Tobias 1: 1 ('ex tribu et ciuitate Nepthalim'). Burchard thinks that this city was then called Jotapata (see below) and apparently locates it 2 leagues west of Beth-saida, identifying the place as Syrin (he reads Syrim) some 5 miles (8 km) south of Safad; Stewart (*Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 33, n. 3) sees Syrin as an error for Meirûn near Safad. The Septuagint (but not the Vulgate) text notes that Tobit came from Thisbe (Tob. 1: 2; see *ABD*, vi, p. 528).

[181] The modern Khirbat Jifat 12.5 miles (20 km) east of Haifa (176248) and some 15.5 miles (25 km) south-west of Safad (196263) (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 366). Burchard's identification of the city of Naphtali with Syrin and Jotapata seems unlikely; he misplaced Jotapata if he thought it was only 'a little more than a league' from Safad. The abbreviator omits Burchard's note on the city's identity.

who from there led them to the middle of Samaria, about one day's journey distant. (6) ¶ Note, however,[179] that Dothan is not only the village but the area named after it, because it was anciently attached to it. It is set on the plain between mountains on either side of no great height; it is watered by springs and is thus good pasture, fit for cattle-rearing. (7) ¶ Two leagues east of Naason and 3 leagues north of Dothan is the city of Naphtali,[180] from which came Tobias; it is sited in a very strong place. It has to its west a very high mountain, almost totally inaccessible except for a small section on the east. I think that at the time of the destruction, according to Josephus, it was called Jotapata.[181] The same Josephus was besieged in it by the Romans and taken captive, as he himself testifies. It is now called Syrin, and is a little more than a league from Safad.

32. (8) Three leagues from Naphtali, in the corner of the Sea of Galilee where the sea begins to curve from the north towards the south, is Beth-saida,[182] the city of Andrew, Peter, and Philip. Now it has scarcely six houses, beside the road leading from Syria to Egypt. Anciently it had aqueducts from the river which Josephus calls the 'little Jordan', which midway between Beth-saida and Capernaum enters the Sea of Galilee. Traces of it are still visible. (9) ¶ Two leagues south of this is Magdala,[183] the castle of Mary Magdalene, whose house I have seen still there, and have entered. It is set on the seashore, about 3 leagues south-east of Bethulia. To the west and north it has a large plain with rich pasture. (10) Note also that the fourth division has no other villages this side of the Sea of Galilee, but on its other shore there are many cities and castles belonging to this division in the Gerasene territory directly opposite. (11) In this region are many cities, such as

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[182] See above, n. 175. The twelfth-century Florence map sets Beth-saida east of the Sea of Galilee. The other late medieval maps (the thirteenth-century map at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, attributed to Matthew Paris, and the Florence map from *c.*1300, and the Sanudo–Vesconte map of 1321) all set Beth-saida west of the Jordan's entry to the Sea of Galilee (for references to these maps, see above, n. 110). Burchard links Beth-saida by aqueducts to the 'little Jordan', midway between Beth-saida and Capernaum (Tel Hum). This seems to suggest that he located Beth-saida east of the Jordan's entry to the Sea of Galilee (i.e. on the opposite side from Capernaum). Stewart's identification of the 'Little Jordan' as the Wadi Hamâm (Stewart, *Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 34, n. 2) is surely impossible; Josephus is quite clear that 'Jordan' and 'Little Jordan' apply to the same river (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, v. 178; viii. 226; cf. the Loeb note at *Jewish Antiquities*, v. 178). The abbreviator, as often, ignores Burchard's archaeological notes.

[183] Magdala (198247) is usually identified with Tarichaeae (cf. Josephus, *Jewish War*, ii. 634–5; iii. 443–70), north of Tiberias (Josephus, *Life*, 32 (157)). (See Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 28; *ABD*, iv. 463–4.)

terra[j] sunt[k] ciuitates plures, ut Gerasa,[184] Gadera,[185] Pella,[186] Suetha,[187] a qua fuit Baldach Suithes, Theman,[188] a qua Eliphaz[l] Themanites, et plures alie. (12) Gerasa tamen ciuitas sita est in littore maris Galilee, sub monte Seyr, contra Tiberiadem fere, sed modicum declinans ad aquilonem. Et erat de tribu Manasse dimidia, que ultra Iordanem sortem acceperat.

33. (13) Et nota, quod tota ista terra ultra mare Galilee montuosa est ualde, ut mihi uidetur, quia eam non intraui. Et erat de regno regis Basam[189] pro parte. [a]Et pro parte[a] aliqua dicitur mons Seyr, quia Esau ibi habitauit,[190] ut statim dicetur. Dicebatur insuper alibi mons Suanir, quia ille erat in ea. Item dicebatur mons Hermon, quia similiter illic erat. Ita pro diuersis locis et montibus diuersis erat terra ista diuersis[b] nominibus appellata; tota tamen cessit[c] in partem dimidie tribus Manasse,[d] [191] sed numquam eam totam possedit, quia filii Esau habitant in ea pro parte usque in presentem diem. Appellantur tamen communiter Sarraceni,[192] quia nec ritu nec lingua discrepant ab eis, nisi forte tonsura et uestitu.

34. (14) Hoc tamen [a]sciendum est,[a] quod adhuc est alius mons Seyr siue Edom[193] contra desertum maris rubri, de quo dicitur Gen uiginti quattuor,[b] quia Codolaomor et alii reges cum eo percusserunt Chorreos,[194] qui habitabant in monte Seyr. Qui tunc utique non dicebatur mons Seyr, quia Esau, qui Seyr dictus est,[195] et a quo mons iste

[j] *om. B+* [k] *B+; om. P* [l] *om. B*

33 [a–a] *om. Li* [b] *BPb; om. P* [c] data *Li* [d] *om. Li*

34 [a–a] *om. Zb* [b] *om. BLiPb*

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[184] Burchard locates Jerash on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, apparently confusing Jerash (which lay 37 miles, 60 km, inland to the south-east) with Gergesa (modern al-Kursi), which lay on the coast (as indicated by the story of the swine; cf. Mark 5: 1; Luke 8: 26). For the textual and geographical complications, see 'Gerasenes' in *ABD*, ii. 991–2.

[185] Gadera (modern Umm Qeis (214229)), 6 miles (10 kilometres) south-east of the Sea of Galilee) was finally destroyed in the earthquake of AD 746 (see *ABD*, ii. 826–67).

[186] Pella (modern Tabaqat Fahl (207206)) was destroyed by the earthquake of AD 746 (see *ABD*, v. 219–21).

[187] Suetha: see above, n. 157.

[188] Theman (RSV, Teman) is associated with Edom (e.g. Gen. 36: 11; Amos 1: 12; Ezek. 25: 13; Jer. 49: 7, 20; Obad. 9; Job 2. 11; 4. 1) and perhaps with Teima in N. Arabia (Gen. 36: 34?). However, Burchard, associating Eliphaz the Temanite with Job, and Job with the land of Uz and with Edom and the land of Seir because of Esau's associations with Transjordan (Gen. 32), here locates Teman together with Jerash (Gerasa) in the area east of the Sea of Galilee.

The abbreviator passes over the remaining paragraphs of this Fourth Division, devoted to a scholarly discussion of the biblical Mount Seir. In its place he sets here Burchard's paragraphs about Capernaum, and Chorazin (see above, 27), ending with a reference to the ascent to Mount Seir and the city of Kedar.

[189] The king of Bashan was called Og; cf. Num. 21: 33–5; Deut. 3: 1–10; Josh. 13: 29–31; Pss. 134 (135): 11; 135 (136): 20. Bashan was the region east of the Sea of Galilee and north

Jerash,[184] Gadara,[185] Pella,[186] Suetha[187] (from which came Bildad the Shuhite), Teman[188] (from which came Eliphaz the Temanite), and many others. (12) Jerash, however, is a city set on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, below Mount Seir, nearly opposite Tiberias but a little further north. It belonged to the half tribe of Manasseh, which had taken its allotted place beyond the Jordan.

33. (13) Note too that the whole land beyond the Sea of Galilee seems to me very mountainous (for I have not entered it). Part of it belonged to the king of Bashan's kingdom.[189] Part of it is called Mount Seir, because Esau lived there,[190] as I will soon show. Moreover, it was elsewhere called Mount Senir, because he was there. The same was called Mount Hermon, for similarly he was there. So the land was given names after the different places and mountains, yet the whole land fell into the territory of the half tribe of Manasseh,[191] though it never possessed it because the sons of Esau live in part of it to the present day. However, they are commonly called Saracens,[192] because they differ from them neither in custom or language, except perhaps in style of hair and clothing.

34. (14) It should be known, however, that to this day there is another Mount Seir or Edom[193] towards the desert of the Red Sea, of which it is told in Genesis 14 how Chedorlaomer and the other kings with him struck down the Horites[194] who lived in Mount Seir. It was not then in any case called Mount Seir, because Esau, who is called Seir[195] and

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of the River Yarmuk; in the Hellenistic and Roman periods named Batanaea (cf. *ABD*, i. 623–4).

[190] See Gen. 32: 1–33: 17.

[191] Cf. Josh. 13: 29–31, and see n. 123 above.

[192] Saracens: in Burchard's time, the customary name for Muslim Arabs in the Holy Land. The name is traceable back to Ptolemy's *Geographia*, v. 8. 12, 13, ed. Müller, vol. i/2, p. 917 (2nd century AD), where Sarakene is a region between Egypt and Palestine (cf. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, vi. 42. 4; Loeb, vol. ii, pp. 110–11); they operate in Arabia as barbarous slavers.

[193] Burchard knows that the biblical evidence points to the location of a place called Seir both in central Transjordan and much further south in the region of Edom.

[194] See Gen. 14 (not 24): 6; 36: 20–30.

[195] The origins of the linkage between Esau, Seir, and Edom are complicated and would have been unknown to Burchard. In Gen. 25: 25 and 27: 11 Esau's name is understood as a word play on the Hebrew adjective 'hairy' (*s'r*), which appears to relate to place-name Seir (*s'ir*); in Gen. 32: 3 the land of Seir is identified with the country of Edom; cf. Num. 24: 18; Judg. 5: 4. The earlier traditions connected Esau with Seir, and only later with Edom (hence the explanatory glosses in Gen. 25: 25, 30; 32: 3; 36: 1, 8, 9, 21). The land of Seir, and Mount Seir, were originally located near Judah (cf. Gen. 36: 21–30, Deut. 1: 2, 19, 44–5; 2: 1; Josh. 11: 17; 12: 7 (see Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, pp. 41–4). However, Burchard locates the original Mount Seir in central and northern Transjordan 'beyond the Sea of Galilee', following the reference to Mount Seir in the narrative of the meeting of Esau and Jacob by the River Jabbok in Gen. 32: 1–33: 17.

est appellatus, nondum erat natus. Vnde per anticipationem creditur esse dictum. Item Deuteronomii .iii.: 'Transibitis per terminos[c] fratrum uestrorum, filiorum Esau, qui habitant in Seyr, et timebunt uos.' Hoc primo dictum fuit filiis Israel uenientibus de Egypto, cum essent in Cades Barne,[196] [d]uenturis ad montem Seyr, qui est iuxta Cades Barne,[d] ubi tunc erant. Sed certum est, quod ad[e] terminos[f] huius montis Seyr, qui est supra mare Galilee, numquam accesserunt filii Israhel, cum exirent de Egypto, quia iste mons Seyr cum Damasco coniungitur, quo numquam peruenerunt. (15) Alius autem mons Seyr, de quo ibi loquitur, coniungitur cum deserto Pharam.[197] Quem longo tempore circumiuerunt filii Israel prohibiti a Domino eum intrare. Et de illo etiam[g] monte Seyr dicitur etiam Deuteronomii .ii.: 'In monte Seyr [h]olim habitauerunt Chorrei, quibus eiectis atque deletis[h] habitauerunt filii Esau[i] pro eis.'[198]

35. In isto autem monte Seyr, qui est iuxta mare Galilee et montem Galaad, habitabat Esau eo tempore, quo Iacob rediit de Mesopotamia Syrie. Dicitur enim Genesis .xxxvi. quod Esau, qui habitabat cum patri suo absque dubio in Bersabee, assumptis omnibus, que habebat, abiit in alteram regionem:[199] nulli dubium quin ad istam. Et separatus est a fratre suo. Vnde et Iacob redeunti de Mesopotamia occurrit iuxta uadum Iaboch,[200] quod ab austro adiacet terre[a] isti. Et Genesis .xxxiii.[b] dicitur, quod, cum Iacob transiuisset Phanuel,[201] 'ortus est ei sol'. Et infra: 'Eleuans[c] occulos uidit uenientem Esau.'[202] Qui locus (scilicet Phanuel) ostenditur hodie eodem nomine, non longe a Sochat[203] ultra Iordanem ad orientalem plagam, ubi legitur postea immediate uenisse. Et est locus idem in pede montis Seyr, qui adiacet mari Galilee, cum ille mons Seyr, in quo olim habitauerunt Chorrei,[204] pro quibus nunc ibidem habitant filii Esau, per plures dietas distet a loco isto, a quo non poterat uenisse subito Esau pro fratre suo uidendo, quia longe ultra mare mortuum distat, fere per tres[d] dietas. Hec diuersitas filiorum

[c] terras *B* [d-d] *om.* *B* [e] *om.* *LiZb* [f] termini *Li* [g] *om.* *B+*
[h-h] *om.* *BPb* [i] Israel *LiZb*

35 [a] *B+*; *om.* *P* [b] *om.* *LiZb.* *See Gen.* *32:* *31* [c] autem *add.* *LiLoZb*
[d] *BPPb*; quinque *LiZb*; decem *Lo*

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[196] Kadesh Barnea is identified with modern 'Ain al-Qudeirat (096006), the largest oasis in northern Sinai. See Deut. 1: 19 – 2: 8 (see *ABD*, iv. 1–3). The text's reference to Deut. iii. should be to Deut. ii (verse 4).

[197] Cf. Deut. 33: 2. Paran is the region of northern Sinai west of Edom (see *ABD*, v. 162).

[198] Burchard quotes Deut. 2: 12, though he imports the word 'monte' from verse 5, and for the Vulgate's 'expulsis' gives 'eiectis'.

after whom the mountain is named, was not yet born. So it is believed it was named in anticipation. Likewise, Deuteronomy 2: 'You shall pass by the borders of your brethren the sons of Esau, who dwell in Seir, and they will be afraid of you.' This was first said to the sons of Israel when in Kadesh-barnea,[196] as they came from Egypt, on their way to Mount Seir, which is by Kadesh-barnea where they then were. But it is certain that the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt, never had access to the borders of the Mount Seir, which is beyond the Sea of Galilee, since that Mount Seir is linked with Damascus, which they never reached. (15) However, another Mount Seir mentioned in that passage is linked with the desert of Paran.[197] The sons of Israel circled this for a long time, prohibited by the Lord from entering it. And of this Mount Seir also it is said also in Deuteronomy 2: 'The Horrhites also formerly dwelt in Seir. Who being driven out and destroyed, the children of Esau dwelt there.'[198]

35. On that Mount Seir which is by the Sea of Galilee and Mount Gilead, Esau lived at the time when Jacob returned from Mesopotamian Syria. For it is said in Genesis 36 that Esau, who was living with his father, doubtless in Beersheba, had taken all his possessions and had left for another region,[199] surely this one. And he had separated from his brother. So Jacob met him as he returned from Mesopotamia by the ford of the Jabbok,[200] which adjoins this land from the south. Genesis 33 says that when Jacob had passed by Penuel[201] 'the sun rose upon him', and, lower down, 'Lifting up his eyes he saw Esau coming'.[202] This place (that is, Penuel) is shown today, with the same name, not far from Succoth[203] beyond Jordan towards the eastern country, where it is read that Jacob went immediately afterwards. This same place is at the foot of the Mount Seir, which adjoins the Sea of Galilee, since that Mount Seir in which the Horites once lived[204] (in whose place now live the sons of Esau) is several days' travel distant from that place, and Esau could not have made a sudden visit from there to see his brother, since it was far distant, almost three days' journey, beyond the Dead

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[199] See Gen. 36: 6.

[200] See Gen. 33: 1–11. The modern wadi az-Zerkā (cf. Abel, *Géographie*, i. 485–6).

[201] See Gen. 32: 31. Penuel is the modern Tall adh-Dhahab ash-Sharqiyya (215177) on the wadi az-Zarkā (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 406; *ABD*, v. 223), or Tall Dayr 'Allā (MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, p. 211).

[202] Gen. 33: 1.

[203] Succoth is perhaps Tall Dayr 'Allā, or Tall al-Ahsās (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 470; *ABD*, vi. 217–18; MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, p. 144).

[204] Mount Seir in which the Horites lived: i.e. to the south. Burchard through this whole section recognizes the problems posed by the biblical evidence for Seir and tries to find critical explanations.

Esau et habitationum diuersitas uidetur mihi accidisse ex eo, quod Esau plures habuit uxores,[205] et ita filii, quos habuit de filia Ysmahel,[206] sorore Nabaioth, habitauerunt in monte Seyr, qui est iuxta desertum Pharan, in confinio illo, ubi habitauit socer eius Hysmahel, de quo dicitur Genesis .xxi.,[e] quod factus est uir gnarus sagittandi[f] et moratus in solitudine Pharan, ubi legitur ipse et eius posteri conseruari. Duxit autem Esau alias uxores absque hiis, quas prius habuerat, inter quas una erat Colibama, filia Anie, filie Sebean Euehi.[207] Iste Euehus filius erat Chanaam, et habitabat absque dubio in partibus Scithopoleos[208] in Galilea iuxta montem[g] [h]Gelboe non longa a mari Galilee.[h] Cui loco uicinus ualde est mons alius Seyr, in quo habitabat tempore illo, cum Iacob reddisset[i] de Mesopotamia.[209] Et ita de facili ibi poterat occurrere fratri suo, quod et textus tacite uidetur innuere. Dicitur enim Genesis quod recedente Laban a Iacob ille pergebat cepto itinere, et obuios habuit angelos Dei, et dixit: 'Castra dei sunt hec et appellauit nomen loci Manaym,[210] id est castra' (qui locus est[j] hodie sub monte Galaad in tribu Gad), et de loco illo misit nuntios ad fratrem suum, qui etiam ibidem ad eum redierunt. Vnde et infra[k] dicitur, quod 'separauit munera fratri suo'[211] de gregibus suis et misit per manus nuntiorum. Et dicitur ibi: 'Precesserunt itaque munera, ipse uero adhuc mansit in castris'[212] (hoc est in Manaym) 'nocte illa, cumque mane surrexisset, transiuit uadum Iaboch' (qui etiam hodie ostenditur ibi), 'et ecce! uir[l] luctabatur cum eo',[m] [213] et cetera. Et infra: 'uocauitque nomen loci illius Phanuel'.[n] Qui locus est hodie super torrentem Iaboch similiter in tribu Gad. 'Ortus est ei sol cum transisset Phanuel.' Et sequitur: 'Eleuans autem oculos uidit uenientem[o] Esau', etc. Ecce loca nota,[p] ubi uenit ad eum Esau. Que sunt omnino uicina monti isti Seyr, qui est supra mare[q] Galilee.

36. (16) ¶ Est adhuc tertius[a] mons Seyr[214] in finibus Azoti[215] et Ascalonis,[216] qui ascriptus fuit tribui Iuda in distributione terre, sed

[e] *om. B+* [f] uenandi *Li*; *om. Zb* [g] *PPb*; montes *BLiLoZb* [h-h] *om. B*
[i] *PLi*; rediret *BLoPbZb* [j] ostenditur *BLiPb* [k] ibidem *Li* [l] Iacob *add. B*
[m] angelo *B* [n] et cetera *B* [o] *om. Li* [p] *om. Li* [q] *B+*; montem *P*

36 [a] alius *Li*

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[205] See Gen. 28: 9; 36: 3.

[206] Ishmael: see Gen. 16: 11, 15.

[207] See Gen. 36: 2; Douai–Reims, 'Sebeon the Hevite'; RSV, 'Zibeon the Hivite'.

[208] See Gen. 10: 17. It is not clear how Burchard links the Hivites to Scythopolis (modern Bet She'an or Beisan); see below, n. 54.

[209] See Gen. 32: 1–33: 17.

[210] Modern Tulul adh-Dhahab al-Gharbiyya and ash-Sharqiyya (214177), on the north bank of the Wadi az-Zarka: see Josh. 13: 30; 21: 38; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 2: 9; 17: 24–29: 8. (See *ABD*, iv. 472–3; MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, p. 142.) 'Camp' translates the Latin Vulgate text 'castra'; most English versions translate the Hebrew word as 'God's army'.

Sea. This misfit between the sons of Esau and their home places seems to me to result from Esau's having several wives;[205] thus the sons he had of the daughter of Ishmael,[206] the sister of Nebaioth, lived in the Mount Seir which is next to the desert of Paran, in the territory of his father-in-law Ishmael, of whom it is said in Genesis 21 that he was a man skilled in archery and lived in the wilderness of Paran, where it is said he and his descendants survived. Esau, however, married other wives apart from his earlier ones; one among them was Oholibama, daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite.[207] This Hivite was the son of Canaan and certainly lived in the region of Scythopolis[208] in Galilee by Mount Gilboa not far from the Sea of Galilee. Quite close to this place is the other Mount Seir, in which Esau was living when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia.[209] Thus he could easily meet his brother there, as the text tacitly seems to imply. For Genesis says that, when Laban left Jacob, Jacob was pursuing the journey he had begun when he met the angels of God, and said, 'These are the camps of God, and he called the name of that place Mahanaim,[210] that is, "Camps" ' (the place lies today under Mount Gilead in the tribe of Gad), and from there he sent his brother messengers, who returned to him at the same place. It is said subsequently that from his flocks 'he set apart presents for his brother',[211] and sent them by the hand of the messengers. And it is said there, 'And so the presents went before him; but himself lodged in the camp[212] (that is, Mahanaim) that night' 'and rising early passed over the ford of Jaboc' (still shown there today), 'and behold a man wrestled with him',[213] etc. And further on: 'and he called the name of the place Phanuel'. This place today is above the torrent of Jabbok, similarly in the tribe of Gad. 'And immediately the sun rose upon him, after he was past Phanuel.' There follows: 'Lifting up his eyes [he] saw Esau coming', etc. See, the places where Esau came to him are known; they are all close by that Mount Seir which is above the Sea of Galilee.

36. (16) ¶ There is still a third Mount Seir[214] in the territory of Ashdod[215] and Ashkelon.[216] It was assigned to the tribe of Judah in the

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[211] See Gen. 32: 13–21.

[212] See Gen. 32: 21–3.

[213] See Gen. 32: 24–32.

[214] A third Mount Seir: Burchard perhaps refers to Josh. 15: 10, where Judah's boundary 'compasseth from Baala westward unto mount Seir'.

[215] Burchard lists Azotus, which was the Hellenistic name of the biblical city of Ashdod. It is mentioned frequently in 1 Macc. (Jonathan burned its temple of Dagon, 1 Macc. 10: 84) and by Josephus; in the New Testament it is associated with Philip (Acts 8: 40).

[216] Cf. Josh. 13: 3; Judg. 14: 19; Jer. 25: 20; 47: 5; Zeph. 2: 4; Zech. 9: 5. Ashkelon appears in Egyptian reliefs of Rameses II and in Assyrian records. It became a Muslim city in the seventh century; the Crusaders took it in 1153, but in 1187 lost it to Saladin. The Crusaders built a castle there in 1153 but it fell to Baybars in 1270.

qualiter sic sit dictus, non recolo me legisse. Habitatores[b] loci illius Idumei[217] dicti sunt, sicut et alii [c]posteri Esau ab Edom Idumei dicebantur,[c] unde Antipater et filius eius Herodes Ascalonita Idumei dicebantur. Et hec de materia hac dicta sufficiant. ¶ Terminatur autem mons iste[218] [d]in sorte tribu[d] Gad, in monte Galaad,[219] contra locum illum, ubi non longe a montibus Gelboe[220] iuxta ciuitatem Bethsan[221] Iordanis fluuius mare Galilee egreditur.[e] Et deinceps littus Iordanis orientale est duarum tribuum et dimidie[222] usque ad campestria Moab[223] sub monte Abarim[224] in Sethym[225] contra Ierico. ¶ Vltra uero[f] austrum procedendo in littore eodem Iordanis est terra Moab usque ad Petram deserti, que nunc Krach dicitur.[226] Postea pars quedam terre Amon[g] succedit,[227] quamdiu durat mare mortuum, et sic circuit[h] littus eius australe usque ad montem Seyr, qui coniunctus est deserto Pharam iuxta Cades Barne, habens a latere desertum Synai et mare rubrum.[i]

DE SECVNDA DIVISIONE QVARTE ORIENTALIS

37. (VI. 1) ¶ In secunda diuisione quarte[a] orientalis primo post Accon procedendo contra euroaustrum[b] ad quinque[c] leucas de Accon est Chana Galilee,[228] ubi Dominus conuertit aquam in uinum. Et ostenditur

[b] tamen *add.* *B+* [c–c] posteri. Esau ab eodem Idumaeus dicebatur *Li* [d–d] ad tribum *Li* [e] *LiZb*; ingreditur *P+* [f] contra *add.* *B+* [g] *om.* *B* [h] creauit *Zb* [i] *LiLoPZb*; mortuum *BPb*

37 [a] plage *BPb* [b] *PZb*; austrum euro *Lo*; austrum *Li*; eurum *BPb* [c] quattuor *LiLoZb*

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[217] The name Idumaeans is used by the translators of the Septuagint and the Greek historians of the Hellenistic and Roman periods for the inhabitants of the land of Edom south-east of the Dead Sea, and then for the occupants of the land immediately south of Judah and west of the Dead Sea (see Bartlett, 'Edomites and Idumaeans', pp. 102–14). Herod the Great's grandfather was a general over Idumaea; according to Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, i. 6. 2–3; Loeb, vol. i, pp. 50–1) as a boy he had been a temple-servant in the temple of Apollo at Ashkelon.

[218] This mountain: i.e. Mount Seir.

[219] Mount Galaad (RSV, the hill country of Gilead) lies in the area between Bashan in the north and the Arnon river in the south; cf. Gen. 31: 21, 23; Deut. 3: 12.

[220] The mountains of Gilboa (modern Jabal Fuqu'ah) overlook the valley of Jezreel. Here Saul died fighting the Philistines (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31; cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 21: 12).

[221] Beth-she'an lies at the junction of the Jezreel and Jordan valleys (197212) (cf. Josh. 17: 11, 16; Judg. 1: 27; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 10–12; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 12). In Hellenistic times it was named Scythopolis (2 Macc. 12: 29–31).

[222] Cf. Josh. 13: 8–32.

[223] The region north-east of the Dead Sea, between the Jordan valley and the plateau of the tableland (*mishor*; Deut 3: 10; 4: 43; Josh. 13: 9); see Num. 22: 1; 26: 3, 63; 31: 12; 35: 1; 36: 13; Deut. 34: 1, 8; Josh. 13: 32. (See *ABD*, iv. 882–93; MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, p. 87.)

distribution of the land, but I do not recall reading how it was so called. Its inhabitants were called Idumaeans,[217] just as were other Edomite descendants from Esau. For the same reason Antipater and his son Herod of Ashkelon were called Idumaeans. Let that be enough on this matter. ¶ This mountain[218] ends in the portion allotted to the tribe Gad, on Mount Gilead,[219] over against the place where, not far from the mountains of Gilboa[220] by the city of Beth-shean,[221] the river Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee. Next on the Jordan's eastern bank is the land of the two and a half tribes[222] as far as the plains of Moab[223] below Mount Abarim[224] in Shittim[225] opposite Jericho. ¶ Beyond that to the south on the same bank of the Jordan, as far as Petra Deserti, now called Krak,[226] is the land of Moab. After that follows part of the land of Ammon,[227] the length of the Dead Sea, and thus it encircles its southern shore as far as Mount Seir, which adjoins the desert of Paran by Kadesh-barnea, with the desert of Sinai and the Red Sea on its side.

ABOUT THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE EASTERN QUARTER

37. (VI. 1) ¶ In the second division of the eastern quarter as one starts from Acre, 5 leagues south-east of Acre lies Cana[228] of Galilee, where

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[224] Mount Abarim is generally associated with Mount Nebo and its region, north-east of the Dead Sea, and forming the north-western rim of the Moabite tableland (cf. Num. 27: 12; 33: 47–8; Deut. 32: 49; Abel, *Géographie*, i. 378–9; *ABD*, i. 6–7; cf. MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, pp. 85–6).

[225] Settim (Douai–Reims) or Shittim (RSV) is probably Tall al-Hammam (214138); Num. 25: 1; Josh. 2: 1; 3: 1; Joel 3: 18; Mic. 6: 5; cf. 'Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab', Num. 33: 49 (see MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, pp. 89–90; *ABD*, v. 1222–3).

[226] See above, n. 26. The biblical evidence suggests that though Israel had claimed the land north of the wadi Arnon as Israelite, the Iron Age kingdom of Moab extended as far north as Heshbon and Elealeh (Isa. 15–16; Jer. 48) and as far south as the wadi al-Hesa, well south of modern Karak, but not as far as Petra.

[227] Burchard seems to be following the transjordanian territory southwards: Mount Gilead, the land of the two and a half tribes; the plains of Moab below Mount Abarim; the land of Moab. Burchard's next statement seems to locate the land of Ammon as encircling the southern shore of the Dead Sea, south of Moab; this is incorrect, and again reveals his somewhat hazy grasp of the regions east of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea. The land of Ammon lay north of Moab, between Moab and Gilead.

[228] In medieval times Cana (John 2: 1–11; Josephus, *Life*, 16 (86)) was identified with Kafr Kanna ('the village of the roof'), about 3 miles (5 km) north-east of Nazareth (Pringle, *Churches*, i. 285–6), but modern scholars favour Khirbat Qana ('ruin of the reed') (178247), nearly 9 miles (14 km) north of Nazareth (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 412–13; *ABD*, i. 827). Pringle argues (*Churches*, ii. 163) that Burchard's description 'clearly relates to Kh. Qana, which he places north of Ruma and Saffuriya'. The abbreviator emphasizes Christian concern to investigate biblical sites (B28), but noticeably avoids giving space to the archaeology and architecture of particular sites.

hodie ibidem locus, ubi steterunt sex idrie et triclinium, in quo erant mense. Sunt tamen hec loca omnia[d] fere in quibus Dominus aliquid operatus sub terra, et descenditur ad ea in cryptam per plures gradus, sicut est locus annunciationis et natiuitatis et iste in Chana Galilee et plura alia, que ostenduntur sub terra. Cuius rei aliam non inuenio rationem, nisi quia per frequentas destructiones ecclesiarum, in quibus erant loca ipsa, ruine sunt supra[e] terram exaltate, et sic eis qualitercunque complanatis alia edificia desuper[f] constructa. Christiani uero habentes deuotionem uisitandi loca sancta et uolentes[g] ad uera loca, ubi res est gesta, peruenire,[h] oportuit ut eruderarent loca ad gradus faciendos, ut sic ad ea peruenirent. Et ideo fere omnia loca ista quasi in cryptis uidentur esse. Chana Galilee ab aquilone montem habet altum et rotundum. Et est in decliui latere eius sita. Sub se uero contra austrum habet campum et planitiem ualde pulchram, quam Iosephus appellat Carmeleon,[229] usque in Sephorum,[230] fertilem nimis et amenam ualde.

38. (2) ¶ De Chana Galilee quattuor[a] leucis contra meridiem fere, in uia, que de Sephoro Tiberiadem ducit, est uilla quedam, Ruma nomine,[231] in qua Ionas propheta dicitur sepultus fuisse. Villa ista sita est sub monte, qui de Nazareth ueniens includit predictam uallem Carmeleon a parte australi. (3) ¶ De Ruma ad unam leucam et fere dimidiam contra uulturnum[b] est uilla grandis quondam, ut uidetur, nomine Abelmehola,[232] de qua legitur in Iudit, quod Olofernes uadens contra Bethuliam uenit secus eam. Et sic oportebat, quia propter difficultatem locorum uia alia illuc esse non poterat. De hac uilla creditur oriundus fuisse Heliseus propheta, sicut dicitur[c] tertio Regum .xviiii.[d] [233] Et est in contracta illa, que uocatur Dothaym, distans de ipsa uilla Dothaym per mediam[e] leucam contra occidentem. Sunt in ea columpne multe marmoree et ruine magne, que[f] ostendunt eam fuisse gloriosam. Et est in loco alto et firmo sita. (4) ¶ De Abelmehola ad unam[g] leucam

[d] sicut omnia alia *LiLoPbZb*; sicut et alia *B* [e] *PLo*; super *B+* [f] *om. BPb* [g] ire *add. B* [h] *om. B*

38 [a] duabus *LiZb* [b] orientem *BPPb*; *LiLoZb* [c] legitur *Li* [d] *om. LiZb*; *b* undetriginta *P* [e] dimidiam *BPb* [f] omnia *add. Li+* [g] bonam *add. BPb+*

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[229] Burchard is presumably thinking of the modern plain of al-Battawf, running from east to west just south of Kh. Qana. Which passage of Josephus he has in mind is less clear.

[230] Modern Zippori, 4 miles (6.5 km) north-west of Nazareth. Herod Antipas made this Hellenistic town capital of Galilee. It remained loyal to Rome during the revolt of AD 66–70, and was given city status (*polis*) by Vespasian. Hadrian named it Diocaesarea. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 363. The Crusaders captured it in 1099, Saladin took it in 1187, but the Crusaders held it from 1240 to 1263. Burchard says more of Sepphoris below. For Joachim, see *Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. James, pp. 38–49.

the Lord turned water into wine. There is shown there today the place where stood the six water pots and the dining room in which the tables were set. However, nearly all these places in which the Lord performed any work are below ground, and one descends to them into a crypt down many steps, as is the site of the annunciation and of the nativity, and this place in Cana of Galilee, and many others shown below ground. I find no other reason for this but that, through the frequent destruction of the churches at these sites, ruins were built up above the ground and thus when levelled in whatever manner other buildings were constructed on top. Christians then having the devotion to visit holy sites and wishing to reach the authentic sites where things were done had to dig to make steps to reach those places. Thus almost all those sites seem to be as if in crypts. Cana of Galilee has a high, round mountain on the north, and it is set on its flank. But below it to the south Cana has open ground and a very beautiful plain, which Josephus names Carmelion.[229] This reaches as far as Sepphoris,[230] and is very fertile and pleasant.

38. (2) ¶ Four leagues roughly south of Cana of Galilee, on the road which leads from Sepphoris to Tiberias, is a village called Ruma,[231] in which Jonah the prophet is said to have been buried. That village lies below the mountain which, starting from Nazareth, encloses the above-mentioned valley of Carmelion on the south side. (3) ¶ Almost one and a half leagues south-east of Ruma is a large village once apparently called Abel-meholah,[232] about which it is said in Judith that when Holofernes attacked Bethulia he came near it. So he must have done, because the topography made it difficult for him to go any other way. That village is believed to have been where Elisha the prophet was born, as it says in 3 Kings 19.[233] It lies in the district called Dothan, distant half a league west of the village of Dothan. There are there many marble columns and large ruins, showing that it was a fine village. It is set in a high and strong place. (4) ¶ A league from Abel-meholah is

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[231] Ruma: south of Kh. Qana across the valley lie Rummana (180245) and Rumat Heib (180243), which may preserve the name. Jonah's grave in medieval Arab tradition (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 469) was located south of Kafr Kanna on a hilltop which appears as Har Yonah on modern maps, just over 4 miles (about 7 km) south-south-east of Rumat Heib. The abbreviator omits this site.

[232] Abel-meholah: Laurent (*Peregrinatores*, p. 44, n. 276) thinks that Burchard had in mind the Belma of Judith 7: 3, which he links with the Abel-meholah (Douai–Reims, Abelmeula) of 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 16 and elsewhere. The site is disputed but *ABD*, i. 11 opts for Tall Abu Sus a little over 9 miles (15 km) south of Beth-she'an. Burchard seems to locate it much further north, about 6 miles (10 km) east of Ruma (at Kh. Arbel? (197247)), but it is important to remember that the geography of Judith is as fictional as the book. The abbreviator omits this site.

[233] 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 16, of Abelmeula. See n. 232.

est mons Bethulie,[234] ubi Iudit occidit Olofernem. Qui mons per totam fere Galileam uidetur pulcer ualde et munitus. Sunt in eo adhuc plura edificia et ruine plures. In fine montis adhuc castellum pro tuitione[h] montis est factum. Ibi adhuc sunt indicia castrorum Olofernis in campo prope Dothaym[235] et uallis, in qua se lauit Iudit[236] et quam gyrauit in Bethuliam redeundo. Hec, quantum potui, inuestigaui diligenter. Mansi enim in Dothaim una nocte.

39. (5) ¶ De Bethulia ad duas[a] bonas[b] leucas supra mare Galilee inter orientem et austrum est Tyberias ciuitas[237] gloriosa Galilee, a qua [c]mare Galilee[c] mare Tyberiadis dictum aliquotiens inuenitur. [d]Hec antiquitus dicebatur[d] Cenereth,[e] et ab ea mare Ceneroth[f] dicebatur. Que postmodum ab Herode tetrarcha Galilee est instaurata ad honorem Tyberii[g] Tyberias est appellata. Est autem longa ualde, iuxta littus maris per longum sita. Et sunt in eius australi fine[h] balnea medicabilia et ruine multe, et magne palme multe crescunt ibi, et sunt ibi uinee et oliueta, [i]et ficeta,[i] et terra pinguis ualde. Hic nota, quod in hac ciuitate Tyberiades[j] terminatur regio, que Decapoleos[238] appellatur. Dicit enim dominus Iacobus de Vitriaco,[239] patriarcha ierosolimitanus et romane sedis legatus, in libro suo, quem de conquesta huius terre fecit sic: Regionis Decapoleos fines siue extremitates sunt mare Galilee[k] ab oriente, et Sydon magna ab occidente. Et hec est latitudo eius. In longitudine uero protenditur a ciuitate tiberiadense et toto littore aquilonali maris Galilee usque in Damascum. Et dicitur Decapolis a decem ciuitatibus principalibus in ea sitis. Que sunt: Tyberias, Sephet, Cedes Neptalim, Asor, Cesarea Phylippi, Capharnaum quam Iosephus [l]Iuliam appellat,[240] Iotapata,[l] Bethsayda, Corozaim et Bethsan, que etiam Scitopolis dicebatur. Sunt tamen in ea adhuc plures aliae ciuitates[m]

[h] munitione *BPb*

39 [a] tres *BPb* [b] paruas *Li* [c-c] *B*+; *om.* *P* [d-d] *om.* *B* [e] Genesaret *B*; Genereth *Li* [f] Genesaret *B*; Genesareth *Li* [g] Cesaris *B*+ [h] parte *LiZb* [i-i] *om. LiZb* [j] scilicet *add. BPbZb* [k] *om. LiZb* [l-l] Ionapatam uocat *BPb* [m] *om. B*+

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[234] See above, n. 174. Burchard seems to be thinking of a mountain north-west of Tiberias (see below, 39), perhaps the Horns of Hattin. Abel (*Géographie*, ii. 283) prefers a site near Kafr Qūd, west of Jenin.

[235] See above, n. 173.

[236] Judith 10: 3.

[237] Modern Tiberias (201242): John 6: 1. Burchard locates Tiberias 'two good leagues' south-east of Bethulia (the Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 179^{va}) gives 'two small leagues'), but incorrectly links it with ancient Chinnereth (modern Tall al-'Oreimeh (200252), on the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee). Tiberias was founded by Herod Antipas in AD 17–22 (see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 36). The medicinal baths (hot springs) are mentioned

Mount Bethulia,[234] where Judith killed Holofernes. This mountain, very beautiful and fortified, is visible throughout almost all Galilee. It still has many buildings and ruins there. At the end of this mountain a castle has been built for its defence. There are still traces of the camps of Holofernes in the plain near Dothan,[235] and the valley in which Judith[236] bathed herself and which she circled when returning to Bethulia. I examined these as carefully as I could, for I stayed in Dothan for one night.

39. (5) ¶ Two good leagues south-east of Bethulia, above the Sea of Galilee, is the fine city of Tiberias[237] of Galilee, after which the Sea of Galilee is sometimes found called the Sea of Tiberias. In antiquity it was called Chinnereth, and from it the sea was named the Sea of Chinnereth. Later rebuilt by Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, it was named Tiberias in honour of Tiberius. The site is very long, and is set lengthwise along the shore of the sea. On its southern end there are medicinal baths and many ruins; many large palm trees grow there; it has vineyards, olive orchards, plantations of figs, and very rich soil. Note here that this city of Tiberias is the boundary of the region called Decapolis.[238] For Lord Jacques de Vitry,[239] Patriarch of Jerusalem and Legate of the Roman See, says in the book which he wrote about the conquest of this land: 'The limits or boundaries of the Decapolis region are the sea of Galilee on the east, Great Sidon on the west.' This is its breadth. 'In length, however, it extends from the city of Tiberias and the whole northern shore of the Sea of Galilee as far as Damascus.' Decapolis is named from the ten major cities located in it. They are: Tiberias, Safad, Kedesh Naphtali, Hazor, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum (which Josephus calls Julia),[240] Jotapata, Beth-saida, Chorazin, Beth-shean (also called Scythopolis). There are still, however, many other

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by Pliny (*Historia naturalis*, v. 15 (72); Loeb vol. ii, pp. 274–5). (See Abel, *Géographie*, i. 494–5; ii. 483–4; *ABD*, vi. 547–9; Hirschfeld et al., 'Tiberias', *NEAEHL*, iv. 1464–73; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 351–66; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 515–20.)

[238] See above, n. 163. 'Decapolis' seems to have been 'a loose geographical term' arising out of Pompey's reorganization of the east (Ball, *Rome in the East*, pp. 181–2). Burchard's list of cities differs almost totally from the customary list, from which he mentions only Scythopolis. The names given by Burchard come mostly from Galilee (though he recognizes that the Decapolis includes other cities). Thus he ignores Pella, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Gadara, Hippos, Abila, Capitolia, Raphena, Dium, and Canata. As Burchard himself admits, he does not know the Transjordanian region well. The abbreviator omits this section about the Decapolis and Ituraea.

[239] *Historia orientalis*, xlvii. See above, n. 27.

[240] 'which Josephus calls Julia': an incorrect gloss on Capernaum from Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 28, where Josephus says Philip the Tetrarch named Beth-saida after Julia, the emperor's daughter.

preter istas. Nota[n] quod nihilominus terra ista diuersis adhuc[o] nominibus appellatur. Dicitur enim, ut supra dictum est, nunc Yturea, nunc Traconitidis regio,[p] [241] nunc planities,[q] nunc terra[r] Roob,[242] nunc Kabul, nunc Galilea gentium, nunc Galilea superior, et semper est eadem regio, licet diuersis nominibus appellatur, et non continet multo amplius, quam dieta et dimidia in longum est et in latum, neque uidetur mihi, quod longitudo excedat latitudinem,[s] nisi in modica quantitate. Post territorium autem sidoniense et montana media inter nos et Saracenos, qui Bacharite[t] [243] dicuntur et Passum canis[244] inhabitant, usque Berithum est proprie Yturea regio in ualle, que dicitur Bakar,[245] et quia ad radices Libani extenditur in longum, saltus Libani appellatur.

40. (6) ¶ De Tyberiade redeundo contra occidentem[a] ad sex leucas,[b] contra austrum est Sephorum[246] opidum et castrum desuper ualde pulchrum,[247] de quo[c] Iohachim, pater beate uirginis, dicitur oriundus fuisse. Et est in tribu Asser iuxta uallem Carmelon. (7) ¶ De Sephoro ad duas leucas contra austrum fere, sed modicum declinando ad orientem, est Nazareth,[248] ciuitas Galilee illa benedicta, in qua 'uirga de radice Iesse'[249] facta ad eam angelica salutatione concepit de Spiritu Sancto uentris fructum, benedictum[d] Ihesum Christum. Distat autem ab Accon per septem leucas.[e] [250] Est[f] hodie in ea permanens locus, in quo angelus Gabriel beate uirgini attulit [g]nuntium salutare[g] dicens ei 'Aue, gratia plena! Dominus Tecum, benedicta Tu in mulieribus!'[251] Plures missas dixi in loco isto, immo ipsa die, scilicet annunciationis, quando fuit uerbum caro factum. Sit[h] nomen Domini [i]Ihesu Christi[i]

[n] hic *add. LiLoZb*; tamen *add. B+* [o] *om. BPb* [p] *B*; *om. P* [q] Libani *add. LiLoZb* [r] *om. P* [s] latitudinem *B+*; longitudinem *P* [t] Barachite *B*; Barchite *Pb*

40 [a] per Abelina et Roma *add. Lo* [b] et de Cana Galilee ad tres [*Li* duas] leucas *BLiPb* [c] *om. P* [d] *om. BPb* [e] dietas *Li* [f] ideo *add. B* [g-g] nouam salutationem *B* [h] ideo *add. Li* [i-i] *om. BPb*

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[241] See n. 23 above.

[242] Num. 13: 22, 'as you enter into Emath', RSV 'near the entrance of Hamath'; cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 10: 6, 8; 'somewhere in the region where the Huleh valley connects with the Bekaa valley' (*ABD*, i. 692).

[243] Burchard appears to link the name with the valley called 'Bakar', which is probably the Beka'a valley.

[244] The modern nahr al-Kalb (the ancient Lycus river), north of Beirut.

[245] Ituraea is not in the Beka'a valley, but is the mountainous range north of Upper Galilee (see above, n. 23).

[246] See above, n. 230. In the third and fourth centuries Sepphoris was strongly Jewish. In the fifth century the Christian bishop Dorotheus took part in the Council of Chalcedon (451). In 570 the Piacenza Pilgrim visited it and venerated there what was said to be the flagon

cities beside these. Note that nevertheless that region is called by different names to this day. For, as said above, it is called now Ituraea, now Trachonitis,[241] now the plain, now the land of Rehob,[242] now Kabul, now Galilee of the Gentiles, now Upper Galilee, but it is always the same region though it is called by different names, and is not much more than a day and a half's march in length and breadth, nor does its length exceed its breadth, or so it seems to me, except by a little. But after the Sidonian teritory and the mountains between us and the Saracens who are called Bacharites[243] and inhabit the Dog's Pass,[244] as far as Beirut comes Ituraea proper, in the valley called Beka'a;[245] and because lengthwise it reaches to the foot of Mount Lebanon it is called the Forest of Lebanon.

40. (6) ¶ Six leagues back from Tiberias, westwards, lies the town of Sepphoris[246] with a very fine castle above it.[247] Joachim, the father of the Blessed Virgin, is said to have been born here. It lies in the tribe of Asher, near the Carmelion valley. (7) ¶ Almost 2 leagues south of Sepphoris, and a little to the east, is Nazareth,[248] that blessed city of Galilee in which 'the branch out of the root of Jesse',[249] after the angelic greeting had been given her, conceived of the Holy Spirit the fruit of her womb, the blessed Jesus Christ. Nazareth is 7 leagues distant from Acre.[250] There remains there to this day the place where the angel Gabriel brought news of salvation to the Blessed Virgin, saying to her: 'Hail, full of grace! The Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women!'[251] I said many masses in that place, indeed on that very day, I mean the day of the Annunciation, when the word became flesh. May

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and breadbasket of Mary, and saw the chair Mary sat on at the Annunciation (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, p. 79; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 467–76).

[247] In the twelfth century the Crusaders built a fortified keep about 50 feet (15 m) square on a Byzantine foundation (Petersen, *Gazetteer of Buildings*, i. 269–70). It was in Muslim hands from 1187 to 1239, and again from 1266, when taken by Baybars. There are the remains of a twelfth-century church (Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 209–18; plates cxiii–cxxii). The abbreviator ignores the castle.

[248] Egeria in 384 saw at Nazareth a cave and an altar. By 390 there was a basilica (its foundations were discovered in 1956) which survived the Muslim conquest. In 1099 the Crusaders took Nazareth, and rebuilt the church. Saewulf in 1101–13 noted that a monastery marked the place of the Annunciation; Daniel in 1106–8 described a church with a cave and three altars. In the twelfth century a new, larger church was built; it was damaged by earthquake in 1170. Theoderic described it (1169–72). Nazareth fell to Saladin in 1187, but the church survived, to be destroyed by Baybars in 1263. The cave remained intact, and was seen by Burchard (see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 116–50; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 423–7).

[249] Isa. 11: 1, 10.

[250] seven leagues: the Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 179^{vb}) gives an unlikely 'seven days' journey' (*dietas*) from Acre .

[251] Luke 1: 28.

benedictum in eternum et ultra! Tria altaria sunt in capella, et est excissa in petra de rupe, sicut et locus natiuitatis, passionis et resurrexionis, et magna pars ciuitatis Nazareth erat antiquitus excisa de rupe; quod adhuc apparet. Est etiam adhuc[j] synagoga, sed in ecclesiam commutata, in qua Ihesu docente tradictus est liber Isaie prophete[k], quando legat: 'Spiritus Domini super me eo quod unxerit me' et cetera.[252] Est insuper in fine ciuitatis in ecclesia sancti Gabrielis fons quidem,[253] qui ab incolis ueneratione[l] habetur, de quo hausit aquam sepe, ut dicitur, puer Ihesus ministrans dilecte[m] matri sue. (8) Extra ciuitatem contra austrum forte quantum quater[n] potest arcus iacere est locus, qui appellatur[o] saltus Christi,[p] ubi uolebant Ihesum[q] precipitare,[254] sed exiuit de manibus eorum et subito, ut ibidem ostenditur, inuentus est in latere montis oppositi et ad iactum arcus. Et uidentur ibidem liniamenta corporis et uestium[r] lapidi impressa.[255] De monte isto uidetur mons Thabor et Hermon minor et Hermonium,[s] uilla Endor, Naym et Iezrahel et fere tota latitudo campi magni Esdrelon.

41. (9) ¶ De Nazareth duabus leucis contra orientem est mons Thabor,[256] in quo transfiguratus fuit Dominus.[a] Vbi hodie hostenduntur ruine trium tabernaculorum[b] siue claustrorum[c] secundum desiderium Petri constructorum. Sunt preterea ibidem ruine maxime palatiorum, turrium et regalium[d] hedificiorum, in quibus nunc latitant[e] leones et bestie alie.[f] Et sunt ibi[g] uenationes regie. Difficilem ascensum habet mons iste, et est ualde altus, et aptus pro castro construendo. In pede eius[h] australi contra uillam Endor, in uia, que ducit de Syria [i]in Egyptum,[i] est locus, ubi dicitur Melchisedech occurrisse Abrae reuertenti[257] a cede quattuor regum ¶ de confinio Damasci. Ad

[j] in ea *add.* *B+* [k] *om.* *BPb* [l] ueneranter *Li* [m] dulci *Li* [n] *B+*; *om.* *P* [o] uocatur *LiZb* [p] domini *BPbZb* [q] eum Iudei *BPb* [r] uestigium *BLiPb* [s] Hermonium *BLo*; Hermon *PPb*

41 [a] Ihesus *B* [b] puerorum *Pb* [c] castrorum *Lo* [d] regularium *Zb* [e] habitant *BLiPb* [f] *om.* *BPb* [g] ibidem *Lo* [h] huius montis *BPb* [i–i] *om.* *Li*

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[252] See Luke 4: 18; Isa. 61: 1–2.

[253] Daniel (1106) mentions this church. The present church was built in the eighteenth century (Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 140–4, pl. xci). The nearby spring is on the north side of the town.

[254] See Luke 4: 29–30 (Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 45–8).

[255] Compare description of the impressions of Jesus' feet by the Sea of Galilee above (**27**: IV. 9), and of Jesus' head, knees, and hands at Gethsemane below (**74**). The abbreviator surprisingly omits reference to Burchard's saying mass at Nazareth, the description of the rock-cut chapel, the church of St Gabriel, and the Lord's Leap. He seems determined to play down Nazareth, noting only that it was where 'flos ille florum de radice Iesse pullulavit'

the name of the Lord Jesus Christ be blessed for ever and ever! There are three altars in the chapel, and it is cut from the cliff, in stone, just as are the sites of the nativity, the passion, and the resurrection. A large part of the city of Nazareth was in antiquity cut from the rock, which is clear to this day. There is still also a synagogue (though converted into a church) in which to Jesus, while teaching, was handed the book of the prophet Isaiah, when he read: 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me', etc.[252] There is also at the city boundary in the church of St Gabriel a spring,[253] venerated by the inhabitants, from which the boy Jesus, helping his beloved mother, often, as it is said, drew water. (8) Outside the city, about 4 bowshots to the south, is the place called the Lord's Leap, where they wanted to hurl Jesus down,[254] but he escaped from their hands and suddenly was discovered a bowshot away on the side of the mountain opposite, as is shown there. There are visible there the outlines of his body and clothing impressed on the stone.[255] From that mountain can be seen Mount Tabor, the little Mount Hermon, Hermonium, the village of En-dor, Nain, Jezreel, and almost the full breadth of the great plain of Esdraelon.

41. (9) ¶ Two leagues east of Nazareth is Mount Tabor,[256] on which the Lord was transfigured. Here today are shown the ruins of three tabernacles or enclosures built according to Peter's wish. There are there also vast ruins of palaces, towers, and royal buildings, in which now lurk lions and other wild animals. Royal hunts are held there. The mountain is difficult of ascent, is very high, and suitable for the construction of a castle. At the southern foot of the mountain, opposite the village of En-dor, on the road leading from Syria to Egypt, is the place where it is said Melchizedek met Abram returning[257] from the slaughter of the four kings ¶ from the land of Damascus. At its western foot

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(drawing on Isa. 11. 1). The church no longer stood in Burchard's time, destroyed by Baybars in 1263. But if the abbreviator was writing for his teacher in Magdeburg and through him for other monks or devout Christians, it remains strange that he says so little about Nazareth. The abbreviator, however, has little interest in archaeological and architectural details, and regularly ignores them.

[256] See Judg. 4: 12–16; Jer. 46: 18; Hos. 5: 1; Mark 9: 1–8; Matt. 17: 1–8; Luke 9: 28–36. Mount Tabor seems to have been accepted as the site of the Transfiguration from the fourth century onwards. The Piacenza Pilgrim saw three basilicas in 570 (for details see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 63–85). The foundation of a Roman and Byzantine church with an apse was incorporated into a medieval church in the twelfth century, and was visited by John of Würzburg (1160–5) and Theoderic (1169, 1172). On top of Mount Tabor the Benedictines established a fortified monastery. The monks moved to Acre after 1187, but returned in the mid-twelfth century until Baybars expelled them in 1263, leaving the ruins that Burchard saw (*ABD*, vi. 304–5; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 63–85; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 412–15).

[257] Gen. 14: 18–24.

pedem [j]uero eius[j] ex parte occidentis contra Nazareth est capella[258] constructa in qua[k] Dominus de monte descendens dixit discipulis suis: 'Nemini dixeritis uisionem [l]donec filius hominis a mortuis resurgat.'[l] [259] In pede eius orientali descendit torrens Cyson ille,[260] in quo Barach pugnauit contra Sysaram, et uicit eum et fugauit. Torrens iste Cison, collectus de aquis pluuialibus montis Thabor et Hermon [m]et Hermonym,[m] descendit contra mare Galilee, et intrat illud iuxta castrum Belueyr,[261] quod fuerat hospitale Sancti Iohannis. (10) ¶ De monte Thabor per unam leucam contra eurum est uilla Endor,[262] in monte Hermonyo modico sita.[263] Qui Hermonym non est mons per se, sed quasi tumor quidam[n] ueniens de monte Hermon contra montem Thabor et illi se coniungens. Et in eo est uilla Endor sita, de qua dicitur in psalmo: 'Disperierunt in Endor.' In hac uilla mansit mulier habens[o] phytonem, que ad instanciam Saulis Samuelem suscitauit, ut dicitur primo regum penultimum.[p] [264] Qui sepultus fuit in Ramatha Sophym[265] fere ad duas dietas de loco illo. (11) De Nazareth duabus leucis, ¶ de monte Tabor plus una contra austrum est mons Hermon minor, in cuius latere aquilonari est ciuitas Naym,[266] ante cuius portam Dominus filium uidue suscitauit. Et extenditur mons iste in longitudine fere quattuor leucis contra mare Galilee, et terminatur non[q] longe a loco isto, ubi Iordanis fluuius egreditur de mari Galilee.

DE TERCIA DIVISIONE QVARTAE ORIENTALIS

42. (VII. 1) ¶ In tertia[a] diuisione [b]quarte orientalis,[b] que procedit contra notum, primo post Accon occurrit prima pars montis Carmeli ad

[j-j] huius montis *B+*   [k] *PLo*; loco in quo *B+*   [l-l] et cetera *LiZb*   [m-m] *om. LiZb*   [n] *B+*; *om. P*   [o] spiritum *add. Li*   [p] *om. LiZb*   [q] *B+*; mōs *P*

42   [a] *om. BPb*   [b-b] *om. BPb*

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[258] See Pringle, *Churches*, i. 192–4.

[259] Matt. 17: 9; cf. Luke 9: 36.

[260] The Kishon (Judg. 4: 7, 13; 5: 21; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs) 18: 40; Ps. 82 (83): 10 (9) is usually identified with the Wadi al-Muqatta draining westward into the Mediteranean at Haifa. However, Burchard sees the Kishon as draining eastwards towards the Sea of Galilee (by 'Hermon' he must mean the little Hermon west of the Jordan; see n. 263, below). The Sanudo–Vesconte map (1321) shows the Kishon draining both ways. Some scholars have identified the Kishon with the wadi al-Bira flowing east to join the Jordan (see *ABD*, iv. 809).

[261] Belvoir castle, 12 miles (19.3 km) south of the Sea of Galilee, was built in 1168 by the Knights Hospitaller. Saladin besieged it in 1187; it surrendered in 1189 and was dismantled in 1217–18 (see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 58–61; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 120–2; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 209–10.) The abbreviator omits any mention of it.

opposite Nazareth is a chapel[258] built where the Lord, descending from the mountain, said to his disciples: 'Tell the vision to no man till the Son of man be risen from the dead.'[259] At its eastern foot descends the torrent of Kishon,[260] where Barak fought Sisera and defeated him, and he fled. The torrent of Kishon, filled from the rainwaters of Mount Tabor and Hermon and Hermonim, descends towards the Sea of Galilee and enters it near the castle of Belvoir,[261] which was a hospital of St John. (10) ¶ One league east of Mount Tabor is the village of En-dor,[262] set on the little mount of Hermon.[263] This Hermon is not exactly a mountain but rather like a swelling coming from Mount Hermon towards Mount Tabor and joining itself to it. Upon it is sited the village of En-dor, of which it is said in the psalm, 'Who perished at Endor.' In this village dwelt the woman with a spirit, who raised Samuel at the instance of Saul, as is said in the penultimate chapter of 1 Kings.[264] Samuel was buried in Ramathaim-zophim,[265] about two days' journey from En-dor. (11) Two leagues from Nazareth, ¶ and more than one south of Mount Tabor, is the little hill of Hermon, on whose northern flank is the city of Nain,[266] before whose gate the Lord raised the widow's son. That mountain extends in length almost 4 leagues towards the Sea of Galilee, and ends not far from the place where the river Jordan flows out of the Sea of Galilee.

ABOUT THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE EASTERN QUARTER

42. (VII. 1) ¶ In the third division of the eastern quarter, which proceeds southwards, one meets first after Acre, 4 leagues from Acre, the

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[262] En-dor (Josh. 17: 11; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 28: 7; Ps. 82 (83): 11 (10)) is usually identified with modern Kh. Safsafeh on the north side of the Esdraelon plain (187227?), but a case is argued for Kh. Jadârāh south of the plain (175213) or Tall Abu Qudeis (170218) (*ABD*, ii. 499–501).

[263] Ps. 88 (89): 13 (12) links Mounts Hermon and Tabor as a pair. In 40 above, Burchard lists, as visible from Nazareth, Mount Tabor, little Hermon, and Hermon—but this last name cannot be the large mountain 60 miles (nearly 100 km) to the north-north-east, and some manuscripts give here Hermonium, which is consistent with this present passage, where Burchard sees Hermonium as a bump ('quasi tumor') linking Mount Tabor to the north and (little) Hermon to the south (the hill of Moreh), on whose north side lies the city of Nain. (See Abel, *Géographie*, i. 357; *ABD*, iv. 904).

[264] 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 28: 7.

[265] See above, n. 176.

[266] Luke 7: 11, Nain: modern Nein (183226) on the northern slope of the hill of Moreh. It is mentioned by Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 140. 3, and Egeria (see *ABD*, iv. 1000–1; *Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, pp. 95–6).

quatuor leucas de Accon. Vbi locus est, in quo Helias propheta occidit sacerdotes Baal, in torrente Cyson, ut dicitur .iii. Regum.[267] Qui etiam ibidem post modicum spatium mare magnum ingreditur una leuca a ciuitate Caypha, sed[c] tribus ab[d] acconensi. Et nota de isto torrente Cyson,[268] quod, licet in rei ueritate uideatur et dicatur esse unus, dupliciter tamen accipitur, quia dupliciter currit. Aliqua eius pars enim currit contra orientem ad mare Galilee, aliqua currit[e] contra occidentem ad mare magnum. Et hec diuersitas cursus huius ex eo contingit, quod mons Thabor et mons Hermon,[269] cum non longe distent ab inuicem, transmittunt ad se inuicem[f] tumorem quendam, ut uideantur quasi continuari in pede montis utriusque. Qui tumor maior est ex parte montis Hermon et uocatur Hermonym de quo dictum est supra, in quo sita est uilla Endor. Et iste tumor impedit, ne aque pluuiales, que cadunt in utroque monte, descendant ad plagam unam omnes, sed pars una descendit contra orientem et ingreditur mare Galilee non longe a ciuitate Bethsan. In hoc torrente Cyson pugnauit Barach cum Sisara, ut dicitur Iudicum. Alia[g] pars descendit contra occidentem ad mare magnum. Et in hoc torrente Cyson Helias[h] interfecit sacerdotes Baal, ut dicitur tertio Regum.[270] Ad istam tamen partem, que contra occidentem fluit, colliguntur[i] aque multe de monte Effraym et de locis Samarie propinquis et de toto campo magno Esdrelon et Caym monte et Magedo.

43. (2) ¶ De loco interfectionis sacerdotum Baal ad tres leucas contra austrum est castellum Cayn montem[271] dictum, in pede extremo[a] montis Carmeli, ubi Lamech ut dicitur sagitta interfecit Caym, ut dicitur Genesis: 'Occidi uirum in uulnus meum', etc.[272] (3) ¶ De Caym monte sex[b] leucis contra austrum est Magedo,[273] [c]quod nunc Subube[c] dicitur, ubi mortuus Ochosias, rex Iuda,[274] quem Iheu, rex Israel, uulnerauit

[c] fere *add. LiLoZb* [d] ciuitate *add. LiZb* [e] *om. BPb* [f] mutuo *Lo*
[g] autem *add. BPb* [h] propheta *add. BPb* [i] *B*+; eliguntur *P*
43 [a] extremi *LiZb* [b] *B*+; octo *P* [c–c] *om. B*

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[267] 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 18: 40.

[268] Burchard amplifies what he said above (**41**, n. 260), and presents the Kishon as flowing in two parts ('dupliciter currit'), one part flowing westwards and the other part eastwards. The abbreviator omits this topographical discussion.

[269] Again, Burchard refers to the Little Hermon (Mount Moreh), as above (**41**, n. 263). However, the east-flowing Kishon (the wadi al-Bireh or perhaps the more northerly wadi Fejjas) runs into the Jordan, not the Sea of Galilee.

[270] The comments beginning 'In this torrent…In this torrent…' seem to have been repeated from above (**41**, and earlier in **42**).

[271] Modern Tall Qeimun, ancient Jokneam (160229); the link with Cain is by a false etymology: see Josh. 12: 22; 19: 11; 21: 34; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 12. In the Crusader period Caymon

first part of Mount Carmel. Here is the place where the prophet Elijah killed the priests of Baal, at the torrent of Kishon, as told in 3 Kings.[267] There too after a short space it enters the Mediterranean Sea one league from the city of Haifa, but three from the city of Acre. Take note also about the Kishon torrent[268] that, though in fact it seems and is said to be one, yet it is taken to be two, because it flows two ways. For one part of it runs east to the Sea of Galilee, the other west to the Mediterranean. This divergence of flow comes from the fact that Mounts Tabor and Hermon,[269] being not far from each other, send out a sort of lump towards each other, so that the foot of one mountain seems to continue into the other. This lump is greater on the side of Mount Hermon, and is called Hermonium (as mentioned above); the village of En-dor is set on it. This lump prevents the rainwater, which falls on each mountain, from all coming down to the one area, but one part falls eastwards and enters the Sea of Galilee not far from the city of Beth-shean. In this torrent of Kishon Barak fought with Sisera, as it says in Judges. Another part falls westwards to the Mediterranean Sea. In this torrent of Kishon Elijah killed the priests of Baal, as is told in 3 Kings.[270] However, into the west-flowing part is gathered much water from Mount Ephraim and from the neighbouring places of Samaria and from the whole great plain of Esdraelon and from Cain mountain and Megiddo.

43. (2) ¶ Three leagues south of the place where the priests of Baal were killed is the castle called Caymont,[271] below the far end of Mount Carmel, where Lamech, as it is said, killed Cain with an arrow, as it says in Genesis: 'I have slain a man to the wounding of myself.'[272] (3) ¶ Six leagues south of Mount Cain is Megiddo,[273] now called Subube, where Ahaziah, king of Judah, died;[274] Jehu, king of Israel, wounded

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had a square fortress and a surrounding wall, attributed to King Baldwin I. It fell to Saladin in 1187, was restored to the Franks in 1192, awarded to the Templars in 1262, but fell to Baybars (1263–6) (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 365–6; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 159–61).

[272] Gen. 4: 23. Burchard's Vulgate gives 'occidi uirum in uulnus meum', 'I have slain a man to the wounding of myself'; the Hebrew might rather be translated 'I have slain a man for wounding me'. The man is unnamed in the biblical text.

[273] Tall as-Mutesellim (167221): a famous tell in the west Jezreel valley: see Josh. 12: 21; 17: 11; Judg. 1: 27; 5: 19; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 12; 9: 15; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 27; 23: 29–30; 2 Chr. 35: 20–4; Zech. 12: 11. Burchard apparently identifies ancient Megiddo with Subube (172217), probably modern Zubube, a little over 4 miles (about 7 km) south-south-east of Megiddo on the Jenin road. See *ABD*, iv. 666–79 for Megiddo's history and archaeology; also Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 386–90.

[274] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 27. The abbreviator omits the details of this story.

iuxta Iesrahe[275] in ascensu Gaber,[276] quando Ioram, regem Israel, sagitta interfecit et proici fecit in agrum Naboth Iesrahelite.[277] In hoc eodem Magedo occisus est Iosias, rex Iuda, a Pharaone, rege Egypti, quando proficiscebatur ad flumen Euffratem.[278] (4) Et nota quod campus Magedo[279] et Esdrelon[280] et planities Galilee unum sunt et idem, sed[d] nomina alia omnia quieuierunt,[e] et appellatur nunc communiter campus[f] Fabe [g]propter quodam castellum Faba[g] [281] dictum,[h] quod distat a ciuitate Affech[282] quantum ter iacere potest arcus. Est autem in rei ueritate campus Galilee, que cingitur ab oriente mari Galilee et Iordane, ab austro monte Effraym et Samaria, [i]ab occidente[i] partim monte Carmelo, ab aquilone montibus Phenice et Libano. Et uidetur habere [j]campus iste[j] in longitudine fere decem leucas, in latitudine sex[k] uel amplius; in partibus aliquibus fertilis supra modum in frumento, uino et oleo, et habundans omnibus bonis mundi, ita quod uidetur mihi, quod terram non uiderim meliorem, si demeritis[l] et peccatis nostris non impedientibus[m] eam possent colere[n] Christiani.[283]

44. (5) ¶ De monte Cain contra orientem duabus leucis et amplius est casale Mesrha,[284] in torrente Cyson, per unam leucam a pede montis Hermon.[285] (6) ¶ De Mesrha unam leucam contra austrum est castellum, quod dicitur Faba; ad cuius latus occidentale [a]extra uiam[a] que ducit Iezrahel, ad dexteram ostenduntur ruine ciuitatis Affech, quantum ter iacere potest arcus, extra uiam, ubi Syri pugnauerunt contra Achab, regem Israel, quando dixerunt: 'Dii montium sunt dii eorum;

[d] secundum *BPb* [e] que euenerunt *BPb* [f] *om. B* [g–g] *PLo*; a quodam castello *B+* [h] dicto *LiZb* [i–i] *Li*; *om. P*; partim monte Ephraym *add. BLoZb* [j–j] *om. BPb* [k] *B+*; octo *P* [l] meritis *LiZb*; *LoP* [m] *PLoPbZb*; pedientibus *B*; exigentibus *Li* [n] tollere *BPb*

44 [a–a] *om. Pb*

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[275] RSV Jezreel, modern Zerin (181218): see Josh. 19: 18; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 29: 1; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 2: 9; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 12; 21: 1; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 17; 10: 6–11. Jezreel, however, is some 8 miles (12.5 km) from the region of the ascent of Gur.

[276] MT 'ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam'. Ibleam is Kh. Bel'ameh (177205). Gur (Vulgate Gaber) is identified with Kh. En-Najjar (178205), east of Ibleam, at the pass between Jenin and the mountains of Samaria (*ABD*, ii. 1099; iii. 355).

[277] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 25–6.

[278] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 29–30.

[279] plain of Megiddo: cf. 2 Chr. 35: 22; Zech. 12: 11.

[280] Esdraelon: in the Old Testament, the valley of Jezreel: cf. Judg. 6: 33; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 29: 1; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 12; Esdraelon appears in Judith 1: 8; 3: 9 (RSV); 4: 6 (RSV); 7: 3.

[281] Faba (La Fève): this was established by the Templars in 1172 at modern Afula, 11 kilometres south of Nazareth. Saladin captured it in 1187. (See Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), iii. 176–7; Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs*, ii. 101; Conder

him near Jezreel[275] at the ascent of Gur,[276] at the time when he killed Joram, king of Israel, with an arrow and had him thrown into the field of Naboth the Jezreelite.[277] At this same Megiddo, Josiah, king of Judah, was killed by Pharaoh, king of Egypt, when he was setting out to the river Euphrates.[278] (4) Note too that the plain of Megiddo[279] and Esdraelon[280] and the plain of Galilee are all one and the same, but all these names have lapsed, and it is now commonly named the Plain of Faba from the castle called Faba,[281] which is 3 bowshots distant from the city of Aphek.[282] But this is in fact the plain of Galilee, which is surrounded on the east by the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, on the south by Mount Ephraim and Samaria and on the west partly by Mount Carmel, on the north by the mountains of Phoenicia and Lebanon. The plain seems to be almost 10 leagues long and 6 or more leagues wide; in some parts it is especially fertile in grain, wine, and oil, abounding in all the world's good things, so that it seems to me that I have not seen better land, if only our faults and sins did not prevent Christians from cultivating it.[283]

44. (5) ¶ Two leagues and more east of Mount Cain is the village of Mizra',[284] on the Kishon torrent, one league from the foot of Mount Hermon.[285] (6) ¶ One league south of Mizra' is a castle called Faba; on its western side, beyond the road which leads to Jezreel, are shown on the right the ruins of the city of Aphek, 3 bowshots beyond the road, where the Syrians fought against Ahab, king of Israel, when they said: 'Their gods are the gods of the mountains; let us fight with them in the

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and Kitchener, *Map of Western Palestine*, sheet ix; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 55–6; Nicholson, *Knight Templar, 1120–1312*, p. 63; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 207.) The abbreviator ignores it.

[282] Aphek: see Josh. 12: 18; 13: 4; 19: 30; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 4: 1; 29: 1; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 20: 26–30; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 13: 17. There were four or five places of this name (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 246–7). Burchard's Aphek, in the plain of Jezreel near Galilee, does not seem to fit the usual location of Aphek in Asher (Josh. 19: 29–30; Judg. 1: 31), Lebanon (Josh. 13: 4), or Sharon (Josh. 12: 18), but rather the Aphek of 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 20: 26–30; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 13: 17, and the wars of Israel with Syria. Laurent (*Peregrinatores*, p. 50, n. 321) identifies Aphek here with Afuleh, and says that this is the Aphek of Issachar: but there is no Aphek in the list of Issachar's cities in Josh. 19: 17–23. However, Burchard locates this Aphek merely three bowshots from the castle of Faba, which is at Afula.

[283] The abbreviator (B32) removes the reference to Christian sinfulness and its results, and notes that the land would be fertile beyond measure under Christian rule. The text is therefore probably to be dated post 1291, when the fall of Acre meant the end of Christian control of the land.

[284] Modern Mizra', 2.5 miles (4 km) north of Afula. The abbreviator ignores it.

[285] i.e. the little Hermon (see 41, n. 263 above).

pugnemus cum eis in uallibus.'[286] (7) ¶ De Affech ad unam leucam contra orientem, ad sinistram extra uiam, que ducit Iesrahel, in latere australi montis Hermon Sunam ciuitas ostenditur, quam frequentare solebat Helyseus, uadens de Carmelo [b]ad Galgala uel Iordanem. Erat enim illa planior uia eunti in Iericho, ubi cum filiis prophetarum[287] morabatur, uadens de Carmelo[b] per Sunam[288] in Bethsam et inde per campestria Iordanis usque ad Galgala.[c] Vnde et quarto[d] Regum dicitur,[289] quod, cum uellet ire ad Iordanem, oportebat eum transire per Sunam, et hac occasione eam frequentabat. ¶ De ipsa etiam ciuitate eadem[e] mulier mortuo filio suo uenit ad eum in montem Carmeli, qui distat per quatuor leucas de loco illo [f]contra austrum.[f] Huius filium Helyseus suscitauit. Ibi castra metati sunt Philistiim, et Saul uenit in Gelboe. ¶ De ista ciuitate Sinam fuit Abisac Sunamitis, [g]que senem regem Dauidem calefecit dormiens in sinu eius.[g][290]

45. (8) ¶ De Sunam tribus[a] leucis contra orientem fere, sed parum declinando ad austrum est Bethsan ciuitas[291] inter montem Gelboe[292] et Iordanem, dimidia tamen leuca a Iordane, in cuius muro Philistiim suspenderunt cadauera Saul et filiorum eius in monte Gelboe occisorum.[293] Dicebatur aliquando Scitopolis, ut dicit Iosephus, sed nunc ab omnibus Bethsan appellatur. Et est locus delicatus multum. (9) ¶ Supra hanc contra occidentem est mons Gelboe, extendens se contra occidentem [b]usque Iezrahel[b] ad duas leucas. (10) ¶ De Bethsan ad tres[c] leucas contra occidentem oritur fons magnus, duabus leucis supra[d] Bethsan, qui dicitur fons Iezrahel,[294] primo Regum, ubi Philistiim posuerunt castra sua, cum esset Saul in Gelboe, inter ipsum fontem et Bethsan. (11) ¶ De fonte isto ad modicum, fere quantum potest bis arcus iacere, est Iezrahel ciuitas,[e] [295] in loco aliquantulum[f] eleuato sita, quondam

[b-b] *om. Li*   [c] *BLiPbZb*; Galaad *P*; Iericho *Lo*   [d] tertio *BLiZb*   [e] *om. BLiPb*   [f-f] *om. LiLoZb*   [g-g] in cuius sinu senex rex Dauid dormiuit *BPb*

45 [a] duabus *LiLoZb*; undecim *BPb*   [b-b] *om. Li*   [c] undecim *BPb*; duas *LiLoZb*   [d] contra *Li*   [e] *BLiLoZb*; *om. PPb*   [f] admodum *Li*

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[286] 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 20: 23. The Aphek of 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 20: 26 is probably Fīq east of the Sea of Galilee (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 246), but Burchard clearly locates it near Faba. The abbreviator omits this story. Burchard paraphrases the biblical quotation.

[287] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 1–18.

[288] Modern Sulem (181223), on the southern slopes of Mount Gilboa, where the Philistines encamped for battle against Saul (Josh. 19: 18; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 28: 4; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 8. This would be on a regular route from Mount Carmel to Gilgal in the Jordan valley near Jericho; Gilgal may be at Kh. al-Mefjer (193143) (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 435); another possibility is Kh. Jiljulieh (171159) north of Bethel (see *ABD*, ii. 1022–4).

[289] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 8–37.

[290] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 1: 1–4.

valleys.'[286] (7) ¶ One league east of Aphek, to the left of the road which leads to Jezreel, on the southern flank of Mount Hermon, is shown the city of Shunem. Elisha often visited it when travelling from Carmel to Gilgal or the Jordan, for it was a more level road for him travelling to Jericho, where he stayed with the sons of the prophets[287] as he went from Carmel through Shunem[288] to Beth-shean and then through the Jordan's plains to Gilgal. So it says in 4 Kings[289] that when he wanted to go to the Jordan he had to pass through Shunem, and on this occasion he was visiting it. ¶ From this same city, on the death of her son, a woman came to him at Mount Carmel, which was 4 leagues away to the south. Elisha brought her son back to life. There the Philistines encamped, and Saul came to Gilboa. ¶ From that city of Shunem came Abishag the Shunammite who warmed the elderly king David, sleeping in his bosom.[290]

45. (8) ¶ Three leagues east of Shunem, a little to the south, lies the city of Beth-shean,[291] between Mount Gilboa[292] and the Jordan, though it is half a league from the Jordan. On its wall the Philistines hung the corpses of Saul and his sons, who had been killed on Mount Gilboa.[293] It was once called Scythopolis, as Josephus says, but now everyone calls it Beth-shean. It is an extremely luxurious place. (9) ¶ Above this to the west is Mount Gilboa, which spreads itself west for 2 leagues to Jezreel. (10) Three leagues west of Beth-shean—and 2 leagues above Beth-shean—there springs up a large fountain, called in 1 Kings 'the fountain of which is in Jezrahel'.[294] This is where the Philistines camped when Saul was in Gilboa, between the fountain itself and Beth-shean. (11) ¶ A little way, almost 2 bowshots, from that fountain is the city of Jezreel,[295] set on a small height, once one of the royal cities

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[291] Modern Beisan or Bet She'an (197212), RSV Beth-she'an: cf. Josh. 17: 11, 16; Judg. 1: 27; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 10–2; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 12; 1 Macc. 5: 52; 12: 39–45; the Hellenistic name Scythopolis appears in 2 Macc. 12: 29–31; cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xii. 348; xiii. 188 (see *ABD*, i. 693–6; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 218–26; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 435–42). The abbreviator ignores its Greek name. The city was conquered by the Arabs in 636 and taken by the Crusaders in 1099; it fell to Saladin in 1183. Pringle (*Churches*, i. 93) says that by the twelfth century it was a hamlet; Burchard in the late thirteenth century comments on its luxury.

[292] Mount Gilboa (Jabal Fuqu'ah (189209)) overlooked the valley of Jezreel to its south-west, and faced little Mount Hermon (Mount Moreh) to the north, with the spring of 'Ain Harod between them. Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 1, 8; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 1: 6, 21; 21: 12 (see *ABD*, ii. 1019).

[293] See 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 1–13.

[294] 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 29: 1; probably 'Ain Jalûd (187219) (Abel, *Géographie*, i. 140, 446).

[295] Modern Zerin (181218); see *ABD*, iii. 850. By 1180 Jezreel belonged to the Templars; Saladin took it and burned it in 1183–4. In 1263 the Franks failed in negotiations with Baybars for its return. Burchard twenty years later found it a small place. For its remains see Pringle, *Churches*, i. 276–9; iv. 269–71.

una regalium ciuitatum in Israel; sed habet hodie uix uiginti[g] domos. Et dicitur hodie[h] Zamachim,[i] et est in pede montis Gelboe ad occidentem sita. Ante cuius introitum adhuc ostenditur ager Naboth Iezrahelite.[296] Et distat duabus[j] leucis modicis[k] a ciuitate Sunam[297] [l]qui est ab ipsa[l] contra aquilonem in latere australi montis Hermon.[298]

46. Isti duo montes, scilicet mons Hermon et mons Gelboe, ita sunt dispositi, ut mons Gelboe sit ab austro et Hermon ab aquilone, et duarum modicarum leucarum spatium sit inter eos. Longitudo uero eorum protenditur ab oriente in occidentem, et terminantur ab oriente[a] ambo in Iordane, longi[b] duabus[c] leucis uel plus. In planitie uero intermedia multi et magni habiti sunt conflictus. Ibi enim pugnauit Gedeon contra Madiam;[299] item Saul contra Philistim;[300] item Achab contra Syros.[d] [301] Modernis etiam diebus[e] Tartari ibidem conflixerunt cum Saracenis.[302] (12) Nota tamen[f] de isto monte Hermon, quod est adhuc alius mons eiusdem nominis supra regionem Traconitidem iuxta montem Suuanir, qui est multo maior et altior isto; et ille est de quo scriptura in multis locis loquitur, non iste.[303] (13) ¶ In planitie uero, que est inter istos montes, incipit conuallis, que dicitur illustris[304] propter sui amenitatem et fertilitatem, et extenditur[g] a loco isto per totum descensum Iordanis usque ad mare mortuum.[h] Antequam subuerteret Dominus Sodomam et Gomoram,[305] erat conuallis illustris, que uniuersa[i] irrigabatur[j] sicut paradisus et sicut Egyptus, ut dicitur Genesis .xviii.[k]

47. (14) Iezrahel[a] pulchrum prospicium[b] habet per totam Galileam usque ad Carmelum et montes Phenicie montemque Thabor et Galaad ultra Iordanem et totum montem Effraym ad Carmelum. (15) Iter autem de monte Galaad uersus Iezrahel est in latere septentrionali[c]

[g] triginta *LiZb* [h] *om. BPb* [i] Zanachim *LiZb*; Zaralym *Lo*; Charchym *BPb* [j] *B+*; tribus *P* [k] *om. Li* [l–l] *B+*; *om. P*

46 [a] *BLiZb;* occidente *P* [b] longitudo *BPb*; *om. Li* [c] undecim *BPb* [d] Assyrios *BPb* [e] temporibus *Li* [f] autem *B+* [g] in longum *add. BPb* [h] Sed et ipsum mare mortuum *add. BPbLo* [i] *om. LiZb* [j] aquis *add. BPb* [k] *BPbLiZb*; decem *Lo*; octodecim *P*; *see Gen. 13: 10*; conuallis illustris siue aulon a Bethsan incipit et in Sodomis terminatur per longum 230 stadiorum. Per latum uero habet uiginti stadia in latere quolibet Iordanis qui per medium eius fluit *add. Lo*

47 [a] autem *add. B+* [b] prospectaculum *LiLoZb*; prospectum *Pb* [c] australi *LiLoZb*

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[296] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 21: 1–9.

[297] See above, n. 288. The abbreviator here omits reference to Shunem.

[298] i.e. the little Hermon; see n. 263 above.

of Israel but today having scarcely twenty houses. It is called today Zamachim and is set at the foot of Mount Gilboa, to the west. Before its entrance is shown today the field of Naboth the Jezreelite.[296] It is 2 short leagues distant from the city of Shunem[297] to the north of it on the southern slope of Mount Hermon.[298]

46. These two mountains, that is, Mount Hermon and Mount Gilboa, are so positioned that Mount Gilboa lies to the south and Hermon to the north, with a space of 2 short leagues between them. They extend lengthways from east to west, and both are bounded on the east by the Jordan, and are 2 leagues or more in length. On the plain in fact between the mountains there have been many great battles. For there Gideon fought Midian,[299] Saul the Philistines,[300] Ahab the Syrians.[301] In modern times also the Tartars battled with the Saracens there.[302] (12) But note about this Mount Hermon that there is to this day another mountain of the same name beyond the region of Trachonitis, near Mount Senir; this mountain is much bigger and higher, and it is this one (not the one just described) of which scripture speaks in many places.[303] (13) ¶ In the plain between those mountains begins the valley which is called 'Famous'[304] on account of its beauty and fertility. It extends from there through the whole descent of the Jordan as far as the Dead Sea. Before the Lord overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah[305] it was the Famous Valley which was wholly watered like paradise and like Egypt, as described in Genesis 13.

47. (14) Jezreel has a fine view over the whole of Galilee as far as Carmel, the mountains of Phoenicia, Mount Tabor, Gilead beyond Jordan, and the whole Mount Ephraim to Carmel. (15) The road from Mount Gilead to Jezreel runs along the northern flank of Mount Gilboa

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[299] See Judg. 6: 33–8: 12.

[300] See 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 1–13.

[301] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 22: 1–40.

[302] In 1260 the Mamluks defeated the invading Mongols at 'Ain Jalûd (for the campaign, see Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, iii. 305–14).

[303] The other mountain is Mount Hermon, north-east of the Sea of Galilee. This sentence is a redundant gloss, and not found in the abbreviator's version (B34); Mount Hermon has already been described (see n. 263). Hermon is associated with Sanir, or Sirion, at Deut. 3: 9; 1 Chr. 5: 23; S. of S. 4: 8, and identified with Senir at Deut. 4: 48. See also Josh. 11: 3, 17; 12: 1, 5; 13: 5; Ps. 132 (133): 3.

[304] 'Famous' valley, from the Vulgate of Gen. 12: 6 (where the Hebrew text in place of this phrase reads 'oak of Moreh'). Burchard clearly applies the phrase to the Jordan valley, but in Gen. 12: 6 it might refer to the valley of Jezreel.

[305] See Gen. 13: 10; 19: 24–9. The abbreviator omits this reference.

montis Gelboe per uiam ualde planam [d]de Iordane per Enon[e] et Salim.[306] Vbi erat Iohannes baptizans. Et per hanc uiam[d] unde[f] uenit Iehu de Ramoth Galaad,[307] quando dixit speculator: 'uideo ego globum'.[308] Nec est uerum, quod dicunt quidam, quod nec ros nec pluuia ueniat[g] super montes Gelboe, quia, cum in die Beati Martini[309] essem ibi, uenit super me pluuia ita, quod usque ad carnem fui madefactus. Sed et uallis de ipsis pluuiis repleta fuit aquis. [h]Alia insuper[i] uice dormiui per noctem in eodem monte sub diuo cum aliis multis et fuimus omnes infuse rore supra modum. Istud accidit[j] anno domini .mcclxxxiii. [k]in festo omnium sanctorum.[k][h] Verum est tamen, quod in quibusdam locis petrosi[l] sunt et aridi et steriles, sicut alii montes Israhel. (16) ¶ De Iezrahel quatuor leucis contra austrum est Gylim[m] opidum,[310] muratum[n] quidem, sed collapsum, situm in pede montis Effraym. A quo oppido incipit Samaria et terminatur Galilea. ¶ De Gilim[o] usque ad Iordanem sunt fere septem leuce contra orientem. Et illi parti ab austro coniungitur terra Taphue,[p] que habet montes ualde altos.[311]

48. (17) De Gylim duabus[a] leucis contra austrum est ciuitas [b]Sebaste, que quondam Samaria[b][312] dicebatur, cum caput esset decem tribuum,

[d-d] *om.* *P* [e] *PLo*; Hermon *B+* [f] *om.* *BLiZb* [g] *LiLoZb*; ueniant *P*
[h-h] Alia . . . sanctorum *om.* *Zb* [i] etiam *Lo* [j] fuit *Lo* [k-k] *om.* *Lo*
[l] petrosis *BPb* [m] Gymin *Li*; Gynim *Lo*; Gennyn *Zb* [n] *P*; munitum *B+*
[o] Gyrum *Zb*; Gynnim *Lo* [p] Raphe *B*

48 [a] *P*; quinque *BPb*; quatuor *LiLoZb* [b-b] Samaria que nunc Sebaste *B*

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[306] See John 3: 23, 'Aenon near Salim'. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 40. 1 places Aenon 13 kilometres south of Scythopolis, which fits closely with Burchard's location. Salim seems to be west of the Jordan, perhaps Tall Sheikh Salim (199201) (see *ABD*, v. 905). Murphy-O'Connor (*Holy Land*, p. 423) locates Aenon ('springs') on the eastern face of Mount Gerizim as 'the most probable candidate', and finds Salim 5 kilometres east of Nablus. Buchard thus envisages a level road westward across the flat Jordan valley, but the road rises to traverse the southern end of Mount Gilboa to turn north-west along the southern flank of Mount Gilboa to Jezreel. The more obvious and more level route to Jezreel runs along the north side of Mount Gilboa. The abbreviator ignores the road, the reference to Aenon and Salim where John baptized (John 3: 23), and the story of Jehu (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 16–27).

[307] See Deut.4: 43; Josh. 20: 8; 21: 38; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 13; 22: 3, 15–17; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 8: 28–9; 9: 1–13; 10: 32–3. Ramoth Gilead has been identified with Ar-Ramtha, Tall ar-Rumeith, and Tall al-Husn (MacDonald, '*East of the Jordan*', pp. 201–2), the last-named and largest being most likely for this important site. It is not clear where Burchard located it, but Tall al-Husn (232210) would fit well enough.

[308] 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 17.

[309] The feast day of St Martin of Tours (315 or 336–97) is celebrated on 11 November. Burchard's account has its roots in David's lament over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan on Mount Gilboa; David cries: 'Ye mountains of Gelboe, let neither dew, nor rain come upon you' (2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 1: 21). Burchard seems to be borrowing from Thietmar (1217) or Jacques de Vitry: see Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 99; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, liv. The story appears earlier in the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*;

by a very level road from the Jordan through Aenon and Salim,[306] where John used to baptize. Jehu came this way from Ramoth-gilead,[307] when the look-out said: 'I see a troop.'[308] It is not true, as some say, that neither dew nor rain falls on the mountains of Gilboa, for when I was there on St Martin's Day[309] so much rain fell on me that I was soaked to the skin. The valley was full of water from those showers. Moreover, on another occasion I slept overnight on the same mountain in the open air with many others, and we were all sprinkled with dew beyond the norm. That happened in the year of our Lord 1283 on the feast of All Saints. It is true, however, that in some places those mountains are rocky, dry, and barren, like the other mountains of Israel. (16) ¶ Four leagues south of Jezreel lies the town of En-gannim.[310] It had walls indeed, but they have collapsed; it sits at the foot of Mount Ephraim. Samaria begins, and Galilee ends, from this town.¶ It is almost 7 leagues eastward from En-gannim to the Jordan. Adjoining that region on the south is the land of Tappuah,[311] with very high mountains.

48. (17) Two leagues south of En-gannim is the city of Sebaste. It was once called Samaria[312] when it was head of the ten tribes called Israel,

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see 'The Tractatus de locis...', trans. Kedar, in France and Zajak, eds., *The Crusades and their Sources*, p. 128.

[310] Modern Jenin, about 5.5 miles (9 km) south of Jezreel; cf. Josh. 21: 29; 1 Chr. 6: 73 (Anem) (cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), iii. 156, n.1). Albright, however, proposed 'Olam (197230) for En-gannim, but 'Olam had no pre-Roman pottery. M. Guérin, followed by A. Aharoni, proposed Kh. Bayt Jann (196235), on a pass from Mount Tabor to the Sea of Galilee 4.5 miles (7 km) to the east (see *ABD*, ii. 501–2). This seems nearer the Sea of Galilee than Burchard's 7 leagues suggests. Burchard may therefore have been thinking of Jenin.

[311] Cf. Tappuah in Josh. 17: 7–8, apparently on the boundary between the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim; some identify it with Taphoe in the Septuagint of 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 15: 16 (the MT reads Tiphsah and the Vulgate Thapsam), apparently near Tirzah, probably at Tall al-Far'ah (182188); see below, 50, n. 325. Burchard is vague, saying only that it lies south of the En-gannim region. Aharoni suggests Sheikh abū Zarad (172168), which is well south of Jenin, nearly 14 miles (22 km) south-west of Tirzah (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 442; see *ABD*, vi. 319–20). The abbreviator omits reference to both En-Gannim and the land of Taphue.

[312] Modern Sebastiyeh (168187)): The name Samaria derives from the Hebrew root *smr*, to watch, guard, and the place commands a wide view both east and west. Samaria was founded by Omri of Israel (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 16: 23–4) *c.*876 BC; it was captured by Assyria in 721 BC (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 17: 24). It was rebuilt as a Hellenistic city in the late fourth century BC, but destroyed by Hyrcanus in 108–107 BC, and rebuilt by Herod the Great in 30 BC and renamed Sebaste in honour of the Roman Augustus (Latin Augustus translated Greek Sebastos). According to Acts 8: 5 Philip preached there. In the Byzantine period Sebaste acquired a bishop, and pilgrims visited the supposed site of the tombs of John the Baptist, and of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah (*Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, pp. 99–100). Egeria visited them in 384. An earlier Byzantine church just outside the Hellenistic walls to the east was visited by Egeria (384), Willibald (723), and Daniel (1106–9). Daniel refers to a fine church dedicated to John the Baptist; in his day it was probably newly built, but was soon replaced by the Crusader cathedral, begun 1169–70. In 1187 Saladin's nephew took Samaria and turned the cathedral into a mosque (see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 283–97).

que Israel dicebantur, nunc peccatis exigentibus nec unam habet domum, nisi duas ecclesias, constructas quidem[c] in honore sancti Iohannis baptiste, sed de una, que principalis erat et sedes cathedralis, Sarraceni sibi fecerunt mameriam[d] et maxime de sepulchro sancti Iohannis,[e] quod de marmore fuit factum ad instar sepulchri Dominici,[313] ubi idem sanctus inter Heliseum et Abdiam prophetam[314] fuerat sepultus. Ista ecclesia est in latere montis posita, in descensu. Sarraceni autem beatum Iohannem multum honorant post Christum et beatam uirginem,[f] de ipso magna sentientes. Dicunt enim Christum ueraciter[g] esse Verbum[h] Dei, [i]Deum tamen esse negant.[i] Beatam uirginem dicunt[j] de Spiritu Sancto concepisse, uirginem[k] permansisse. Iohannem uero dicunt maximum et sanctissimum fuisse prophetarum[l] et ad se tantum a Deo missum.[315] Hoc ego legi in alcorano, qui est liber legis eorum. Alia ecclesia[316] est in supercilio[m] montis, ubi erat palatium regis. Hanc greci inhabitant monachi Christiani, qui me benigne receperunt et pauerunt. In ista ecclesia iidem Greci ostendunt locum, ubi Iohannem incarceratum dicunt fuisse et decolatum ab Herode; quod ego friuolum reputo, quia chronica et Iosephus[317] et legende sanctorum et Magister in istoriis[318] et istoria ecclesiastica[319] communiter [n]et concorditer dicunt[n] eum in Macheronta,[o] [320] que hodie Aylon[p] [321] dicitur et est ultra Iordanem, quam et uidi[q] fuisse decollatum. Preterea Herodes iste, qui Iohannem decolauit, erat tetrarcha Galilee et regionis[r] trans flumen, que est terra Galaad siue duarum tribuum, et nihil potestatis habuit in Samaria, quia illa erat de procuratione Pilati, sicut Ierusalem et Iudea, unde Iohannem ibi nec incarcerare potuit, nec decolare, quia

[c] *B+*; *om. P* [d] *PbZb*; manerium *P*; marmoream *Lo*; locum *B* [e] baptiste *add. Li* [f] dicunt de spiritu sancto concepisse *add. Li* [g] *om. Li* [h] *LiZbP*; filium *BPbLo* [i–i] *om. Li* [j] *om. BPb* [k] peperisse et uirginem *add. BLiZb* [l] Machometam dicunt nuntium Dei fuisse *add. B+* [m] *B+*; insuper *P* [n–n] dicunt et concordant *LiZb* [o] fuisse sepultum *add. Li* [p] Babylon *Li* [q] eum *add. LiPb* [r] *om. B*

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[313] See 76, 77 below.

[314] Obadiah has perhaps been confused in the tradition with Ahab's official Obadiah (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 18: 3–6), who hid a hundred prophets from Jezebel.

[315] The Lilienfeld manuscript (fos. 180^{vb}–181ra) adjusts the account of the Saracens' beliefs on several points. He will not have them say that Christ is 'truly' (*ueraciter*) the Word of God. He does not say that 'they deny that he is God'. He thus limits the Saracens' belief to 'They say Christ is the Word of God, and that the Blessed Virgin conceived by the Holy Spirit and remained a virgin'.

[316] The other church on the brow of the mountain was a sixth-century Byzantine church with three aisles, totally rebuilt in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on the acropolis of Sebaste, immediately north of the Byzantine street. The domed twelfth-century church contained a crypt marking the place where the head of John the Baptist was said to have been found. Burchard attacks the story with his scholarship (see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 297–301).

but now as its sins demand it possesses not even one house, only two churches built in honour of St John the Baptist; but of one of them, the main church and the cathedral of the see, the Saracens have made a mosque, especially of the tomb of St John, which was made of marble like the Lord's sepulchre;[313] here the same saint had been buried between Elisha and Obadiah the prophet.[314] That church was positioned on the mountain side, on the way down. The Saracens, however, hold St John in much honour after Christ and the Blessed Virgin, thinking highly of him. For they say that Christ is indeed the Word of God, but they deny that he is God. They say that the Blessed Virgin conceived by the Holy Spirit, that she remained a virgin. John they say was the greatest and most holy of the prophets, and was sent by God to them alone.[315] I have read this in the Quran, which is the book of their law. There is another church[316] on the brow of the mountain, where the king's palace stood. This is the home of Greek Christian monks, who received me kindly and fed me. In that church the same Greeks show the place where they say John was imprisoned and beheaded by Herod; which I consider nonsense, because the chronicle and Josephus,[317] the legends of the saints, and the Master in the Histories[318] and the Ecclesiastical History[319] in common agreement say that he had been beheaded in Machaerus,[320] which today is called Aylon[321] and lies beyond Jordan, and which I also saw. Further, the Herod who beheaded John was tetrarch of Galilee and of the region across the river, which is the land of Gilead or the two tribes, and he had no power in Samaria, because that was under Pilate's procuratorship, like Jerusalem and Judah; thus he could not imprison or behead John there, because he

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[317] It is not clear which 'chronica' Burchard has in mind. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, x (PG 97. 363), says that Herod decapitated John in Sebaste (Samaria). Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 116 locates the deed at Machaerus.

[318] Burchard refers to the Comestor (died 1138/9), the chancellor of Notre Dame, Paris, and his *Historia scholastica*, a history of the world from creation to the Ascension of Christ (PL cxcviii. 1053–1722). Comestor was known as 'Magister Historiarum' (see *ODCC*, p. 1265).

[319] Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, i. 11 (6).

[320] Modern Tall Muqawer between the Wadi Zerqa Ma'in and the Wadi Mojib (209108): Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, v. 15.72; Josephus, *Jewish War*, vii. 171–7; *Jewish Antiquities*, xviii. 116. Machaerus was first built by Jannaeus *c.*90 BC, destroyed by Gabinius in 57 BC, and newly built by Herod the Great in 30 BC. Herod Antipas took it over in 4 BC. After the death of Herod Agrippa in AD 44, Machaerus was controlled by Rome. The Lilienfeld manuscript, adding *fuisse sepultum* to the text, emphasizes that John the Baptist was not only decapitated at Machaerus but was buried there.

[321] Perhaps 'Ajlūn, whose Ayyubid hill-top castle may also be seen from west of the Jordan' (so Pringle, *Pilgrinage to Jerusalem*, p. 276, n. 257), but 'Ajlūn is a long way north of Tall Muqawer. Clearly the Lilienfeld scribe knew nothing of it, converting the name into 'Babylon'.

nihil habuit ibi iuris. Decolato tamen eo in Macheronta, ut dictum est, corpus eius a discipulis in Samaria est humatum inter prophetas predictos, caput uero in Ierusolomis est sepultum.

49. Tales autem ruinas non uidi in terra sancta, sicut in Samaria, cum tamen multas et magnas uiderim, nec fuit ita disposita ciuitas, sicut magister in historiis uidetur uelle super uerbo illo: 'si[a] sufficere poterit puluis Samarie pugillis omnis populi, qui sequitur me'.[322] Videtur enim[b] sentire, quod murus ciuitatis et superficies montis fuerunt equales, et desuper edificia constructa; quod non erat, immo murus ciuitatis erat in pede montis, munitus ualde turribus fortissimis, et mons interius paulatim in altum surgens et circumsitus[c] hedificiis, sicut botrus aliquis uuis consitus et erectus, crescens paulatim in acumen.[d] Regio uero erat supra in[e] ipso monte, pulchra nimis, ubi uidentur adhuc columpne marmoree multe nimis, que substentabant palatia et deambulatoria. Et in circuitu montis infra sub regia et sub mansionibus nobilium in loco, ubi erat platea communis siue forum rerum uenalium, adhuc fere per totum circuitum montis inueniuntur columpne marmoree stantes altrinsecus,[f] que continebant testudines platearum, quia platee ciuitatis testudinate erant secundum morem terre sancte. Breuiter nescio, [g]quod magis[g] non possit dici de ciuitate ista, que ad tantam miseriam nunc deuenit, ut in rei ueritate sit ortus olerum,[323] sicut Achab, rex eius, facere uoluit[h] de uinea Naboth Iezrahelite,[i] eo quod esset prope domum suam. Et reuera nunc[j] iusto Dei iudicio non solum uinea ipsa, sed et palatium ipsum regis est in ortum olerum commutatum. ¶ Situs huius ciuitatis ualde pulcer erat; erat enim inde prospectus usque ad mare Iopes et Antipatridam[k] [324] et Cesaream Palestine, per totum quoque montem Effraym usque Ramatha Sophym et ad Carmelum maris iuxta Accon. Et habundat fontibus et ortis et oliuetis[l] et bonis omnibus, que requirit mundus iste.

50. (18) ¶ De Samaria tribus[a] leucis contra orientem sita est Tersa ciuitas[325] in monte alto. In qua reges Israel ante constructionem Samarie aliquanto tempore regnauerunt. Et erat in sorte Manasse. (19) ¶ De

49 [a] *B+*; *om. P* [b] *om. LiZb* [c] *B+*; circumseptus *P* [d] augurie *B*
[e] eodem uel *add. P* [f] intrinsecus *Li* [g-g] quid magni *Lo* [h] decreuerat *Lo*
[i] *om. B* [j] *om. Li* [k] Anticipatridam *P* [l] oliuis *Lo*

50 [a] quattuor *LiZb*

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[322] Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, xxxvii (PL cxcviii. 1382), quoting 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 20: 10.

[323] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 21: 2. The abbreviator gives 'a garden of olives' (**B36**). The abbreviator follows Burchard's longer version on Samaria quite closely (**B35**), but omits the section on the Saracens and their beliefs in **48**.

had no jurisdiction there. With John beheaded in Machaerus, however, as has been said, his body was buried by his disciples between the prophets above mentioned, but his head is buried in Jerusalem.

49. I have not seen such ruins in the Holy Land as I saw in Samaria, though I have seen many large ruins, and the city was not laid out as the Master in his Histories seemed to think, on that text: 'the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me'.[322] For he seems to think that the city wall and mountain top were on a level, with buildings constructed above; which was not the case, since the city wall was at the mountain foot, well defended with the strongest towers. Inside, the mountain rose gradually to a height and was set about with buildings, as a cluster is set about with grapes, and erect, rising gradually to a point. The palace was at the top of that same mountain, and extremely fine; there are still seen a great many marble columns which supported the palaces and colonnades. Around the mountain, below the palace and houses of the nobility, on the site of the public square or market forum, are still found nearly all round the mountain marble columns standing on both sides; they held the vaulting of the streets, because the city streets were vaulted according to the accustomed style of the Holy Land. In short, I do not know what more can be said of this city, which has come to such misery that in truth it is a vegetable garden,[323] as Ahab, its king, wished to make of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, because it was beside his own home. And now in fact by divine justice not only the vineyard itself but also the royal palace itself has been turned into a vegetable garden. ¶ The site of this city was very fine, for there was a view from it as far as the sea at Joppa, Antipatris,[324] and Caesarea Palestinae, also over the whole of Mount Ephraim as far as Ramathaim-zophim and to Carmel by the sea near Acre. It abounds with springs and gardens and olive groves and every good thing that the world desires.

50. (18) ¶ Three leagues east of Samaria, on a high mountain, is the city of Tirzah.[325] Here the kings of Israel ruled for a time before Samaria was built. It was in the allotted territory of Manasseh. (19) ¶ Six

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[324] Modern Ras al-'Ain (143168): Old Testament Aphek, Josh. 12: 18; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 4: 1; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 13: 17. It was renamed Antipatris (Acts 23: 31) by Herod the Great after his father Antipater (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xvi. 143; *Jewish War*, i. 417) and subdued by Vespasian (*Jewish War*, iv. 443) (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 245–6; *ABD*, i. 272–4).

[325] Identified since Albright (1931) with modern Tall al-Far'ah (182188): an early capital of Israel, 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 15: 21, 23; 16: 6, 8–10, 15–19, 23; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 15: 14–16 (see *ABD*, vi. 573–7).

Tersa sex[b] leucis contra orientem in uia, qua itur ad Iordanem, est terra Thaphue,[326] que inter ceteros montes habet unum ualde altum. Hic similiter fuit de sorte Manase, et protenditur usque ad campestria Iordanis contra Macheronta. (20) ¶ De Samaria duabus leucis contra austrum iuxta uiam, que ducit Sychem, in monte alto ad dextram est Bethel mons,[327] in quo Ieroboam, filius Nabath, posuit unum de uitulis aureis, quibus peccare fecit Israhel. Saraceni corrupte appellant locum istum Bothil, nescientes dicere Bethel.[c] (21) ¶ Inde ad dimidiam leucam ad sinistram supra uiam est alius mons altior priore, qui uocatur Dan,[328] [d]supra ciuitatem Sichem, in quo dicunt quidam, quod alius uitulus aureus positus fuerit, sed quidam dicunt, quod in ciuitate Dan,[d] que nunc Belenas siue Cesarea Phylipi dicitur.[329] Et hoc uidetur Ieronimus[e] pocius[f] uelle. Eligat quis, quod uoluerit, certum tamen est, quod mons iste Dan uocatur.

51. (22) ¶ Inter istos duos montes[330] sita est ciuitas Sichem,[a] hodie Neapolis dicta,[331] amenitate nimia et deliciis habundans, sed munita non est, nec munire potest ullo modo, nec aliud restat, nisi quod hostibus accedentibus[b] ad portam unam, habitatores fugiant per aliam, si fuerint pauciores. Est autem in ualle media sita, inter montes altissimos, ita ut intus iactare possit aliquis cum lapide manuali. (23) ¶ De porta eius australi, quantum fere bis potest iacere arcus, est fons Iacob,[c]

[b] *B+*; octo *P*   [c] *B+*; Bethil *P*   [d-d] *B+*; *om. P*   [e] Iosephus *B*   [f] *om. B*

51   [a] quedam *Lo*   [b] *om. P*   [c] et puteus Samaritane dictus *add. B*

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[326] Possibly Sheik Abū Zarad, 7.5 miles (12 km) south of Nablus (172168); Josh. 12: 17; 16: 8; 17: 7–8 (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 475–6; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 442; *ABD*, vi. 319–20). It is not clear how Burchard locates this place. He places Tappuah south of En-gannim (which is probably Jenin for Burchard) (47), and east of Samaria towards the Jordan (48). In each case the area is described as 'high mountain', and probably the mountains of the region west and east of Tubas (185193) are in Burchard's mind. But the Old Testament Tappuah seems to be further south on the border of Ephraim. See above, n. 311. The abbreviator omits this paragraph.

[327] The Old Testament city of Bethel has been generally identified since Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 125–30) with Baytin near Ramallah (172148). See among other references Gen. 12: 8; 28: 10–22; 35: 7; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 7: 16; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 29–33; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 15; Hos. 10: 5; Amos 3: 14 (see *ABD*, i. 710–12). It appears on the Madeba map in the sixth century, but was destroyed during the Arab conquest. Burchard knows Bethel (see below, n. 393), but locates a Mount Bethel on the right of the road going south between Samaria and Shechem, a long way north of the accepted location for the town of Bethel, apparently identifying Mount Bethel with Mount Ebal. Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 278, n. 263) suggests locating it at Kh. Bayt Bazzīn. Burchard's location of Mount Bethel and Mount Dan is clearly based on Jeroboam's connection with Shechem and his creation of the golden calves (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 25–33). The abbreviator omits reference to the Saracens' version of the name of Bethel.

[328] Burchard locates Mount Dan opposite Mount Bethel on the left of the road from Samaria, above Shechem. He firmly attests the name Dan for this mountain. He is also well aware of the northerly Old Testament Dan (cf. 'from Dan to Beersheba', 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 3: 20),

leagues east of Tirzah, on the road leading to the Jordan, is the land of Tappuah,[326] which among other mountains has one very high one. This likewise belonged to Manasseh's lot, and reaches as far as the plains of the Jordan over against Machaerus. (20) ¶ Two leagues south of Samaria, by the road to Shechem, on a high mountain to the right, is Mount Bethel,[327] on which Jeroboam, son of Nebat, placed one of the golden calves with which he made Israel sin. The Saracens corrupt the name of the place to Bothil, not knowing to call it 'Bethel'. (21) ¶ Half a league from there above the road to the left is another mountain, higher than the previous one. It is called Dan,[328] is above Shechem where some say the other golden calf was placed, though some say it was in the city of Dan, which is now called Banias or Caesarea Philippi.[329] This seems rather to be what Jerome intended. Let one choose as one wills, but it is certain that this mountain is called Dan.

51. (22) ¶ Between those two mountains[330] is set the city of Shechem, today called Neapolis,[331] a very beautiful place full of delights, but not fortified and impossible to defend in any way. If the enemy is at one gate, the inhabitants' only resource is to flee through the other, if they are fewer in number. It lies in mid-valley, between very high mountains, so that one can throw a stone into it by hand. (23) ¶ Two bowshots from its southern gate on the road that leads to Jerusalem is the

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identifying it with Banias or Caesarea Philippi; today it is firmly identified with Tall al Qadi' (211294), as confirmed by the discovery there of a bilingual inscription referring to 'the god who is in Dan' (cf. Amos 8: 14). See Gen. 14: 14; Josh. 19: 47; Judg. 18: 29; Jer. 4: 15; 8: 16 (see *ABD*, ii. 11–7). The abbreviator complely omits this paragraph, briefly noting in the previous paragraph Mount Dan and Mount Bethel together as the site of Jeroboam's two golden calves.

[329] Caesarea Philippi (211295): see Mark 8: 27–30 and parallels in Matt. 16: 13–20; Luke 9: 18–22. Hellenistic Greeks knew it as Paneion, or Paneas (cf. Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, v. 16 (74); Loeb vol. ii, pp. 276–9; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 76. 6). The Arabs called it Baniyas (see *ABD*, i. 803).

[330] i.e. between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal. Burchard's descriptions suggest that he identifies these two mountains with Mount Bethel and Mount Dan.

[331] Shechem is now identified with Tall Balâtah (177179), excavated by German (1913–34) and American (1954–72) expeditions. Among frequent Old Testament references see Gen. 33: 18; 37: 12; Josh. 24: 1, 32; Judg. 8: 31–9: 57; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 1, 25; Ps. 59 (60): 8 (6) Jer. 41: 5. Shechem was destroyed by Hyrcanus in 107 BC. Vespasian built Neapolis (modern Nablus) nearby in AD 72. Burchard, following Jerome (*Epistula* cviii.13, PL xxii. 878–906, at 888; CSEL lv. 322); Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 51, identifies Shechem with Neapolis, but Eusebius says that Shechem was in the suburbs of Neapolis (*Onomastikon*, 150. 1–2); the Madeba map may suggest the same, showing Sychem (Shechem) and Jacob's Well outside the large city of Neapolis. There was a twelfth-century Templars' church, a church on the site of the Byzantine cathedral shown on the Madeba map, a church dedicated to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and a church and hospital of John the Baptist (Pringle, *Churches* ii. 95–115); but after 1187 the town became Muslim and Burchard mentions no churches.

in uia, que ducit Ierusalem, ubi Dominus sedens[d] super puteum potum petiuit a Samaritana.[332] (24) Supra fontem istum ad dextram est mons excelsus, habens duo capita, quorum unum mons Garizim,[333] aliud Ebal[e][334] appellatur. In monte Garizim hedificato altare Iosue scripsit Deuteronomium, et benedicentes stabant et maledicentes, et de monte Ebal respondebant, ut preceptum fuit Deuteronomii. ¶ Supra montem Garizim ostenditur adhuc phanum antiquissimum, Iouis Olympiaci[f] hospitale,[335] quod ad instar templi Ierosolimorum hedificauerat Sanaballath,[g] dux regionis trans flumen,[h] genero suo Manasse, qui uoluit esse pontifex summus.[336] Et permansit idem templum ibi usque ad destructionem factam per Romanos,[337] et uestigia eius et ruine adhuc uidentur. Hunc montem et hoc templum creditur demonstrando innuisse mulier Samaritana, quando dixit Domino:[i] 'Patres nostri in monte hoc adhorauerunt.'[338] (25) ¶ Ad sinistram fontis huius est opidum quoddam magnum ualde, sed desertum,[j] quod credo[k] fuisse Sichem antiquam, quia ruine eius magne sunt ualde ex palatiis marmoreis et columpnis mirabilibus, distans de fonte et mansione Iacob quantum bis iacere potest arcus, et amenissimo loco situm, nisi quod aquis caret; [l]et dixerunt mihi indigene quod Isachar[339] appellatur,[l] nec uidi alias locum tam fertilem et fecundum. Distat autem de ista,[m] que nunc Neapolis dicitur, iactu duorum arcuum. Et hanc Neapolim

[d] *B*+; *om. P*   [e] mons Ebal *B*; Abil *P*   [f] Olympiadis *Li*   [g] Sanabarach *BPb*   [h] transfluuie *B*   [i] *om. Lo*   [j] destructum *B*   [k] creditur *Lo*   [l-l] *om. LiLoZb*   [m] ciuitate *LiZb*

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[332] Jacob's Well (Bir Ya'aqub (177179)) appears in John 4: 6; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 164. 1–4. The Bordeaux Pilgrim knows it (*Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, p. 27); Arculf *c.*700 saw a cruciform church over the well (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 108). Jerome (*Epistula* cviii; see n. 331) says that Paula went to the church built round the well of Jacob (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 51); the Piacenza Pilgrim visited the well in front of the altar screen in the basilica of St John (Wilkinson, ibid., p. 81). Neither Saewulf nor Daniel mentions the church, but Theoderic (*Libellus de locis sanctis*, xlii, ed. Huygens, *CCCM* cxxxix. 187) in 1172 says that the well is in the church. The church was probably destroyed after 1187 (Pringle, *Churches*, i. 258–64); Burchard mentions no church.

[333] Mount Gerizim (Jabal at-Tor (176178)) is on the south side of Nablûs: see Deut. 11: 29; 27: 12; Josh. 8: 33; 2 Macc. 5: 23; 6: 2; John 4: 21. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xi. 302–12, 322–4 records the origins of the fourth-century BC Samaritan temple, destroyed in 128 BC by Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 254–6; *Jewish War*, i. 63).

[334] Mount Ebal is usually located immediately north of Nablûs: see Deut. 11: 26–32; 27: 1–16; Josh. 8: 30–5. (Burchard sees Gerizim and Ebal as two crests of the one mountain now identified as Mount Gerizim.) On the summit were found outer and inner walls enclosing a large ramped altar and domestic buildings from the early Iron Age (see *ABD*, ii. 255–9).

The abbreviator interestingly ignores the Old Testament stories of Gerizim and Ebal, and refers only to the shrine of Jove (Jupiter) mentioned in 2 Macc. 6: 2. Burchard does not

Well of Jacob, where the Lord, sitting at the wellhead, asked a drink of the Samaritan woman.[332] (24) Above the well on the right is a high mountain with two peaks, one called Mount Gerizim,[333] the other Ebal.[334] On Mount Gerizim Joshua built an altar and wrote Deuteronomy and those blessing and cursing stood there, and they made reply from Mount Ebal, as was commanded in Deuteronomy. ¶ On the top of Mount Gerizim is still shown a most ancient temple, the hospice of Olympian Jupiter,[335] which Sanballat, the governor of the province Beyond the River, had built after the pattern of the Jerusalem temple for his son-in-law Manasseh, who aspired to be chief priest.[336] The temple remained there until the destruction made by the Romans,[337] and traces and ruins of it are still visible. The Samaritan woman is thought to have indicated and intended this mountain and temple when she said to the Lord: 'Our fathers adored on this mountain.'[338] (25) ¶ To the left of this well is a very large, but deserted, town which I believe to have been ancient Shechem, because there are very large ruins of marble palaces and wonderful columns, 2 bowshots from the Well and house of Jacob, set in a most delightful place, except that it lacks water; the local people told me that it was called Sychar,[339] and I have not seen elsewhere a place so fertile and productive. It is 2 bowshots distant from the city, which is now called Neapolis. I think this

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mention 2 Maccabees, but credits the shrine to Sanballat, presumably with Josephus in mind (see below). If Burchard himself were the abbreviator, why would he make such a change?

[335] According to 2 Macc. 6: 2, the Seleucid king Antiochus IV was responsible for renaming the temple on Mount Gerizim the temple of Zeus the Friend of Strangers (Vulgate, *Iouis Hospitalis*); in the second century AD Hadrian built the Temple of Jupiter (the Latin version of the Greek Zeus) above the ruins of the Samaritan temple. In the fifth century, the emperor Zeno built a church for Mary Theotokos, eventually destroyed by the Arabs (*ABD*, ii. 993).

[336] Cf. Josephus *Jewish Antiquities*, xi. 302–12, 322–4, according to whom Sanballat had a temple built on Gerizim for Manasseh, brother of the Jerusalem high priest Jaddua (Neh. 12: 11, 22), who had married Sanballat's daughter. The reference to the high priest Jaddua dates the story to the end of the Persian period, before the arrival of Alexander the Great in 333–332 BC. However, Josephus' story may be a garbled version of Neh. 13. 28. Sanballat was probably governor of the Persian province 'Across the River' (for the title, see Neh. 3: 7, Ezra 4: 10, 16, 17; 5: 3, 6; 6: 13) who opposed Nehemiah's mission (Neh. 2: 10, 19; 4: 7; 6: 1–14; 13: 28) in the late fifth century BC. There is evidence for a dynasty of the Sanballat family (see *ABD*, v. 973–5).

[337] Destruction by the Romans: in fact by Hyrcanus in 107 BC. (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 254–6; *Jewish War*, i. 62–6). The ruins still visible to Burchard would have been those of Zeno's church dedicated in 484 to Mary Theotokos, destroyed by the Arabs in the eighth century. The abbreviator ignores both Sanballat and the Romans.

[338] See John 4: 20.

[339] The marble palaces and columns suggest that Burchard has in mind a Hellenistic Sychar (John 4: 5; see Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 164. 1; Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 472–3).

puto fuisse oppidum Thebes.[340] (26) ¶ Huic fonti adiacet predium, quod dedit Iacob filio suo Ioseph, extra fratres suos. Et est uallis longa et fertilis et amena nimis, et nescio eque magnam uallem similem illi in deliciis. In Sichem sepulta sunt ossa Ioseph allata illuc[n] de Egipto.[341]

52. (27) ¶ De Sichem quatuor[a] leucas [b]contra austrum[b] iuxta uiam euntibus Ierusalem ad dextram[c] est Lepna casale,[342] pulchrum ualde. Est tamen alia ciuitas in tribu Iuda, Lepna dicta,[343] sed ista fuit [d]de tribu[d] Effraym. (28) ¶ De Lepna quinque[e] leucis contra austrum est opidum Magmas,[344] magnum satis, quod fuit terminus tribus Effraym contra austrum. Nunc dicitur Bira. Et fuit istis diebus militie templi.[345] Iuxta latus eius australe sunt mete[f] inter tribum Effraym et Beniamin. (29) [g]De Machmas[g] contra austrum ad unam leucam est Gabaa Saulis,[346] ubi oppressa fuit uxor Leuite, qui uenit de Bethleem, pro qua fere tota tribus Beniamin deleta fuit. De ista fuit oriundus Saul, filius Cis, primus rex Israel. (30) ¶ De Gabaa ad unam leucam contra austrum est Rama[347] uilla in monte sita, ad sinistram euntibus Ierusalem, extra uiam [h]non longe.[h] De hac creditur dictum[i] illud Ieremie: 'Vox in Rama audita est.'[348] Nota tamen, quod plures sunt uille in terra sancta, que dicuntur Rama:[349] una est iuxta Tecuam uia,

[n] *B+; om. P*

52 [a] *B+*; octo *P* [b-b] *om. BPb* [c] *B+; om. P* [d-d] *om. Lo* [e] *B+*; duas *P* [f] termini *LiZb* [g-g] ubi etiam *P* [h-h] *B+; om. P* [i] fuisse *add. BPb*

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[340] Thebez is probably Tubas (185192), 13 miles (21 km) north-east of Shechem; see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 477: cf. Judg. 9: 50; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 11: 21. Burchard has already identified the Neapolis of his own day with Shechem (see above, n. 331); this new identification of Neapolis with Thebez seems strange, not least because Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 100. 11–14) had already identified Thebez with Tubas (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 477). Stewart (*Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 54, n. 2) says Neapolis is here confused with Thebez, but this seems unlikely. The abbreviator omits all reference to ancient Shechem and Thebez, and omits the following references to Libnah, Michmash, Gibeah of Saul, Ramah, Emon, Phesech (Phasael) in the region between Shechem and Jerusalem and the Jordan valley. Presumably he assumed that these places were of little interest to his readers.

[341] See Gen. 48: 22 ('portion': modern versions translate 'mountain slope', after the Hebrew *shekem*, shoulder'); Gen. 50: 25–6; Josh. 24: 32; John 4: 5.

[342] Probably al-Lubban, north of Shiloh (173164); cf. Judg. 21: 19. See Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 369; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 439.

[343] Lebna in the tribe of Judah is variously identified with Tall as-Safi (135123), T. Bornat (128115), or Tall Judeideh (141115); see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 369–70; *ABD*, iv. 322–3: see Num. 33: 20–1; Josh. 10: 29–32; 12: 15; 21: 13; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 8: 22; 19: 8; 23: 31; 24: 18; Jer. 52: 1.

[344] Probably modern Mukhmas (176142), nearly 7 miles (11 km) north-east of Jerusalem; see 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 13: 5; Isa. 10: 28; *ABD*, iv. 814–15): Burchard, however, identifies it with Bira, probably the Old Testament Beeroth (Deut. 10: 6; Josh. 9: 17; 18: 25; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 4: 2; Ezra 2: 25; Neh. 7: 29) and Berea of 1 Macc. 9: 4; cf. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 132. 3–4,

Neapolis was the town of Thebez.[340] (26) ¶ Adjacent to this well is the plot of land which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, apart from his brothers. It is a long, fertile, and very lovely valley, and I know no other large valley with comparable delights. In Shechem are buried the bones of Joseph, brought back from Egypt.[341]

52. (27) ¶ Four leagues south of Shechem beside the Jerusalem road on the right is the village of Lebonah,[342] a very fine place. There is another city called Libnah, in the tribe of Judah,[343] but this Lebonah is of the tribe of Ephraim. (28) ¶ Five leagues south of Lebonah is the town of Michmash,[344] a fairly large town which marked the southern boundary of the tribe of Ephraim. It is now called Bira. In those days it belonged to the Templars.[345] By its southern side are the boundary stones between the tribes Ephraim and Benjamin. (29) One league south of Michmash is Gibeah of Saul,[346] where the wife of the Levite who came from Bethlehem was abused; for her sake almost the whole tribe of Benjamin was destroyed. Here was born Saul, son of Kish, the first king of Israel. (30) ¶ One league south of Gibeah is the village of Ramah,[347] set on a mountain, on the left as one goes to Jerusalem, not far from the road. Jeremiah's words, 'A voice was heard in Ramah', are believed to refer to this place.[348] But note that there are many villages in the Holy Land called Ramah:[349] one is by Tekoa on the road which

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who places it 9 miles (14.5 km) from Jerusalem, near Rama. The site is disputed, the most probable identification being al-Bireh (170146) (see the discussion in *ABD*, i. 646–7).

[345] 'in those days' perhaps refers to the years before 1191, after which the Templars were in effect limited to Acre and the surrounding region. Pringle notes that 'If it ever belonged to the Templars, that can only have been in 1243–44, when they briefly reestablished themselves in Jerusalem' (Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 280, n. 276).

[346] Either Jeba' (175140) or Tall al-Ful (172137) (Jeba': Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 114–15); Tall al-Ful: Robinson, ibid. (1867), i. 577–9; see full discussion in *ABD*, i. 1007–8). See Judg. 19: 13–20: 48; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 10: 26; 13: 2; Isa. 10: 29. Burchard locates Gibeah half way between al-Bireh and er-Rām, which suggests Kafr 'Aqab (172143) (cf. Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 55, 256) rather than either Jeba' or Tall al-Ful, neither of which is equidistant from al-Bireh and ar-Rām.

[347] Probably ar-Rām (172140), nearly 4.5 miles (7 km) north of Jerusalem: Ramah played an important role in the history of Israel; cf. Josh. 18: 25; Judg. 4: 5; 19: 13; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 19; 7: 16–17; 8: 4; 15: 34; 25: 1; 28: 3; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 15: 17, 21–2; Hos. 5: 8; Isa. 10: 29; Jer. 40: 1; Ezra 2: 26; Neh. 7. 30; 11: 33.

[348] Burchard is probably quoting from Matt. 2: 18, which in naming the place Ramah correctly follows the Hebrew text of Jer. 31: 15. Vulgate, 'uox in excelso audita est'.

[349] Among the many villages called Ramah Burchard notes (1) Ramah (or Ramoth) of the Negeb betweeen Tekoa and Hebron: Josh. 19: 8; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 30: 27; Aharoni suggests Kh. 'Uzza (165068), but this is south of Hebron; Pringle suggests Rāmat al-Khalīl (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 441; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 280, n. 280); (2) Ramah in Naphtali, Josh. 19: 35; perhaps ar-Rāmah (184261) or Kh. Zeitūn ar-Rāmeh (Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 441); (3) Ramah near Safed, perhaps Kh Zeitun er-Rāmeh (187259). (See the discussion in Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 427–8); (4) Ramah at Shiloh (see **60**), perhaps the Ramah of 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 19, the home of Elkanah and Hannah (which Burchard locates at Nabi Samwil).

que itur[j] Ebron, alia in tribu Neptalim, non longe a castro Sepheth. [k]tertia iuxta Sephorum,[k] [l]quarta iuxta Tecuam, quinta est Silo, sexta est ista[l] [m]que similiter Rama dicitur. Rama autem excelsum interpretatur, et reuera[m] et sunt omnes [n]iste uille[n] in collibus altis[o] site. ¶ De Rama ad tres[p] leucas contra austrum est ciuitas illa gloriosa Ierusalem, de qua ad presens nihil scribo, uolens redire per Sichem, et primo ciuitates colligere de [q]angulo montis[q] Effraym et resumere que dimisi.

53. (31) ¶ De Sichem igitur procedendo contra orientem[a] ad Iordanem primo ad quatuor leucas est Ennon oppidum,[350] ualde bonum, ameno loco situm, habundans omnibus bonis mundi. Et fuit de sorte Effraym. (32) ¶ De Ennon ad quatuor leucas contra orientem, in descensu montis Effraym, tribus[b] leucis a Iordane in campestribus est Phaselum[c] casale,[351] ubi torrens Karith[352] descendit de monte: in quo loco mansit Helyas quando [d]corui defferebant sibi[d] cibum mane et uespere. (33) ¶ De Phaselo[e] ad sinistram una leuca uersus Taphue[f] est castrum Doch,[353] in quo Tholomeus,[g] filius Abobi,[354] insidiose cepit Symonem Machabeum. In loco isto multum plane uidetur [h]terra Galaad et duarum tribuum et dimidie,[h] terra Esebon[355] et montana Moab, mons Abarim[356] et Phasga[357] et Nebo.[358] Et descenditur hic in campestria Iordanis. Et sunt deinceps[i] plana loca usque in Iericho [j]et ultra[j] per totum descensum Iordanis usque ad mare salinarum. Montes etiam

[j] est inter *Li Zb*   [k–k] *om. LiZb*   [l–l] *PPb*; quarta est Sylo, quinta est ista *B*; quarta est ista, quinta Sylo *LiLoZb*   [m–m] *om. PBPb*   [n–n] *om. PBPb*   [o] excelsis *Lo*   [p] duas *LiLoZb*   [q–q] *om. B*

53   [a] austrum *LiZb*   [b] duabus *LiPb*   [c] Phasech *LiLoZb*   [d–d] coruus detulit ei *Li*   [e] Phasech *LiZb*; Fesech *Lo*   [f] Tephne *LiPb*; Thecue *P*   [g] *Pb*; Ptolomeus *Lo*; Pthololomos *Li*   [h–h] *om. Lo*   [i] *om. LiZb*   [j–j] *B+*; *om. P*

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[350] The Vulgate's *uilla Emona* (Josh. 18: 24), MT Chephar-ammoni, possibly to be identified with Kh. Kafr 'Ana (173153), a city of Benjamin, though for some reason Burchard allocates it to Ephraim (*ABD*, i. 898).

[351] Modern Kh. Fasail (192159), formerly Phaselis, north of Jericho; cf. the Madeba map (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 408–9); see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xvi. 145; xvii. 189; xviii. 31; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xiii. 4. 44. Herod the Great founded it, naming it after his brother, and left it to his sister Salome, who left it to Livia, wife of the emperor Augustus.

[352] See 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 2–7: Burchard, followed by the Sanudo–Vesconte, sees the Cherith running into the Jordan from the west. Most modern scholars identify it with the wadi al-Jabis, entering the Jordan from the east from the hills of Gilead, 5 miles (8 km) south of Pella. This is far north of Burchard's Phaselis (see *ABD*, i. 899).

[353] Probably on Jabal Qaruntul (190142), north-west of Jericho, by the spring 'Ain Dûq (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 307): cf. Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 230; *Jewish War*, i. 56 (where Dagon = Dok). But if Phesech is Kh. Fasail, then Burchard appears to think of Dok as being further north-west towards Tappuah (see above, n. 326), facing Gilead across the Jordan (see Pringle, *Churches*, i. 252–8).

goes to Hebron, another in the tribe of Naphtali not far from the castle of Safad; a third near Sepphoris, a fourth near Tekoa; a fifth is Shiloh; a sixth is this one which similarly is called Ramah. But 'Ramah' means 'high', and in fact all those villages are set on high hills. ¶ Three leagues south of Ramah is that glorious city of Jerusalem, of which I say nothing for the present, wishing to return to Shechem and first consider the cities from the corner of Mount Ephraim and then resume where I left off.

53. (31) ¶ Proceeding east from Shechem towards the Jordan, one comes first, at 4 leagues, to the town of Emon,[350] a very fine town, set in a lovely place, rich in this world's good things. It was allotted to Ephraim. (32) ¶ Four leagues east of Emon, on the descent of Mount Ephraim, in the plains 3 leagues from the Jordan, is the village of Phaselis.[351] Here the brook Cherith[352] drops down from the mountain. Here Elijah stayed when ravens brought him food morning and evening. (33) ¶ One league from Phaselis, to the left, towards Tappuah, is the castle of Dok,[353] in which Ptolemy, the son of Abubus,[354] treacherously took Simon the Maccabee. In that place the land of Gilead and of the two and a half tribes, the land of Heshbon,[355] and the hill country of Moab, Mounts Abarim[356] and Pisgah[357] and Nebo,[358] are plainly visible. Here one descends to the plains of the Jordan. Next are plains reaching as far as Jericho and beyond, all the way down the Jordan as

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[354] Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, was the son-in-law of Simon Maccabaeus, whom he murdered together with his two sons (1 Macc. 16: 11–17; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 228) in 135 BC.

[355] Heshbon is generally identified with Tall Hisban (226134), 12.5 miles (20 km) south-west of Amman. See Num. 21: 27–30; 32: 1–5; Josh. 13: 15–28; 21: 39; 1 Chr. 6: 81; Isa. 15: 4; 16: 8–9; Jer. 48: 34, 45; S. of S. 7: 4. Occupation is evidenced for Iron I and more strongly for Iron II; Hellenistic, Herodian, Late Roman, Byzantine, and Early Arab periods are all evidenced, but Heshbon seems to have faded under the Arabs, reviving again after the Crusades. In Burchard's time, *c.*1260–1300, there was new building activity based on the Byzantine ruins, providing facilities for travellers (*ABD*, iii. 181–4).

[356] See above, n. 224.

[357] Probably Ras as-Siyagha (218130), the Old Testament Pisgah, a mountain near Mount Nebo: Num. 21: 20; 23: 14; Deut. 3: 27; 34: 1; cf. the slopes of Pisgah, Deut. 3: 17; 4: 49; Josh. 12: 3; 13: 20 (see *ABD*, v. 373–4).

[358] Mount Nebo (Jabal Nebā (220129)): Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 16. 24 – 18. 3; 136. 6–8, places Mount Nebo between Livias and Heshbon, six milestones west of Heshbon. See Deut. 32: 49–52; 34: 1–8; Num. 32: 3; 1 Chr. 5: 8; Isa. 15: 2; Jer. 48: 1, 22. The Mesha stele notes Nebo as a former Israelite city (cf. Num. 32: 38). The city of Nebo (Num. 33: 47; 1 Chr. 5: 8; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 136. 13) is generally identified with Kh. al-Mekhayyat, 5 miles (8 km) from Heshbon and 2 miles (3 km) south-east of Siyagha (221131) (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 397–8; *ABD*, iv, pp. 1056–8).

Abarim et Phegor[359] et Phasca et Nebo[k] sunt directe contra locum istum ultra Iordanem. ¶ Sciendum etiam quod, ab ortu Iordanis sub monte Libano usque ad desertum Pharam[360] fere per centum miliaria[l] et amplius ipse Iordanis in utroque littore campos latos et amenos habet. Et postea idem[m] campi circumdantur montibus altissimis [n]hinc inde usque ad mare rubrum.[n]

54. (34) ¶ De Phesech[a] fere contra austrum, sed[b] tamen declinando, parum ad orientem[c] ad quinque leucas est locus Galgale, ubi longo tempore castrametati sunt filii Israel transito Iordane. Et fuerunt ibidem quidam ex eis circumcisi.[361] (35) ¶ De Galgalis ad dimidiam leucam eundo in Iericho ad dexteram iuxta[d] uiam est mons Quarentena[362] dictus, ubi Dominus quadraginta diebus et noctibus ieiunauit,[363] altus nimis et difficilis ad ascendendum. Sed temptatus in alio monte[364] est, qui per tres[e] leucas distat ab isto, supra in deserto, a latere Bethel et Hahy australi. (36) Subter[f] Quarantenam fere quantum bis iacere potest arcus oritur fons Helisei[365] et effluit, cuius aquas sanauit Heliseus, quia amare erant et steriles. Hic[g] fluit iuxta locum Galgali a parte australi, et impellit ibidem magna molendina, et postea diuisus in riuos plures rigat calamellas[366] et ortos [h]et iardinos iuxta Iericho et infra,[h] et influit Iordanem. (37) ¶ Iuxta Galgalam ad dimidiam leucam contra austrum est uallis Achor,[367] [i]sub monte, ubi lapidatus fuit[i] pro furto [j]anathematis idem Achor.[j] [368]

[k] *om. Li* [l] *B*+; milia *P* [m] ibidem *BPb* [n-n] *om. BPb*

54 [a] Phasello *B* [b] non *add. B* [c] occidentem *BPb* [d] ultra *LiZb*
[e] duas *LoPb* [f] supra *Li* [g] fons *add. BPb* [h-h] *om. BPb.* [i-i] *om. Li*;
sub monte *om. BPb* [j-j] anathemate percusso *Li*

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[359] Beth-peor of Deut. 4: 46; 34: 6; Josh. 13: 20; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 48. 3–5; located at Kh. ash-Sheikh Jayil (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 278–9) or at Kh al-Mahatta (*ABD*, i. 691). MacDonald thinks Kh. Sheikh Jayil, about just over 6 miles (10 km) west of Hesban, is probably the same place as al-Mahatta (MacDonald, '*East of the Jordan*', p. 138).

[360] Generally understood as the region between Israel and the Sinai desert: cf. Gen. 14: 6; 21: 21; Num. 12: 16; 13: 3, 26; 33: 36; Deut. 1: 1; 33: 2; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs) 11: 18; Hab. 3: 3 (see *ABD*, v. 162).

[361] Gilgal was probably at or near Kh. al-Mafjir (193143): cf. Josh. 4: 19; 5: 10; 9: 6–7; 10: 6–15, 43; 14: 6; Judg. 2: 1; 3: 19; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 11: 14–15; 13: 4; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 19: 15. (See Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 336–7; *ABD*, ii. 1022–4.). For the circumcision of the Israelites, see Josh. 5: 2–9.

[362] Jabal Quruntul (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 302–9; Abel, *Géographie*, i. 375–6).

[363] See Matt. 4: 1–11; Mark 1: 12–3; Luke 4: 1–13.

far as the Sea of Salt. The mountains of Abarim also, and Peor,[359] Pisgah, and Nebo, are across the Jordan directly opposite. ¶ It is also important to know that from the rise of the Jordan below Mount Lebanon as far as the desert of Paran[360] for about a hundred miles (160 km) and more the River Jordan has broad and beautiful fields on either bank. Further on the same plains are surrounded by the highest mountains on either side as far as the Red Sea.

54. (34) ¶ Five leagues from Phasael, almost south but a little east, is the place Gilgal, where the sons of Israel camped for a long period after they had crossed the Jordan. Some of them were circumcised there.[361] (35) ¶ A half league from Gilgal as one goes to Jericho, by the road, to the right, is the mountain called Quarentena,[362] where the Lord fasted forty days and nights.[363] It is high, and hard to climb. But he was tempted on another mountain,[364] 3 leagues away, higher up in the desert, on the south side of Bethel and Ai. (36) Almost 2 bowshots below Quarentena the spring of Elisha[365] rises and flows out. Elisha cleansed its waters, because they were bitter and sterile. It flowed by Gilgal on its southern side and drove large mills there; later, divided into more streams, it waters sugar canes,[366] orchards and gardens beside Jericho and below it, and flows into the Jordan. (37) ¶ Near Gilgal, half a league to the south, is the valley of Achor,[367] beneath a mountain, where Achan was stoned for his theft of the devoted thing.[368]

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[364] Compare the early fourteenth-century Odoricus de Foro Iulii (Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 156): 'Sed est alius mons excelsus, in quo dyabolus Christo ostendit omnia regna mundi et gloriam eorum, prout habetur in ewangelio. Et ille distat a monte Quarentena duo miliaria' ('But there is another high mountain, on which the devil showed Christ all the kingdoms of the world and their glory, just as is contained in the gospel. And it is two miles distant from the mount of the forty days.'). Thietmar (who travelled through the Holy Land in 1217–18) had previously noted that 'there is another mountain in Galilee' where the devil tempted Jesus (Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 116); Burchard is probably drawing on a long exegetical tradition based on Matt. 4: 8.

[365] The spring is generally identified with 'Ain as-Sultan at the site of Old Testament Jericho, near modern Jericho; see 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 19–22. The abbreviator omits reference to the spring and its streams.

[366] Cf. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xiii. 3; xv. 26; the ruins of Crusader sugar mills (*tawahin ez-Zukker*) were seen by G. A. Smith west of Tall as-Sultan (Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 267; cf. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 129). On sugar production in the Crusader period see Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 93–4.

[367] Probably the Buqe'ah valley in the Judaean wilderness; see Josh. 7: 24–6; 15: 7; Hos. 2: 15; Isa. 65: 10 (see *ABD*, i. 56).

[368] See Josh. 7: 1–26.

55. (38) ¶ De Galgalis contra orientem unam leucam Iericho ciuitas[369] sita est, quondam gloriosa; nunc[a] habet uix octo domos, et sunt ibi uix uestigia uilis[b] uille, et omnia monumenta sacrorum locorum in ea penitus sunt deleta. (39) ¶ De Iericho duabis leucis ad Iordanem est capella in honore sancti Iohannis Baptiste[370] facta,[c] ubi creditur Dominus baptizatus.[d] Credunt tamen quidam iuxta Salim[371] hoc factum esse, sed ecclesie solempnitas contradicit. Que facta sunt in Iericho satis sunt nota, et ideo non scripto[e] ea.[372] (40) ¶ De Iericho duabis leucis iuxta mare mortuum est Bethagla,[373] ubi filii Israel planxerunt patrem suum Iacob mortuum, quando eum tulerant de Egypto.[374] Distat autem una leuca de Iordane. Et habitant ibi monachi greci. (41) ¶ De Iericho tribus leucis, una de Iordane et capella[f] Iohannis, est mare mortuum, quod etiam lacus aspalti, id est bituminis, dicitur uel mare salis[g] dicitur. Istud diuidit Arabiam et Iudeam. Et est in littore eius orientali [h]terra Moab et Amon et Mons Seyr, de quibus dictum est supra, et extenditur usque ad Cades Barne et desertum Pharam.[h]

56. (42) [a]Ostenditur circa medium eius in littore orientali[a] castrum[b] Monreal,[375] quod antiquitus Petra deserti dicebatur, nunc uero Krach dicitur,[c] munitum ualde, quod Balduinus, rex Ierusalem, hedificauit pro [d]regno Ierusalem[d] dilatando, sed nunc Soldanus[376] tenet illud et reponit ibi thesaurum totius Egypti et Arabie. (43) ¶ De Krac ad tres[e] dietas[f] contra uulturnum est Areapolis,[377] nunc Petra dicta, metropolis

55 [a] autem *add.* *BPb* [b] illius *B* [c] *om.* *Li* [d] *B*+; uisitatus *P* [e] scribere nolo *Li*; campus siue planities Iericho extenditur in longum per quinquaginta stadia, in latum per uiginti. In hoc campo omni embolani crescunt et cyprum nascitur et zucara multa nimis *add.* *Lo* [f] sancti *add.* *Li* [g] *B*+; salusarum *P* [h–h] *B*+; *om.* *P*

56 [a–a] *B*+; *om.* *P* [b] *om.* *LiZb* [c] castrum *add.* *Li* [d–d] regione Israel *B*+ [e] duas *LiLoZb* [f] leucas uel dietas *B*

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[369] The Jericho known to Burchard was probably at ar-Riha. For Old Testament Jericho (Tall as-Sultan, 192142, a little over a mile (2 km) to the north-west) see Num. 22: 1, Deut. 32: 49; 34: 3; Josh. 2: 1 – 7: 2; 8: 2; 24: 11; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 10: 5; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 16: 34; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 4–5, 15–22; Ezra 2: 34; Neh. 3: 2; 7: 36; 1 Macc. 9: 50; 16: 11–17. For New Testament Jericho see Matt. 20: 29; Mark 10: 46, Luke 10: 30; 18: 35, 19: 1–10; Heb. 11: 30. (For a good account of the archaeological exploration of prehistoric, biblical, Hellenistic, and Roman-period Jericho see *ABD*, iii. 723–40.) Under the Crusaders there were Christian churches on the nearby Mount of Temptation, and local sugar mills, but after 1187 the area declined in prosperity until the twentieth century.

[370] Perhaps the Byzantine monastery of St John at Qasr al-Yahûd, which existed from before Justinian's time until the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 270; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 131; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 240–4).

[371] See John 3: 23. For Salim, see above, n. 306.

[372] Burchard prefers not to write about the well-known history of Jericho; the abbreviator prefers not to mention it at all.

55. (38) ¶ One league east of Gilgal lies the city of Jericho.[369] It was once a glorious city; now it has scarcely eight houses and there are barely the traces of a mean village, and all the monuments of sacred sites there have been totally destroyed. (39) ¶ Two leagues from Jericho towards the Jordan is a chapel built in honour of St John the Baptist,[370] where it is believed the Lord was baptized. However, some believe that this happened near Salim,[371] but the solemn belief of the church speaks against this. The deeds done at Jericho are well enough known, so I write nothing of them.[372] (40) ¶ Two leagues from Jericho near the Dead Sea is Beth-hoglah,[373] where the children of Israel mourned their dead father Jacob when they brought him from Egypt.[374] It is one league distant from the Jordan, and Greek monks live there. (41) ¶ Three leagues from Jericho, that is one league from the Jordan and the chapel of St John, lies the Dead Sea, also called the Lake of Asphalt (that is, bitumen) or the Sea of Salt. It divides Arabia and Judaea. On its eastern shore are the land of Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, mentioned above, and it reaches as far as Kadesh-barnea and the desert of Paran.

56. (42) About midway on the eastern shore of the Sea is shown the castle of Monreal,[375] in antiquity called Petra Deserti but now called Krak. It is well fortified because Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, built it for the extension of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but now the Sultan[376] holds it and has put back there the treasury of the whole of Egypt and Arabia. (43) ¶ Three days' journey south-east of Krak is Areopolis,[377] now

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[373] Modern Dayr Hajlah (197136): Josh. 15: 6; 18: 19, 21; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 52. 8. The monastery was founded in the fifth century, restored in the mid-twelfth century, occupied in Burchard's time, but abandoned soon after (see Pringle, *Churches*, i. 197–201; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 264–6.). The abbreviator ignores Beth-hoglah.

[374] See Gen. 50: 4–14. Genesis mentions the threshing floor of Atad (Gen. 50: 10) and Abel-mizraim (Gen. 50: 11); Eusebius (*Onomastikon* 8. 17–20) locates the former three milestones from Jericho and two from the Jordan, and identifies with Bethagla.

[375] Modern Shobak (see above, n. 26): the castle was built by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1115 (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 566–7; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 23–5). The Hospitallers held it until 1152. From 1142 the lordship of Monreal belonged to Karak, and Burchard here identifies Karak as the site of the sultan's treasury (see Brown, 'Petra Deserti (al-Karak)', p. 723). The abbreviator passes over these political and historical details.

[376] al-Mansūr Qalā'ūn, Sultan of Egypt (ruled 1279–90).

[377] Modern ar-Rabba (221075); possibly Kh. Balu' (244855); see MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, p. 99, n. 4; *ABD*, i. 321. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 10. 17; 124. 17 identifies it as Rabbath-moab; cf. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, v. 16. 4; cf. Rababatora in the Peutinger Table (Tabula Peutingeriana). On the Peutinger Table, see Prontera, *Tabula Peutingeriana*; on Rababatora, see Bowersock, *Roman Arabia*, pp. 164–86. This may be the biblical Ar of Moab (Num. 21: 14–15, 28; the city of Moab, 22: 36; Ar, Deut. 2 : 9, 18; Isa. 15: 1), which MacDonald (*'East of the Jordan'*, pp. 75–6) suggests as Moab's capital city. Burchard identifies Areopolis as Petra because for several centuries Areopolis had been the metropolitan city of the see of Petra (Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 569, n. 2 and references).

totius Arabie secunde,[g] de qua dictum est supra.[h] Olim tamen Ar dicebatur, et erat in torrente Armon sita,[378] in confinio Moabitarum et Amonitarum et Amorreorum. (44) ¶ In eodem[i] littore est locus, ubi Balaam[379] [j]ductus fuit in montana Moab, ut malediceret[j] filiis Israel. (45) ¶ De Ierícho quinque leucis contra Affricum[k] est Segor opidum,[380] sub monte Engadi,[381] inter quam et mare mortuum est [l]statua salis,[382] in quam secundum Genesym uxor Loth fuit uersa.[l] Pro qua uidenda multum laboraui, sed dixerunt mihi Saraceni, quod locus non esset tutus et propter bestias et serpentes et uermes, et maxime propter Boduinos,[383] qui [m]loca illa[m] inhabitant, fortes[n] et mali nimis. Ista retraxerunt me, quod non processi. Comperi tamen postea, quod non erat ita.

57. (46) ¶ Habet autem mare mortuum in latitudine, que protenditur ab oriente in occidentem, sex[a] leucas, in longitudine uero, que protenditur ad aquilone in austrum, dixerunt ueri Saraceni, quod habet quinque dietas, [b]Iosephus uero dicit[384] quod mare mortuum habet in longitudine[b] [c]ducenta[d] octaginta sex stadia, quod potius credo esse uerum quia sunt quinque diete ab illo, usque ad mare rubrum, creditum tamen a quibusdam continuari cum mari rubro per aquas illas que in Exodo aque marach appellantur et hoc etiam dixit mihi patriarcha Ierosolimatanus Grecus qui sepius illic fuit.[c] Multa dicuntur et scribuntur a diuersis de mari isto, que pertranseo tamquam multis nota; ¶ hoc tamen sciendum, quia, quod oculis meis uidi et plures alii mecum,

[g] *om. Li* [h] *B* +; *om. P* [i] loco id est *add. B* [j–j] maledixit populo dei scilicet *BPb* [k] austrum *BPb* [l–l] locus ubi uxor Loth uersa est in statuam salis sicut dicitur in Gen *B* [m–m] in loco illo *BPb*; ibidem *Li* [n] feroces *BLoPb*

57 [a] quinque *Lo* [b–b] semper fumans et tenebrosum *LiZb*; semper fumans et tenebrosum sicut caminus inferni *P* [c–c] *om. LiZb*; mare istud mortuum semper est fumans et tenebrosum sicut caminus *add. BPb* [d] quinquenta *BPb*

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[378] Num. 21: 13 describes the Arnon (Wadi Mojib) as the boundary between Moabites and Amorites; Num. 21: 28 puts Ar of Moab in parallel with the heights of the Arnon. If Ar is Kh Balu' (Miller, 'The Israelite journey through (around) Moab and Moabite toponymy', pp. 593–4) it lies on the south side of the Wadi Mojib on 'the heights of Arnon' opposite to the city of Aroer (modern 'Ara'ir (228097)) 'on the edge of the valley of the Arnon' (Deut. 2: 36; 4: 48; Josh. 12: 2) on the north side of the wadi. MacDonald (*'East of the Jordan'*, p. 76) thinks Ar of Moab referred to the chief city of Moab, i.e. Dibon, but Burchard here identifies it with Areopolis, which he locates (wrongly) on the Arnon.

[379] See Num. 22–4. The abbreviator has omitted the information of paragraphs 57, 58 on the Dead Sea and Transjordan, including the well-known story of Balaam.

[380] Biblical Zoar is identified with Tall as-Safi (194049): see Gen. 13: 10; 14: 2, 8; 19: 20–2; Deut. 34: 3; Isa. 15: 5; Jer. 48: 4; = Zair (?), 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 8: 21. Jannaeus took it and Hyrcanus II relinquished it (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 397; xiv. 18). Ptolemy, *Geographia*, v. 17. 5 sets it in Arabia Petraea; the Madeba map puts it towards the southern

called Petra, the metropolis of the whole of Arabia Secunda, mentioned above. Once, however, it was called Ar, and set on the torrent of Arnon,[378] at the border of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Amorites. (44) ¶ On the same shore is the place where Balaam[379] was led into the hills of Moab to curse the sons of Israel. (45) ¶ Five leagues south of Jericho is the town of Zoar,[380] below the mountain of En-gedi.[381] Between this and the Dead Sea is a statue of salt,[382] into which according to Genesis the wife of Lot was turned. I worked hard to see this, but the Saracens said to me that the place was not safe both on account of wild animals and snakes and serpents, and especially on account of the Bedouin[383] who lived there, particularly strong and very wicked men. These things stopped me from going. I found later, however, that this was not the real situation.

57. (46) ¶ The Dead Sea in breadth, from east to west, is 6 leagues, but in length, from north to south, the Saracens truly told me, it is five days' journey. But Josephus says[384] that the Dead Sea is in length two hundred and eighty-six stadia, which I rather believe to be true, because it is five days' journey from it to the Red Sea. It is believed by some to be continuous with the Red Sea through those waters which in Exodus are called 'the waters of bitterness', and this also was told me by the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, who was often there. Much is said and written about this sea by various people, which I omit as generally known. ¶ But it must be understood (since I have no hesitation in declaring what I have seen with my own eyes, and others with me), that

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end of the Dead Sea, on the south bank of what might be the Wadi Zered. The Crusaders, following the Vulgate, called it Segor (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 286–92; Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 466; *ABD*, vi. 1107–8).

[381] Tall al-Jurn (187096); see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 316–17; see Josh. 15: 62; 1 Kgs. 24: 1 (= 1 Sam. 23: 29); 2 Chr. 20: 2; Ezek. 47: 10; S. of S. 1: 14; Ecclus 24: 14; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, ix. 7, 11. On the twelfth-century Florence map, Engaddi (En-gedi) is located on the north-west corner of the Dead Sea, and Segor on the south-west corner. On the later Florence map from *c.*1300, Mons Engaddi runs north–south along the western coast of the Dead Sea, but Segor is opposite on the east coast of the Dead Sea; for this position, see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 481, 648–51. (For references to the maps, see above, n. 110.) The Byzantine and medieval evidence strongly suggests that Zoar/Segor lay east of the Dead Sea/Wadi Arabah; Burchard's location seems to follow the earlier Florentine map.

[382] See Gen. 19: 26. Burchard sets the pillar of salt below the mountains of En-gedi, between Zoar and the Dead Sea. He thus seems to place Zoar on the west coast of the Dead Sea. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 286–92, gives evidence from the Arab geographers that Zughar (Zoar/Segor) lay at the south end of the Dead Sea.

[383] The abbreviator (B39) is at pains to identify the Bedouin with the biblical Midianites and to emphasize their cruelty, and adds that the Admiraldus of Jericho reported that twenty armed Saracens could not safely traverse this region.

[384] According to Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 482, 580 stadia.

secure dicere audeo, quod de uapore huius maris tota conuallis illa, que dicebatur illustris, et utique[e] sic erat, a fine huius maris, qui est in deserto Pharam, usque supra Iericho ad dimidiam dietam fere reddita est inutilis, ita ut nec germen[f] proferat,[g] [h]nec gramen[h] aliquod omnino per totam latitudinem suam, que quinque uel sex aliquando[i] est leucarum, nisi iuxta ciuitatem Iericho, ubi canne mellis et iardini et orti rigantur de fonte Helysei. Et est tremendum[j] [k]pro certo[k] Dei iudicium, qui per tot secula annorum peccatum adeo persequitur Sodomorum, quod etiam terra ipsa[l] penas soluit per milia tot annorum. A dextris insuper et a sinistris montes steriles sunt et aridi uel barbare habitacionis per stadia longa terrarum, ubi uapor idem pertingere potest uento impellente.

58. ¶ Dicunt quidam Iordanem aquas suas isto mari non miscere,[a] sed priusquam illuc ueniat, a terra absorberi;[385] sed Saraceni pro certo dixerunt mihi, quod intrat et exit, sed post modicum spatium ab exitu suo a terra absorbetur. Excrescit autem mare illud interdum de resolutione niuium de Libano et aliis montanis, de inundatione Iordanis et torrentis Iaboch[386] et Arnon[b] [387] et Zareth[388] de pluuiis cadentibus in Galilea, monte Galaad, terra Moab et Amon et Seyr, de quibus omnibus aque descendunt per Iordanem ad mare istud. Inuenitur etiam in eo bitumen[389] collectum de fundo ipsius, quod uento agitante adheret sibi mutuo et appulsum littoribus colligitur[c] [d]in magna quantitate,[d] et est medicinale et forte, et non soluitur[e] nisi menstruo sanguine, et appellatur glutem iudaicum. Vnde et lacus idem lacus aspalti i.e. bituminis appellatur. Dicitur in Gen .xvii.,[f] quod uallis siluestris,[390] que nunc est mare salis, habebat puteos multos bituminis.[391] Et hodie sunt in littore eius plures. Et est semper piramis erecta iuxta quemlibet puteum, quas oculis meis uidi.[g] Et hec de isto mari dicta sufficiant.[h]

[e] iure *LiZb*   [f] gramen *LiLoZb*   [g] *B*+; ferat *P*   [h–h] germen *LiLoZb*; *om. Pb*   [i] *Li om.*   [j] obtremendum *BLiPb*   [k–k] *om. Li*   [l] *B*+; *om. P*

58   [a] permiscere *BPb*   [b] *B*; Armon *P*   [c] tollitur *BLiPbZb*   [d–d] *om. Li*   [e] resoluitur *Li*   [f] septem et uiginti *Li*   [g] perspexi *Li*   [h] Iosephus dixit quod mare mortuum habet in longitudine 286 stadia quod potius credo esse uerum qui fere sunt ui dietas ab illo usque ad mare rubrum. Credo tamen a quibusdam continuari cum mari rubro per aquas illas que in exodo aque marach dicuntur et idem dixit mihi patriarcha Ierosolimitanus sextus qui sepe in partibus illis fuit. In latitudine uero habet 150 stadia *add. Lo*

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[385] 'Others . . . say there is an exit through the earth whereby its waters join those of the Red Sea . . . But Allah knows best the truth of all this' (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 66–7, translating Dimashki (1256–1327), for whom see Le Strange, ibid., p. 10). Burchard speaks of the absorption of the Jordan's waters both before its entry to the sea and after its exit; the abbreviator ignores the latter possibility.

by the vapour from this sea the whole valley, called 'remarkable', and rightly so, from the end of the Dead Sea in the desert of Paran as far as half a day's journey beyond Jericho is made barren, to such an extent that it produces neither seed nor any other kind of grass for the whole of its breadth, which is 5 or sometimes 6 leagues, except by the city of Jericho, where sugar canes and gardens and orchards are watered by Elisha's Spring. This is surely the terrifying judgement of God, who through so many centuries punishes the sin of the people of Sodom, to such an extent that the land also pays the penalty through so many thousand years. The mountains above the sea both to right and to left are barren and arid, or inhabited by uncivilized natives over long tracts of land, as far as the vapour can reach with the wind driving it.

58. ¶ Some say that the Jordan does not mix its waters with that sea, but, before it gets there, is absorbed by the land;[385] but the Saracens assured me that it both enters and leaves the sea, but shortly after its exit is absorbed by the land. The sea sometimes expands, from the melting of the snows from the Lebanon and other mountains, from the flooding of the Jordan and the torrents of Jabbok,[386] Arnon,[387] and Zered,[388] from the rainfall in Galilee, Mount Gilead, the land of Moab and Ammon and Seir, from all of which waters flow down through the Jordan to that sea. Bitumen[389] is also found in it, gathered from its depths; driven by the wind it sticks together and, pushed to the shores, is collected in large quantity. It is medicinal and strong, cannot be dissolved except by menstrual blood, and is called 'Jewish glue'. Hence the same lake is called the Lake of Asphalt (i.e. bitumen). For Genesis 17 says that the wooded valley,[390] now the Sea of Salt, had many bitumen pits.[391] Even today there are many on its shore. There is always a pyramid erected by each pit; I have seen them with my own eyes. Let this be enough about that sea.

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[386] See above, n. 200.

[387] The Paris manuscript (n.a.l. 288, fo. 19va) reads Armon (i.e. Hermon) but the context demands that with the Berlin manuscript (MS Lat. 4. q. 466, fo. 48^{vb}) we read Arnon, i.e. the Wadi Mojib (Abel, *Géographie*, i. 487–8).

[388] See Deut. 2: 13–14. The Zered is usually identified with the Wadi al-Hasa (see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 489; ii. 216–17), but for discussion see MacDonald, *'East of the Jordan'*, pp. 73–4.

[389] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 476–85 (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 64–6 for references).

[390] wooded valley: this phrase comes from the Vulgate at Gen. 14: 3, 10 ('vallis Silvestris'); the Hebrew text gives 'Valley of Siddim', possibly 'valley of fields' (see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 407).

[391] Burchard quotes Gen. 14: 10 (*P* in error refers to ch. 17). The abbreviator ignores the bitumen, but includes a reference to the so-called 'apples of Sodom'; see below, n. 414.

59. (47) ¶ De Galgale[a] loco, de quo dictum est supra, tribus leucis, de fonte Helysei tantumdem, contra occidentem,[b] in montanis, a latere occidentali[c] Quarentene est Hay ciuitas,[392] quam expugnauit Iosue, rege eius interfecto, ut dicitur Iosue .vi.. (48) ¶ De Hay ad unam leucam fere contra aquilonem, sed aliquantulum declinando [d]ad occidentem[d] est Bethel ciuitas,[393] que quondam Luza[394] dicebatur, in tribu Beniamin, ubi Iacob uadens contra orientem, quando fugit a facie Esau, fratris sui, lapidem capiti supponens dormiuit,[e] et[f] uidit scalam stantem super terram et cacumen eius tangens celos[g] et cetera,[395] que dicuntur ibi, et erexit lapidem in titulum, et appellauit nomen loci[h] Bethel. Errant autem qui hoc Ierosolimis dicunt esse factum,[396] quia illo tempore Ierusalem regnauit[i] Melchisedech.[397] Et erat ciuitas gloriosa, nec fuit necesse, quod Iacob ibi in campo dormiret, maxime in monte Moria,[398] qui tunc fuit et est hodie intra ciuitatem. Preterea[j] huius facti indicia hodie in isto Bethel demonstrantur:[k] et lapis erectus in titulum,[399] et sepulchrum Debbore, nutricis Rebeche,[400] subtus in ualle. ¶ Dicunt tamen quidam Ierusalem Bethel dictam, uersibus illis fatue inherentes:

> Solima, Luza, Bethel, Ierusalem, Iebus, Helya,
> urbs sacra Ierusalem dicitur atque Salem.[401]

A quibus libenter discerem, in quo loco Veteris uel Noui Testamenti testimonium habeant Ierusalem Luzam uel Bethel dictam, [l]nisi forte templum uelint Bethel,[l] id est domum Dei appellare. Preterea super illud Genesis, 'Reuersus est Abraham per iter, quo uenerat in Bethel',[402] dicit glossa Ieronimi,[403] qui locum uidit: 'Bethel est ciuitatumcula[m] duodecimi ab Ierusalem lapide,[n] in tribu Beniamin, ad dextram euntibus Neapolim.' Que est Sichem, iuxta Luza, que est in tribu Effraym, et est proxima et diuisio[o] inter tribum Beniamin et Effraym transit in medio.

59 [a] *B*+; Galilee *P* [b] aquilonem *LoZb*; *Li* fontem aquilonis [c] *LiZb* aquilonari; septentrionali *Lo* [d-d] *om. BPb* [e] obdormiuit *LiZb* [f] tunc Iacob *add. B* [g] *B*+; celum *P* [h] illius *add. BLiZb* [i] *B*+; regnabat *P* [j] postea *BPb* [k] monstrantur *BPb* [l-l] *B*+; *om. P* [m] ciuitas *LiZb* [n] i.e. miliare, quia in capite cuiuslibet miliarii ponebant unum lapidem *add. BPb* [o] *B*+; dimidio *P*

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[392] Usually identified with at-Tall (174147); for discussion of the archaeological and biblical evidence see *ABD*, i. 125–30. The abbreviator omits this Old Testament story (Josh. 8: 1–29). Burchard sets Bethel to the north-west of Ai.

[393] Modern Tall Baytin (172148): an important cultic site in ancient Israel, criticized by the prophets Amos (3: 14; 4: 4; 5: 6; 7: 13) and Hosea (10: 5; 12: 4), and associated with Abraham, Jacob, Samuel, and Jeroboam. Its position on the main north–south route from Samaria to Jerusalem, near the crossing of a major route from the coast to the Jordan valley, made it of strategic importance, and it was fortified by the Syrian general Bacchides against the Maccabees (1 Macc. 9: 56) and taken by Vespasian in AD 69 (Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv.

59. (47) ¶ Three leagues from the place Gilgal, mentioned above, and the same distance from Elisha's Spring, to the west in the mountains, on the western side of Quarentena, is the city of Ai[392] which Joshua captured, its king having been killed, as is said in Joshua 6. (48) ¶ Almost one league north, but a little west, of Ai is the city of Bethel,[393] once called Luz,[394] in the tribe of Benjamin. Here Jacob, on his way east when he fled from the face of his brother Esau, slept, putting a stone beneath his head, and saw a ladder standing over the earth with its top touching the heavens, with the rest of the story there.[395] He set up a stone for a sign, and called the name of the place Bethel. Those who say this happened at Jerusalem are wrong,[396] since at that time Melchizedek was ruling Jerusalem.[397] It was then a glorious city. Nor was it necessary for Jacob to sleep out in the open, especially on Mount Moriah,[398] which was then and is today within the city. Moreover, signs of this event are today shown in that Bethel, together with the stone erected for a sign,[399] and the tomb of Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah,[400] below in the valley. ¶ Some say that Jerusalem was called Bethel, foolishly relying on these verses:

> Solima, Luza, Bethel, Ierusalem, Iebus, Helia,
> The holy city was called both Jerusalem and Salem.[401]

I would gladly learn from them where in the Old and New Testament there is evidence that Jerusalem was called Luz or Bethel, unless perhaps they want to call the Temple Bethel (that is, God's House). Further, on that Genesis text 'Abraham returned by the way he had come to Bethel',[402] the gloss of Jerome,[403] who saw the place, says: 'Bethel is a little city at the twelfth milestone from Jerusalem, in the tribe of Benjamin, on the right as one goes to Neapolis.' Neapolis is Shechem, near Luz in the tribe of Ephraim, and the neighbouring border between the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim passes in the middle of it.

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551). It was known to Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 40. 6 – 42. 8), and appears on the Madeba map, but was destroyed in the Arab conquest. (See Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 270–1; *ABD*, i. 710–12.)

[394] See Gen. 28: 19; 35: 6–8; 48: 3.

[395] See Gen. 28: 11–22.

[396] Burchard is perhaps pointing at Theoderic. In fact Theoderic knows that Jacob had his vision at Bethel, but says that the pillow stone could be seen at Jerusalem (see *Libellus de locis sanctis*, xv, xlii, ed. Huygens, CCCM cxxxix. 162, 187).

[397] Gen. 14: 18. The abbreviator omits this and the following Old Testament evidence.

[398] Gen. 22: 2; 2 Chr. 3: 1. See 69 below.

[399] See Gen. 28: 18, 22.

[400] See Gen. 35: 8; Deborah 'was buried under an oak below Bethel'.

[401] Solima, Lusa . . . Salem: these verses in Latin form an elegiac couplet.

[402] Gen. 13: 3.

[403] Jerome, see Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 41. 17–20.

60. (49) ¶ De Bethel ad unam leucam contra aquilonem uersus Rama,[404] que etiam Sylo[405] dicitur, est palma Debbore,[406] uxoris Lapidot, qui iudicauit Israel, et Barach misit ad pugnandum contra Sysaram in monte Thabor. (50) ¶ De Bethel duabis leucis,[a] una[b] de Ierusalem, non longe a Rama[c] Beniamin est Anathot,[407] uiculus sacerdotum modicus, a quo Ieremias propheta exstitit oriundus. (51) ¶ Iuxta Anatoth inter orientem et austrum incipit desertum illud, quod est inter Ierusalem et Iericho. Quod nunc desertum Quarentene dicitur, et extenditur usque supra Galgala[d] et usque ad desertum contra Tecuam[408] et Engadi.[409] (52) ¶ Iuxta mare mortuum, supra mare mortuum, in littore eius occidentali,[e] de Segor ad unam leucam est ascensus montis Engadi, in quo aliquando inuenitur Dauid latuisse,[410] cum Saul persequeretur eum.

61. (53) ¶ In circuitu montis istius et in ipso erat quedam[a] uinea balsami,[411] sed tempore Herodis Magni Cleopatra, regina Egypti, in odium ipsius Herodis fauente sibi Antonio transtulit eam in Babyloniam Egypti.[b] Et non colitur uinea balsami in Egypto nisi a Christianis. Et rigatur de quodam fonte, in quo dicitur beata uirgo sepe puerum Ihesum baptizasse.[c] [d]Hanc similiter uidi in Egypto, cum essem missus ad Soldanum.[412] Fecit enim me in eam duci per milites suos, et tuli de ligno balsami in magna quantitate, et uidi modum colligandi balsamum, et [e]laui me[e] in fonte, de quo rigatur.[f] In quo [g]puer Iesus fuit sepe lotus lauatus.[g] Dixerunt mihi cultores orti, quod boues qui trahunt [h]de fonte ipso[h] a meridie sabbati usque ad diem lune nullomodo uolunt trahere[i]

60 [a] contra aquilonem *add. BPb* [b] prima *BPb* [c] Ramatha *Li* [d] *B+*; Galilea *P* [e] iuxta mare *add. Li*

61 [a] locus in quo primo fuit *B* [b] Hanc uidi (similiter *add. Zb*) cum uenissem in Egyptum ad soldanum qui fecit me duci in illam et tuli de ligno balsami in magna quantitate, et baptizatus fui in fonti de quo irrigatur. Dixerunt mihi cultores eius quod a meridie sabbati usque ad diem lune boues (boues *om. Zb*) nullomodo trahere uolunt aquam ipsam etiam si in frustra conciderentur. Hortos habent in longitudine quantum bis potest iacere arcus. In latitudine iactus lapidis et plus *add. LiZb* [c] lauasse *B* [d–d] hanc similiter . . . modico clariora *om. BPbLiZb* [e–e] balneatus fui *Lo* [f] irrigatur *Lo* [g–g] beata uirgo sepe puerum Ihesum lauauit *Lo* [h–h] aquam pro irrigando *Lo* [i] aquam propter celebritatem diei dominice *add. Lo*

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[404] This place name usually refers to Ramah in Benjamin, Josh. 18: 25, Judg. 4: 5, identified with er-Rām (172140), nearly 4.5 miles (7 km) north of Jerusalem: for this and other places of this name see above, nn. 347, 349. But Burchard points to a Ramah north of Bethel, identifying it with Shiloh. The abbreviator omits the details.

[405] Shiloh is now Kh. Seilun (177162): see Josh. 19: 51; Judg. 18: 31; 21: 12–24; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1–4; 14: 3; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 27; Jer. 7: 12, 14; 26: 6. Why Burchard identified Ramah with Shiloh is not clear; er-Rām is about 15 miles (24 km) south-south-west of Kh. Seilun; he probably has the Ramah associated with Nabi Samwīl in mind. See below (**88**).

[406] See Judg. 4: 5.

60. (49) ¶ One league north of Bethel, towards Ramah[404] (which is also known as Shiloh)[405] is the palm of Deborah,[406] the wife of Lapidoth, who was a judge in Israel and sent Barak to fight against Sisera at Mount Tabor. (50) ¶ Two leagues from Bethel and one from Jerusalem, not far from Ramah of Benjamin, is Anathoth,[407] a small village of priests, the birthplace of Jeremiah the prophet. (51) ¶ Next to Anathoth, to the south-east, begins that desert which lies between Jerusalem and Jericho. It is now called the desert of Quarentena, and extends beyond Gilgal and as far as the desert between Tekoa[408] and En-gedi.[409] (52) Next to the Dead Sea, above the Dead Sea, on its western shore, one league from Zoar, is the ascent of Mount En-gedi, where it sometimes happened that David hid[410] when Saul was pursuing him.

61. (53) ¶ Round about this mountain and on it there was a grove of balsam,[411] but in Herod the Great's time Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, hating Herod and with Antony's support, transferred it to Babylon in Egypt. The balsam grove is not tended in Egypt except by Christians, and it is watered by a certain fountain in which it is said that the Blessed Virgin often bathed the boy Jesus. I saw this similarly in Egypt when I was sent to the Sultan,[412] for he had me taken to it by his soldiers. I carried away a large amount of balsam wood, and saw the manner of its collection. I washed myself in the fountain from which it was watered. In it the boy Jesus was often washed. The gardeners told me that the oxen which drew the water from that fountain, from Saturday midday

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[407] Anathoth (at or near Anata (175135); cf. Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 243–4) was a priestly city of Benjamin; see Josh. 21: 18; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 23: 27; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 26; 1 Chr. 6: 60; 7: 8; 11: 28; 12: 3; 27: 12; Ezra 2: 23; Neh. 7: 27; 11: 32; Jer. 1. 1. Iron Age Anathoth perhaps lay at Ras al-Kharrubeh, and the Hellenistic-Roman city at modern Anata below it (see *ABD*, i. 227–8).

[408] Kh. Tequ'a (170115), 10 miles (16 km) south of Jerusalem: see 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 14: 2, 4, 9; 1 Chr. 2: 24; 4:5; 2 Chr. 11: 6; 20: 20; Jer. 6: 1; Amos 1: 1; Neh. 3: 5, 27; 1 Macc. 9: 33. There are the ruins of a Byzantine church. In the Crusaders' time it was a large village. The abbreviator omits all reference to the regions of Tekoa and En-gedi, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea (60–1, VII.51–5).

[409] See above, n. 381.

[410] See 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 24: 1.

[411] See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, ix. 7; xiv. 54; xv. 96; but according to Josephus, Herod leased from Cleopatra the revenues of the Jericho region, which included balsam. For this paragraph, see further under Burchard's travels in Egypt (below, n. 728).

[412] Baybars I died in 1277: 'in a reign of seventeen years he had restricted the Franks to a few cities along the coast' (Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, iii. 348). His successor was Sultan Qalā'ūn, who died in 1290. Burchard visited Egypt after his stay in the Holy Land, probably in 1284. The word 'missus' ('sent') may suggest that Burchard was on some diplomatic mission (see Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae, A.D. 1280*', pp. 179–81). For the following references to balsam, the fountain in which Jesus was washed, the oxen who refused to draw water, and the garden, see below under Burchard's travels in Egypt (134).

etiamsi [j]in frustra[j] conciderentur. [k]Habet autem ortus in longitudine iactum duorum arcuum, in latitudine non amplius iactu lapidis manualis, et habet lignum in latitudine plusquam palma.[k] Folia sicut rutta sed modico clariora.[d] ¶ Sunt tamen adhuc surculi uinearum ualde nobiles in Engadi, sed non colunt eos Saraceni, et Christiani non habitant ibi qui colere possint eos.[413] (54) ¶ Sub Engadi iuxta mare mortuum sunt arbores pulcherrime, sed fructus earum[l] quando discerpitur intus fauilla et cinere plenus inuenitur.[414] (55) Montes Engadi alti sunt ualde, et sunt mirabilis[m] dispositionis, prerupti rupibus et uallibus, ita quod non uidi similes, qui etiam uidentibus incutiant horrorem.[n]

62. (56) ¶ De Iericho quatuor leucis contra occidentem, uia, que ducit in Ierusalem, ad sinistram Quarentene est castrum Adomyn,[a] [415] ubi ille, qui descendit ab Ierusalem in Iericho, incidit in latrones. Quod modernis temporibus multis contigit ibidem, et ab effusione frequenti sanguinis locus ille nomen accepit. Est enim horribilis uisu et perculosus ualde, nisi aliquis uadat sub conductu. (57) ¶ De Adomym duabis leucis contra occidentem est Bachurim,[b] [416] de tribu Beniamin, de quo fuit Semey,[417] filius Iemini,[c] qui maledixit Dauid, quando fugit a facie Absalon ut dicitur .ii. Regum. Et est castrum satis pulcrum et in monte alto situm. (58) ¶ Subtus uero in ualle contra orientem in uia regia de Adomym[d] est lapis, qui uocatur Beon, filii Ruben,[418] magnus in modum clibani, et uidetur esse marmor. (59) ¶ De Bachurim contra occidentem, quantum bis iacere potest arcus, loco[e] procliuiori est Bethania,[419] castellum Marthe et Marie. Ante cuius introitum minus quam iactus sit lapidis, iuxta cisternam in campo ostenditur locus, ubi Domino

[j–j] *om. Lo*   [k–k] habet in longitudine quan tum bis iacere potest arcus, in latitudine iactus lapidis manualis lignum non altum fuit ad duas palmas habens *Lo*   [l] plerum est cinere quia *add. B*   [m] admirabilis *B*   [n] *B*+; honorem *P*

62   [a] *BLiZb*; Adonym *Pb*; Edomym *P*   [b] Benzyn castrum *B*; Benzym *Pb*   [c] Genum *B*; Gemim *Pb*; Gemyn *LiZb*; Iemin *Lo*   [d] Adomyn *B*+   [e] modico loco *Lo*

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[413] However, Burchard notes the activity of Christian vine-growers near Bethlehem (93).

[414] Burchard refers to the 'apples of Sodom' found at 'Ain Jidi by Robinson; Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 235–6) names it as the *Asclepias gigantea uel procera* of the botanists; it is now known as *Calotropis procera*. This plant may be the *citrullus colocyntis*, the 'wild herbs' (RSV 'gourds') ('colocyntides') of 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 39; cf. Deut. 32: 32, 'vine of Sodom', and Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 484–5; Tacitus, *Histories*, v. 7.

[415] Tal'at ad-Damm, 'ascent of blood' (184136); see Pringle et al., 'Qal'at Jiddin', pp. 153–62). A Roman fort existed here by 331; Jerome's *Epistula* cviii to Eustochium (CSEL lv. 306–51, at 321; PL xxii. 878–906, at 887) connects the site to the story of the Good Samaritan (for translation and notes, see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 51). Theoderic (writing 1169–72; see *Libellus de locis sanctis*, xxviii, ed. Huygens, CCCM cxxxix. 175), refers to a 'Red Cistern' with a chapel attached to it (see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 345–6) and notes that the

to Monday refused to draw that water, even if they were to be beaten, to no effect. The orchard was 2 bowshots in length and not more than a stone's throw in width. The wood is more than a palm's breadth in thickness. The leaves are like those of rue, but a little shinier. ¶ There are, however, still some very fine vine stocks in En-gedi, but the Saracens do not tend them, and there are no Christians living there who might tend them.[413] (54) ¶ Below En-gedi, by the Dead Sea, there are some very beautiful trees, but their fruit when plucked is found to be full of dust and ash.[414] (55) The En-gedi mountains are very high, and wonderfully landscaped, steep with cliffs and valleys, the like of which I have not seen; they even inspire terror in those who view them.

62. (56) ¶ Four leagues west of Jericho, on the road to Jerusalem, to the left of Quarentena, is the fort of Adummim,[415] where the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves. This happens to many there in modern times, and the place has taken its name from the frequent spilling of blood there. The place is horrible to see, and very dangerous unless one goes with an escort. (57) ¶ Two leagues west of Adummim is Bahurim,[416] of the tribe of Benjamin. This was the home of Shimei,[417] the son of Gera, who cursed David when he fled from the face of Absalom, as told in 2 Kings. It is a fine enough fort, and is set on a high hill. (58) ¶ In the valley below, however, to the east, on the king's highway from Adummim, is the stone, called Bohan, of Reuben's son;[418] it is as big as an oven and seems to be marble. (59) ¶ Two bowshots west of Bahurim on a hillside is Bethany,[419] the village of Martha and Mary. Less than a stone's throw before its entrance, by a

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Templars built a castle here (the 'Citerne Rouge'). It was abandoned after 1187, and Burchard makes no reference to it.

[416] Perhaps Ras at-Tmim (174133); Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 286, n. 323) suggests Kh. al-Muraṣṣaṣ, a ruined Byzantine monastery).

[417] See 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 16: 5; 17: 18; 19: 16; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 8. See *ABD*, i. 568.

[418] See Josh. 15: 6; 18: 17; Num. 32: 3. The abbreviator ignores this.

[419] al-‘Aziriyeh (174131): see Matt. 21: 17 = Mark 11: 11–12, cf. Luke 19: 29; Matt. 26: 6 = Mark 14: 3, Luke 24: 50; John 11: 1–44; 12: 1–8; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 58. 15–17. According to Pringle (*Churches*, i. 122–37) a church named after Lazarus existed at Bethany by the late fourth century; it was seen later by Arculf, Saewulf (1102–3), and Daniel (1106–7). This was a cross-in-square church with a dome. This was remodelled in the twelfth century by the Crusaders and rededicated to Mary and Martha. To the west of this church was a tomb over which in the twelfth century was built a three-aisled basilica church, its east end supported by vaults compensating for the slope on which it was built. These are the two buildings described by Burchard: he relates the earlier church to Mary and Martha, and the tomb and chapel above it to Lazarus. Remarkably, the abbreviator omits reference to Bethany, Martha and Mary, the house of Simon the Leper, the story of Lazarus, and his tomb and the chapel.

Bethaniam uenienti primo[f] occurrit Martha et postea[g] Maria ab ea uocata.[420] In Bethania adhuc[h] ostenditur[i] domus Simonis leprosi, [j]in eodem loco[j] in qua cum eo recubuit Dominus Ihesus.[421] Item domus Marthe, in qua fuit sepius hospitatus. Que est hodie ecclesia in honore ipsarum facta. Item sepulchrum Lazari, de quo resuscitatus[k] fuit, non longe[l] ab ecclesia. Vbi est facta capella marmorea ualde decens et pulcra et monumentum ipsum marmore tectum, in quo ego etiam descendi. Saraceni multum honorant sepulchrum istud propter miraculum resuscitationis a Domino [m]ibi factum.[m]

63. (60) Recedendo de Bethania nondum uidetur Ierusalem propter montem Olitueti[422] interpositum, sed ascenditur primo tumor quidam[a] terre, et uidetur pars quedam ciuitatis dilecte[b] cum monte Syon. Eia Deus, quot deuote lacrime sunt in loco illo fuse uidentium[c] ibi exaltationem uniuerse terre, ciuitatem regis magni! ¶ Quanta[d] erit exaltatio, uidere locum glorie tue, bone Ihesu, cum locus ignominie[e] et confusionis tue[f] cum tanto tripudio uideatur! Sed obmissis omnibus ad Ierusalem quantotius[g] ueniamus. (61) Descenditur[h] igitur de monte et iterum ciuitas dilecta[i] occultatur. Item sub latere orientali montis Olitueti[j] iuxta Bethfage[423] que[k] ad iactum lapidis dimittitur ad sinistram, sub monte offensionis,[424] in ualle est[l] uiculus ualde paruus; ascenditur per latus australe et giratur mons Olitueti. Venitur ad locum, ubi Dominus asinum ascendit, et continuo resplendet tota ciuitas cum templo et ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri et ceteris locis sanctis. Venitur ad descensum montis Olitueti, ubi turbis precedentibus [m]et sequentibus[m] et clamantibus 'osanna filio Dauid'[425] et letantibus de benedicto eius aduentu, ipse uidens ciuitatem fleuit amarissime[n] super illam.[426]

[f] *om.* *Li* [g] *om.* *Li* [h] *om.* *Li* [i] *B+*; *om.* *P* [j–j] *P*; *om.* *B+*
[k] suscitatus *BPb* [l] est distans *add.* *Li* [m–m] *om.* *Li*

63 [a] *B+*; *om.* *P* [b] *B+*; delete *P* [c] *PPb*; uidentur *B*; uidentes *Lo*; uidere *LiZb* [d] O quanta *BLiZb* [e] tua *add.* *LiZb* [f] *om.* *LiZb* [g] *B+*; *om.* *P* [h] descendente *B* [i] penitus *add.* *LoP* [j] *B+*; *om.* *P* [k] *BPb*; *om.* *P* [l] est *add.* *BPb* [m–m] *om.* *BPb* [n] *B+*; *om.* *P*

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[420] See John 11: 17–44.

[421] See Mark 14: 3, 9; Matt. 26: 6–13; Luke 7: 36–8; John 12: 1–8. A monastery was built here in 1131–43 by Melisande, queen of Jerusalem (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 100–6).

[422] The Mount of Olives is the mountain ridge running north–south, divided from Jerusalem by the Kidron valley. See 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 15: 30, 32; Zech. 14: 4–5; perhaps 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 13. The Mount of Olives plays an important part in the passion narrative: see Mark 11: 1–10 and parallels; Mark 13: 3; 14: 26; Luke 19: 28–44; 21: 37; Acts 1: 12. The abbreviator ignores the Mount of Olives at this point, and passes over the pilgrims' joy at the sight of Jerusalem.

cistern in a field, is shown the place where first Martha, and then Mary at her call, met the Lord as he came to Bethany.[420] To this day in Bethany is shown the house of Simon the leper, in the same place in which the Lord Jesus lay at supper with him.[421] Also, the house of Martha, where he was often a guest. Today this is a church built in the sisters' honour. Also, near the church, the tomb of Lazarus, from which he was raised. A very fitting, beautiful marble chapel has been built there, and a monument, itself covered in marble, into which I too descended. The Saracens honour that tomb greatly on account of the miraculous raising performed there by the Lord.

63. (60) As one leaves Bethany Jerusalem is not yet seen, because the Mount of Olives lies between;[422] but first one climbs a small rise, and there appears part of the beloved city with Mount Sion. Ah, God, how many devout tears have been shed in that place by those seeing there the joy of the whole earth, the city of the great king! ¶ How great joy there will be to see the place of your glory, good Jesus, when the place of your shame and despair is seen with such jubilation! But setting all this aside, let us come to Jerusalem. (61) So one descends from the mountain, and again the beloved city is completely hidden. Again, below the eastern flank of the Mount of Olives near Beth-phage,[423] a very small village which is passed a stone's throw to the left, below the Mount of Offence[424] in the valley, one ascends by the southern flank and the Mount of Olives is encircled. One comes to the place where the Lord mounted the ass, and immediately the whole city shines out, with the temple and church of the Holy Sepulchre and the other holy places. So one comes to the descent of the Mount of Olives, where with crowds before and behind crying 'Hosannah to the son of David'[425] and rejoicing at his blessed coming, he saw the city and wept most bitterly over it.[426]

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[423] Beth-phage lies between Bethany and Jerusalem (172131); see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 279; *ABD*, i. 715.

[424] Jabal Batn al-Hawâ at the southern end of the Mount of Olives, where tradition holds that Solomon built shrines for foreign deities; cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 13 (Vulg. 'ad dexteram partem montis Offensionis'; that is, to the south of the Mount of Offence (RSV 'mount of corruption'). Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), i. 405, n. 4) says that he has been able to find 'neither the name *Mons Offensionis*, nor any allusion to this spot as the place of Solomon's idolatry' earlier than Burchard (the Vulgate apart, presumably). The abbreviator (B42) pictures the traveller descending the Mount of Olives with the Hinnom valley and the Mount of Offence to the left (so descending the side of the hill in a northerly direction), but completely omits the story of Jesus' entry to Jerusalem.

[425] Mark 11: 9–19; Matt. 21: 9–15.

[426] Luke 19: 41.

Procedamus ergo, et inter[o] locum orationis eius et in agonia et locum captiuitatis eius in Gethsemani transeamus torrentem Cedron et sequamur, si quomodo concedatur nobis uenire in Golgotha, ubi steterunt fixi in cruce fluentes sanguine pedes eius; moriamur ibi cum Christo, ut cum ipso pariter resurgamus! Amen.

IERVSALEM

64. (VIII. 1) ¶ Ierusalem igitur, ciuitas Dei Summi, de qua dicta sunt et dicuntur cottidie gloriosa, sita est in terra montuosa. Montes enim sunt in circuitu eius. Habet autem[a] per circuitum terram fertilem et bonam, preterquam contra orientem et Iordanem. Distat ab Accon triginta sex[b] leucis, que est contra aquilonem, ¶ a Sebaste siue Semaria sedecim, ¶ de Sichem tredecim, ¶ de Nazareth uiginti septem.[c] He omnes sunt contra aquilonem. ¶ De Iope tredecim. Hec est fere occidentalis, paruum tamen aquilonaris. ¶ De Iericho septem. Hec est orientalis. ¶ De Bethleem duo, de Thecua quattuor,[d] ¶ de Ebron octo. He sunt contra austrum.

65. ¶ Est autem in decliui latere[a] montis sita dupliciter, et ab austro uidelicet et ab occidente; ab austro sita in latere montis Syon,[427] immo partim in ipso monte, partim in eius descensu. Descendit autem longitudo eius ab ipso monte Sion, se extendens contra aquilonem. Ab occidente uero habet montem Gyon,[428] et dependet ab ipso eius latitudo contra orientem usque ad torrentem[b] Cedron siue uallem Iosaphat[429] quod idem est. Et est ciuitas bene magna, ut infra dicetur. Et non est, ut quidam fabulantur,[c] in alio loco sita, [d]quam fuerit tempore passionis Dominice, argumentantes pro parte illa, quod, cum Dominus fuerit extra portam passus et nunc ipse locus sit [e]intra menia ciuitatis,[e] sit ideo in alio loco sita.[d] Isti nesciunt, quid loquuntur, et uolunt ea scire, que non uiderunt. Situs enim huius ciuitatis est et semper fuit, quod [f]manente templo Domini[f] intra muros ciuitatis stultum fuisset, immo

[o] intremus *B*

64 [a] *B*+; *om. PZb* [b] 26 *B* [c] triginta septem *Li* [d] octo *LiZb*

65 [a] *om. LiZb* [b] *B*+; montem *P* [c] dicunt *Lo* [d-d] *om. Li*
[e-e] in media ciuitate *B* [f-f] *PLoZb*; manente templo domino *Pb*; manente templum domino *B*; maneret templum domini *Li*

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[427] Mount Sion was the high ground south of the Ottoman walls and the present Zion Gate, bounded by the Hinnom valley on the west and south (see Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 94–5).

Let us proceed, then, and cross the Kidron valley between the place of his prayer when in agony and the place of his arrest in Gethsemane, and let us follow, in hope that we may by some means be allowed to come to Golgotha, where his feet, flowing with blood, stood fixed to the cross; there let us die with Christ, that together with him we may rise again! Amen!

JERUSALEM

64. (VIII. 1) ¶ Jerusalem, then, city of the Most High God, of which glorious things have been spoken and are spoken daily, is set in a mountainous land. For mountains encircle it. It has good, fertile land about it except towards the east and the Jordan. It is 36 leagues from Acre to the north, ¶ 16 from Sebaste or Samaria, ¶ 13 from Shechem, ¶ 27 from Nazareth. These are all to the north. ¶ It is 13 leagues from Joppa; this is a little north of west. ¶ It is 7 from Jericho to the east. ¶ It is 2 from Bethlehem, 4 from Tekoa, ¶ 8 from Hebron; these are to the south.

65. ¶ It stands on the two sides of a mountain slope, that is on the south and west sides. On the south it is set on the flank of Mount Sion,[427] or rather, partly on the mountain itself and partly on its downslope. In length it extends downwards from Mount Sion itself to the north. On the west, however, it has Mount Gion,[428] and in breadth it slopes down eastward from that to the Kidron valley, or the valley of Jehoshaphat,[429] which is the same thing. It is a fairly large city, as will be explained below. Its position is not different from that at the time of the Lord's passion, as some fabricate; they argue for that side that since the Lord suffered outside the gate and now that place is within the city walls, then the city was located differently. They do not know what they are saying, and indulge in wishful thinking about what they have not seen. The city stands where it always did; for since the Lord's temple remains within the city walls, it would have been foolish, indeed totally

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[428] Stewart (*Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 69, n. 1); see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), i. 591, who notes that it was Burchard who first applied the name to the ridge running north-west of the city. See 87, 'iste mons Gion ab occidente supereminet civitati'.

[429] Joel 3. 2, 12; perhaps the king's valley of 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 18: 18. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 170. 9–10, under 'Pharanx Ennom', identifies it with the valley of Hinnom, but at *Onomastikon*, 119 locates 'Koilas Iosaphat' 'between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives' (see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 160; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, p. 95).

omnino impossibile eam ad locum alium transferre propter locorum munitionem ex omni parte, cum similem munitionem non posset habere alibi ullo modo.[g] [430] Est tamen in rei ueritate [h]in latitudine[h] ampliata, et non in longitudine, sed manet tota ciuitas antiqua cum monte Syon intra muros et habitatur, sed nunc hoc tempore pauci admodum sunt habitatores pro tante capacitate ciuitatis, quia habitatores eius sunt quasi continue in timore. Dispositionem tamen eius antiquam, quantum potui,[i] indagaui.

66. ¶ Erat quidem[a] antiquitus, sicut et hodie est, mons Syon[431] pro parte supereminens ciuitati, capax ualde, qui etiam per se satis magnam uidetur posse facere ciuitatem. Qui[b] mons initium habens a porta aquarum[432] siue fontis Siloe contra orientem facit semicirculum per circuitum contra austrum usque ad occidentem, ubi erat turris Dauid. Et erat per totum istum[c] semicirculum[d] rupes prerupta et arcus istius semicirculi similiter,[e] qui appellabatur Mello,[433] circa cuius repletionem inter montem Syon et ciuitatem inferiorem leguntur reges Iuda plurimum[f] laborasse. ¶ Turris uero Dauid[434] sita erat contra occidentem in quodam colle ipsius prerupte rupis competenter eminenti, et uorago ipsa, que uenit a parte australi montis Syon, cingens eam usque ad occidentem, ubi tetigit rupem turris Dauid, statim curuabatur inclinando se ab occidente contra orientem, gyrans ipsam turrim.[435] Et ita erat turris in rupe et in quodam[g] angulo uoraginis illius constituta. Vallis autem siue uorago, que ipsam cingebat, diuidebatur in duas ualles profundas, quarum una procedebat contra aquilonem, alia contra orientem. Et iste due ualles faciebant alium angulum, oppositum angulo, in quo erat turris Dauid sita, et iste angulus erat de ciuitate

[g] quoquomodo *LiZb* [h–h] *om. Li* [i] fuit possibile *Lo*

66 [a] enim *B*; quippe *LiZb* [b] *B*+; et *P* [c] *om. BPb*; illum *Li* [d] circulum *LiZb* [e] *B*+; *om. P* [f] multum *B* [g] uno *Li*

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[430] In Burchard's argument against those who think that Jerusalem has changed position, the abbreviator omits the argument from Jerusalem's defensive walls. He adds a note that Jerusalem is larger than Magdeburg, which suggests that the abbreviator's readers include at least some familiar with Magdeburg.

[431] See above, n. 427. Burchard sees Mount Sion as a region extending in a semicircle from the Water Gate (or Gate of the Siloam Spring) around the southern and south-western city to the Tower of David on the west.

[432] Burchard lists the Water Gate as the *eighth* gate (see below), locating it south of the Golden Gate of the temple court. It led to the spring and bathing pools of Siloam, to the valley of Gehenna, and to Akeldama and the king's garden, and thus to the area south of the present Haram al-Sharīf and the south-east corner of the Ottoman walls.

impossible, to move it elsewhere, on account of the defences on all sides, since it would be impossible to have similar defences anywhere else.[430] But in fact the city has widened, not lengthened, but the whole ancient city, together with Mount Sion, remains within the walls and is inhabited; but now today there are few inhabitants in proportion to the capacity of the city, because its inhabitants live as if in continual fear. I have, however, researched its ancient position to the best of my ability.

66. ¶ In ancient times as also today Mount Sion[431] partly overhung the city. It was quite capacious; it seemed able to accommodate a large city within itself. The mountain started from the Water Gate[432] or Gate of the Siloam Spring to the east, and made a semicircle round the south to the west where the tower of David stood. Through the whole of that semicircle there was precipitous rock, and similarly an arc of that semicircle, which was called Millo;[433] the kings of Judah are said to have laboured to the utmost to fill this in between Mount Sion and the lower city. ¶ The tower of David[434] is sited to the west on a hill standing somewhat proud of the precipitous rock, and the wadi itself, which comes from the south side of Mount Sion, surrounding it to the west, curved round just where it touched the rock of the tower of David, turning itself from west to east, encircling the tower itself.[435] Thus the tower was built on the rock and in a bend of the wadi. The valley, or the wadi, encircling the tower was divided into two deep valleys, of which one went north, the other east. Those two valleys made another corner, opposite the corner on which the tower of David stood; this was the

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[433] See 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 5: 9; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 9: 15, 24; 11: 27; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 12: 20; 1 Chr. 11: 8; 2 Chr. 32:5. The meaning and reference of this word are disputed. Most scholars relate it to the Hebrew verb 'to fill' and assume it refers to something filled up, as indeed does Burchard (see *ABD*, iv. 834–5 for various possibilities). Applied to pre-exilic Israel, however, it is unlikely to refer to the area of Mount Sion.

[434] Once Herod's citadel, on the west of the old city, by the modern Jaffa Gate. Herod the Great developed the earlier Hasmonaean defences, adding to them three towers next to his palace (Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 173), naming them after his friend Hippicus, his brother Phasael, and his wife Mariamme (Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 161–71). The Phasael tower was reduced by the Romans after AD 70 to its podium; it was partly restored by the Byzantines, who credited it to King David. Under the Crusaders it became the royal residence; in 1240 it was torn down, and was not fully rebuilt until 1310. Under Ottoman rule it became part of the western entrance to the city.

[435] Burchard describes the wadi Hinnom ascending from the south side of Mount Sion, turning north alongside the western walls of Mount Sion, until it reached the tower of David. Here the wadi divided: one arm swung eastwards encircling the tower and ascending towards what is now David St.; the other arm went north and north-west. The abbreviator omits the joining of the two valleys at the Tower of David.

inferiori, sicut infra dicetur. Vallis igitur illa,[436] que de turre Dauid descendebat, procedebat[h] utique in latere aquilonari montis Syon usque ad montem Moria, [i]in quo erat templum, separans a monte Syon ipsum montem Moria[i] et totam inferiorem ciuitatem. Et descendebat uorago ista adhuc ultra usque in torrentem Cedron per locum, ubi nunc est porta aquarum, inter montem Syon et palatium Salomonis,[437] quod hedificatum fuit in parte australi montis Moria. Et ita uorago ista antiquitus ex omni parte cingebat montem Syon. Hec erat ciuitas Dauid. Verum nunc[j] uorago ista tota est repleta, possunt tamen adhuc[k] eius uestigia aliqualiter deprehendi.

67. ¶ Secunda uorago, siue uallis,[438] que diuidebatur ab ista sub turre Dauid, sicut dictum est supra, procedebat contra aquilonem et faciebat fossatum ciuitatis [a]a parte occidentis contra totam longitudinem ciuitatis[a] usque ad finem eius in parte aquilonis. Et super eam pertotum erat interius rupes eminens, quam Iosephus appellat Acram,[439] super quam erat murus ciuitatis positus, qui cingebat ab occidente ciuitatem usque ad portam Effraym,[440] et ibi iterum murus[b] curuabatur contra orientem usque ad portam anguli,[441] que erat constituta in angulo ciuitatis, qui erat contra angulum aquilonis et orientis. Et ibi iterum curuabatur murus[c] de aquilone per orientem contra austrum extra aream templi includens illam et domum regis et portam fontis siue aquarum iuxta montem Syon ad orientem. Et iste erat totus[d] ambitus ciuitatis. ¶ Rupes autem illa, supra quam, ut dictum est ante, ex parte occidentis erat murus ciuitatis hedificatus, erat eminens ualde, [e]et maxime in angulo, ubi occidentalis pars muri coniungebatur cum aquilonari. Ille enim locus erat magis eminens,[e] et ibi erat hedificata turris, que dicebatur nebulosa,[442] et castellum ualde firmum, cuius

[h] *om. BLoPb*; in partibus contra orientem descendebat *add. Lo* [i–i] *om. Pb*
[j] tamen *B* [k] B+; *om. P*

67 [a–a] *om. BPb* [b] *om. LiZb* [c] B+; *om. P* [d] *om. Li* [e–e] *om. Zb*

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[436] Burchard now turns to describe the Tyropoeon valley, which separates Mount Sion from the Haram al-Sharīf/Temple Mount area and the Lower City. The Tyropoeon valley descends southwards via the Water Gate to the Kidron valley; as Burchard observes, the valley is filled in, especially in its upper, northerly part (cf. Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 136–41). The abbreviator offers a much less detailed account (**B45**); one suspects that he does not know the terrain from personal observation.

[437] palace of Solomon: i.e. the name given to the al-Aqsa mosque by the Crusaders.

[438] Burchard here refers to the upper, north-west continuation of the Wadi Hinnom, running alongside the Ottoman wall bounding the Christian north-west section of the old city of Jerusalem. The abbreviator omits mention of the town fosse, the Akra, the Gate of the Corner, and appears to locate the Dung Gate too early in the circuit by listing it between the

corner of the lower city, as will be explained below. The valley,[436] therefore, which went down from the tower of David passed along the north flank of Mount Sion as far as Mount Moriah, on which lay the temple. It separates Mount Moriah itself and the whole lower city from Mount Sion. This wadi went down further, as far as the Kidron valley through the present site of the Water Gate, between Mount Sion and the palace of Solomon,[437] which was built on the southern side of Mount Moriah. So this wadi in ancient times encircled Mount Sion on every side. This was the city of David. Now in fact that wadi is totally filled in, though traces of it of some sort can still be recognized.

67. ¶ The second wadi, or valley,[438] which divided from the first one below the tower of David (described above), went northward and formed the town fosse on the west along the whole length of the city, right up to its northern end. Above it on the whole length inside was the prominent rock which Josephus calls the Acra;[439] above this was placed the city wall, which surrounded the city from the west as far as the Gate of Ephraim.[440] There it curved back to the east as far as the Gate of the Corner,[441] which was set in a corner of the city towards the north-east. There again the wall curved back from the north along the east side towards the south outside the temple area, enclosing it and the royal palace and the Gate of the Fountain or Water Gate near Mount Sion on the east. That was the total circuit of the city. ¶ That rock, however, on which as already said the city wall was built from the western part, was particularly prominent, especially at the corner where the western section of the wall joined with the northern section. For that point was higher, and at that spot was built a tower called Nebulosa,[442]

Ephraim and Valley gates, before the circuit reaches the enclosure of the Temple area, but this is where the list of city gates incorporated by Burchard (see 82–5 below) sets it.

[439] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 38–9; v. 136–9; 253. Josephus explicitly identifies the Akra with the Lower City but Burchard clearly places it on the high rocky outcrop at the north-west angle of the Crusader city. The location of the Akra (originally the Hellenistic citadel of Jerusalem created in 168 BC by Antiochus IV; cf. 1 Macc. 1: 33) is vigorously debated; some locate it north-west of the temple (i.e. the Roman Antonia), some immediately south of the temple, and others in the Lower City across the valley immediately west of the temple) (see *ABD*, iii. 758; Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, p. 140; Peters, *Jerusalem*, p. 55).

[440] Gate of Ephraim: the third gate, later identified as St Stephen's Gate, now the Damascus Gate. See 84 below.

[441] Gate of the Corner: the fourth gate. See 84 below.

[442] Tancred's Tower, built in 1063, on the north-west corner of the city (cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), i. 458; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, p. 69). 'Nebulosa'. i.e. 'foggy', 'cloudy' (cf. the tower called Psephinus, 'dark, obscure', in the same area (Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 55, 133)), perhaps with reference to its high position. The abbreviator omits reference to the high rock on which the north-west section of the wall and the tower Nebulosa were built.

adhuc ruine sunt ibi.[f] Et uidetur inde tota Arabia et Iordanis et mare mortuum et alia loca multa, quamuis quidam uelint dicere, quod turris nebulosa fuerit iuxta templum: quod opportunitas loci et decliuitas non admittit. De ista rupe, ex parte occidentis, ut dictum est, uehementer alta, dependebat latitudo ciuitatis, inclinans se paulatim usque ad murum orientalem, qui erat supra torrentem Cedron, ubi ciuitas ipsa erat tunc et est hodie dimessior, [g]unde et ibi sordes ciuitatis per portam sterquilinii[443] defluebant[h] in torrentem Cedron.[g]

68. ¶ Extra uoraginem autem siue uallem sepius supradictam ex parte occidentis, ad sinistram exeuntibus de porta ueteri siue iudicaria[444] fuit Dominus crucifixus, et post passionem eius longo tempore uorago illa repleta est, et [a]murus alius[a] [445] circumductus[b] a turre[c] Dauid usque ad portam[d] Effraym, que nunc beati Stephani appellatur. Vides itaque, quod ab austro mons Syon, ab occidente uero rupes illa, que erat pars montis Gyon,[446] que contra occidentem in altitudine[e] plurimum se extendit, supereminebant urbi, et sub ipsis duobus montibus[f] contra orientem et aquilonem tota ciuitas quasi in decliui latere montis dependebat.[447]

69. Mons Moria,[448] in quo templum domini[449] et palatium regis[450] hedifficata erant, aliquantulum erat altior ciuitate.[a] [451] Quod patet [b]ex situ[b] templi et atriorum, secundum quod Iosephus dicit.[452] Et describuntur

[f] *om. Li*   [g-g] *B+*; *om. P*   [h] influebant *Li*

68   [a-a] muro alto *B*; murus altus *Pb*   [b] *LiLoPZb*; circumdatus *BPb*   [c] Ephraim et *add. Li*   [d] turrim *Li*   [e] *LiZb*; latitudine *LoP*; *om. BPb*   [f] *om. Lo*

69   [a] ad ciuitatem *B*; a ciuitate *Pb*   [b-b] in exitu *B*

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[443] Dung Gate: the fifth in the list of Jerusalem's gates, but in Burchard's view, the eighth gate (see 84 and 85 below).

[444] Old or Judgement Gate: the second gate, which apparently lay between the Tower of David and Stephen's Gate, on the north-west corner of Jerusalem. It led northwards to Shiloh, Beth-horon and Gibeon (see 83 below). Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), i. 475) identifies it with Adamnanus' Gate of the Fuller's field, but finds no evidence of it in the nineteenth-century walls. Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 297, n. 370) locates it at the present-day seventh station of the Via Dolorosa. The abbreviator omits this paragraph with its reference to the site of the crucifixion.

[445] Rotermund's map (Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard', p. 57) shows the old wall described by Burchard running east from the Tower of David and then north to Stephen's gate, with the Old or Judgement Gate offering a westward exit from the city through this latter section. The 'other wall' described by Burchard, from the tower of David to the Ephraim Gate, would thus be the city's outer wall running north-west and then north-east round the Tower Nebulosa.

[446] See above, n. 428.

[447] The abbreviator omits the reference to the high point of the Nebulosa tower from which the city sloped down eastwards.

and a very strong fortress, whose ruins are there to this day. From there can be seen the whole of Arabia, the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and many other places; though some want to argue that Nebulosa tower was by the temple, but the nature of the place and the slope do not allow this. From that rock, extremely high on the west as has been said, the breadth of the city slopes down. It inclines gradually to the eastern wall, which lay above the Kidron valley. Here the city was then and is today lower. From this point the city's refuse used to flow down through the Dung Gate[443] into the Kidron valley.

68. ¶ Beyond the wadi or valley often mentioned above on the western side, on the left for those going out of the Old or Judgement Gate,[444] the Lord was crucified. Long after his passion that wadi was filled in, and another wall[445] was led round from the tower of David to the Ephraim Gate, now called the Gate of St Stephen. So you see that the city was overhung from the south by Mount Sion, and from the west by that rock which was part of Mount Gion,[446] which reached to a great height on the west; and that the whole city hung as it were on the downslope of a mountain below those two mountains to the east and the north.[447]

69. Mount Moriah,[448] on which the temple of the Lord[449] and the royal palace[450] were built, was a little higher than the city.[451] This is clear from the site of the temple and the courts as given by Josephus.[452] Details are

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[448] See Gen. 22: 2; 2 Chr. 3: 1. The story of the intended sacrifice of Isaac was at some stage associated with Mount Moriah, a name for what became the Temple Mount. The author of 2 Chr. 3: 1 associated the place with David rather than with Abraham.

[449] In 638 the Muslims occupied the former Roman Aelia Capitolina, and on the site of the former Jewish temple built (688–91) the Dome of the Rock (a shrine, not a mosque). The Crusaders identified the place as the 'Templum Domini' ('the Temple of the Lord'), and the rock inside it as the threshing floor of Araunah (2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 24: 21) where Solomon built the temple, and in the twelfth century the Crusaders made it a church. In 1187 it was seized by the Muslims but returned to the Christians in 1244, and taken over by the Templars (Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 397–417).

[450] Burchard refers to the Aqsa mosque, originally built 709–15. Under the Crusaders it became the royal palace, and in the thirteenth century the headquarters of the Templars. They stabled their horses in 'Solomon's stables' below the mosque (see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 417–34; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 109–10; Prag, *Jerusalem*, 129–39).

[451] The abbreviator appears to have reconstructed this sentence (B47) to say that Mount Moriah, the Templum Domini, and the royal palace were actually lower than the Dung Gate, which seems very strange, for the Dung Gate at the south-east corner, from which the city's sewage drains into the Kidron Valley, is at the lowest point of the city. But the abbreviator placed the Dung Gate on the east side of the city, south of the Gate of the Corner (B64). The abbreviator seems to be exaggerating the result of the Roman destruction.

[452] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 184–205; *Jewish Antiquities*, xv. 391–402. The abbreviator omits the architectural detail, as usual.

singula in historiis. Que loca nunc[c] sunt omnino[d] complanata et fere dimissiora tota ciuitate. Depositus enim fuit mons templi[e] per Romanos et missus in torrentem Cedron cum omnibus ruinis templi et atriorum. Quod hodie palam[f] est uidere. ¶ Area uero templi quadrata est, habens in longitudine et latitudine plus quam iacere possit arcus. Templum uero, quod nunc in ea hedificatum est, [g]adheret muro civitatis fere, quod non fecit[g] uerum et antiquum templum, quia quatuor atria erant intermedia, sed [h]modo non distat a muro torrentis[h] Cedron imminenti [i]passibus amplius uiginti.[i]

70. ¶ Non longe ab area templi contra aquilonem, scilicet[a] minus quam iactus sit lapidis, est porta uallis,[453] quia per eam descendebatur in uallem Iosaphat. Et dicitur[b] porta gregis, quia per eam introducebantur greges[c] immolandi templo. Huic adherebat turris, quam quidam putabant turrim[d] Nebulosam uel Ananeel, sed erat [e]turris Faselus[e] [454] cuius adhuc apparent uestigia. ¶ Intrantibus autem portam uallis siue gregis statim ad sinistram iuxta aream templi occurrit piscina probatica,[455] in qua Nathinei lauabant hostias,[f] et sic eas sacerdotibus presentabant [g]in templo[g] offerandas. Hec adhuc quinque porticus habuisse ostenditur,[h] in quibus [i]secundum Iohannem[i] iacebant infirmi expectantes aque motum. ¶ Ad dexteram uero uie[j] predictam portam intrantibus in ecclesia sancte Anne ostenditur alia piscina grandis, que dicebatur piscina interior.[456] Quam fecit Ezechias hoc modo.[457] Obturauit[k] superiorem fontem aquarum Gyon, et aduertit aquas eius subter ad occidentem urbis Dauid per uallem paulo ante dictam, incidens ferro petram, sicut dicitur Ecclesiastico,[458] et inducens aquas per

[c] *om. BLiPb* [d] *B+; om. P* [e] *om. LiZb* [f] planum *Li* [g-g] *LiLoZb;* situm est in eodem loco in quo situm erat *P* [h-h] modo non distant a muro et torrente *Li*; modo non distat a muro torrentis *LoPb;* istud distat a muro torrentis *P* [i-i] passibus quinquaginta *BPb*; nisi forte 30 [centum *LiZb*] pedibus *Lo*

70 [a] *om. BPb* [b] dicebatur *LoZb*; etiam *add. B+* [c] *B+; om. P* [d] *B+; om. P* [e-e] *om. B* [f] *om. B* [g-g] *om. Li* [h] demonstratur *LiZb* [i-i] *om. B* [j] in *B* [k] enim *add. Pb*

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[453] Valley Gate: the sixth gate; see **85** below. The abbreviator omits details of the Valley Gate and the Sheep Gate and in contradiction to Burchard appears to site the Nebulosa Tower on the east side of the city by the Valley Gate. The abbreviator seems less clear about the topography of Jerusalem and its walls and gates than Burchard himself, and one suspects that he has not first-hand knowledge of them.

[454] In fact this tower was at the citadel on the west side of the city. The abbreviator does not mention it.

[455] The pool on the left as one enters the Valley Gate must be the present Birkat Isra'il, against the eastern part of the north enclosure wall of the Haram al-Sharīf and south of the street to the Valley or Jehoshaphat Gate (Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, p. 176). This position makes good sense for the Sheep Pool (*piscina probatica*), where the temple

described in the histories. These sites have been completely flattened and are almost lower than the city as a whole. For the temple mount was removed by the Romans and thrown into the Kidron valley with all the ruins of the temple and its courts. This is clearly seen today. ¶ The temple area is foursquare, more than a bowshot in length and breadth. The temple now built there almost reaches the city wall, which the true and ancient temple did not, since four courts lay between, but that temple is now not more than twenty paces distant from the wall which overhangs the Kidron valley.

70. ¶ Not far north of the temple area, in fact, less than a stone's throw, is the Valley Gate,[453] so-called because through it one descends to the valley of Jehoshaphat. It was also called the Sheep Gate, because through it were brought the sheep for sacrifice in the temple. To this is adjoined the tower which some think the tower Nebulosa or Hananel, but it was the Tower of Phasael,[454] traces of which are still visible. ¶ On entering the Valley, or Sheep, Gate, immediately on the left by the temple area, one meets the Sheep Pool,[455] in which the temple servants used to wash the victims, and so present them to the priests to be offered in the temple. This pool is still shown as having had five porches in which according to John lay the sick awaiting the moving of the water. ¶ But on the right of the road as one enters the gate just mentioned, in St Anne's church is shown another large pool, called the inner pool.[456] Hezekiah made it in this way:[457] he blocked the upper spring of the waters of Gion, and diverted its waters below to the west of the city of David, through the valley just mentioned, attacking the rock with iron (as is said in Ecclesiasticus),[458] and bringing water

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servants washed the sacrificial victims (the abbreviator omits this information). However, Burchard goes on to note that the pool had five porches and connects it with John 5 (the abbreviator omits this also); this is the Bethsaida or Bethzatha pool mentioned in John 5: 2 and by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333; excavation has demonstrated that it lay north-west of St Anne's church. Burchard has confused the two pools.

[456] Burchard's description of the inner pool, with reference to St Anne's church, suggests that he is thinking of the Bethsaida pool. Sanudo–Vesconte's map (1321) of Jerusalem shows the inner pool north of St Anne's church. But the pool associated with Hezekiah is the Patriarch's Pool inside the Jaffa Gate; this fits Burchard's description of the diversion by the tower of David. Theoderic (1169–72) called it the New Pool (*noua cisterna*) (*Libellus de locis sanctis*, xxxii, ed. Huygens, CCCM cxxxix. 179), which might suggest that it was constructed not long before his time, or that it was new in relation to another, older pool. This position also is consistent with the name 'inner pool', the outer pool being the Birkat as-Sultan in the upper Hinnom valley (see Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 172–3).

[457] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 20: 20; 2 Chr. 32: 30: 'Hezekiah stopped the upper source of the waters of Gihon and turned them away underneath toward the west of the city of David.'

[458] See Ecclus. 48: 19 (AV 48: 17), 'fodit ferro rupem', which probably refers to Hezekiah's tunnel, but Burchard is thinking of the conduit near David's tower.

medium ciuitatis in piscinam istam, ut obsidione haberet populus aquam ad bibendum, et eos non possent Assyrii prohibere. ¶ Fontem uero[l] aquarum Gyon,[m] qui non distabat[n] ab agro fullonis,[459] duxit in superiorem piscinam,[o] [460] que est super natatoria Syloe.[461] Hoc Acham[462] [p]inceperat, sed non perfecerat.[p] De hac piscina et de fonte hoc et eius situ dictum est illud Ysaie: 'Egredere ad extremum aqueductus piscine superioris in uia agri fullonis.' Est enim ista piscina et dicitur superior respectu natatorie Syloe, quia ipsa natatoria Syloe de ista piscina et de fonte Syloe recipit aquam tamquam inferior.

71. ¶ Et nota [a]de diuersitate[a] istarum piscinarum et nominibus earum.[463] ¶ Prima et precipua piscina in Ierusalem erat piscina probatica, quinque porticus habens.[464] Hanc fecit Salomon pro ministerio templi. De hac dictum est supra. ¶ Secunda[b] fuit iuxta illam contra aquilonem[465] in ecclesia sancte Anne,[466] et dicebatur interior. Hanc fecit Ezechias. De hac dictum est paulo ante. ¶ Tertia natatoria Siloe,[467] et erat sub monte olíueti et sub monte Sion prope Acheldemach,[c] et habebat aquam de fonte Syloe. Hanc etiam fecit Ezechias. ¶ Quarta[d] erat superior piscina,[468] de qua dictum est. Hanc similiter fecit[e] Ezechias. Et si alicubi inuenias, quod ista quarta piscina fuerit in ciuitate, non est uerum, immo omnino[f] impossibile. Scio, quod super[g] 'onus uallis uisionis' dicitur et legitur, quod ista piscina superior fuerit[h] in ciuitate et habuerit aquam de fonte Syloe: [i]quod nullo modo esse potest, cum ciuitas altior sit fonte Syloe[i] plusquam .cccc. cubitis, et

[l] B+; *om.* P [m] inferiorem *add.* Lo [n] longe *add.* BLoPb [o] *om.* Lo
[p-p] perfecerat...inceperat *Li*

71 [a-a] *LiLoPbZb*; de diuersitatibus *P*; diuersitatem *B* [b] piscina *add.* B
[c] Alchedemach *throughout P* [d] piscina *add.* B [e] B+; perfecit P [f] *om.* BPb [g] B+; *om.* P [h] B+; fuit P [i-i] *om.* P

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[459] See Isa. 7: 3; 36: 2; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 18: 17. Arculf located it between David's Gate and Stephen's Gate, thus to the north-west of the city (see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 95). The abbreviator omits.

[460] upper pool: i.e. the present pool of Siloam (Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard', map p. 57). Laurent, however (*Peregrinatores*, p. 67, n. 456) identifies it with the Mamilla pool west of the Jaffa Gate. The abbreviator omits. See further nn. 468, 480, 481 below.

[461] Probably the Birkat al-Hamra', south-east of the 'upper pool' just mentioned, 'now a garden...in the angle of the Tyropoeon and Kidron Roads' (Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 242; see Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard', map p. 57), the pool recently identified as a swimming pool, *natatoria* (Elitzur, 'The Siloam Pool'). The abbreviator omits.

[462] For King Ahaz, see 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 16; Burchard quotes from Isa. 7: 3. Burchard indicates that the work of bringing the spring to the upper pool was begun by Ahaz but completed by his successor Hezekiah. The Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 184$^{\text{ra}}$) reverses the statement and says that Ahaz completed the work but did not begin it, which seems unlikely.

through the middle of the city into that pool, so that the people might have water to drink in time of siege unhindered by the Assyrians. ¶ But the spring of the waters of Gion not far from the Fuller's Field[459] he brought into the upper pool[460] above the bathing pools of Siloam.[461] Ahaz[462] had begun but not completed this work. This pool and spring and its site are mentioned in Isaiah's text: 'Go forth to the conduit of the upper pool, in the way of the fuller's field.' For this pool is higher, and is called higher in respect to the bathing pool of Siloam, because the Siloam pool, being lower, receives water from that upper pool and from the Siloam spring.

71. ¶ Note the diversity of pools and their names.[463] ¶ The first and most important pool in Jerusalem was the Sheep Pool, with five porticoes.[464] Solomon built this for the temple service, as described above. ¶ The second[465] was by it to the north at the church of St Anne,[466] and was called the inner pool. Hezekiah made this; it has been described a little earlier. ¶ The third is the bathing pool of Siloam;[467] it was below the Mount of Olives and below Mount Sion, near Akeldama, and drew its water from the Siloam spring. This too was built by Hezekiah. ¶ The fourth was the upper pool,[468] already mentioned, which Hezekiah similarly completed. If you find somewhere that this fourth pool lay in the city, it is untrue, indeed, utterly impossible. I am aware that it is said in 'the burden of the valley of vision', and it is written, that this upper pool lay in the city and drew its water from the Siloam spring,

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[463] The abbreviator omits this informative paragraph.

[464] Burchard (surprisingly) confuses the Sheep Pool (*piscina probatica*) with the Bethsaida pool with five porticoes (see above, n. 455).

[465] This second pool to the north (*piscina interior*) was the porticoed pool. (It is not to be confused with the 'inner pool', near the Jaffa Gate, corresponding to which the Birkat as-Sultan, or Germain's Pool, was the outer pool.)

[466] Traditionally the home of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary, the present church of St Anne was successor to a nearby fifth-century basilica, destroyed by Caliph al-Hakim in the early eleventh century. St Anne's church is first mentioned by Saewulf in 1102–3. Baldwin I's wife entered a Benedictine convent here; the convent was succeeded by the Romanesque church. In 1192 Saladin turned it into a *madrasa* (school). It was perhaps returned to the Christians in 1229, but nothing is known of any thirteenth-century Christian presence there (see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 389–97; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 145–7; Boas, *Jerualem in the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 114–19).

[467] The third... the bathing pool of Siloam: the *natatoria Siloe*, the modern Birkat al-Hamra'. See above, n. 35.

[468] The fourth... the upper pool: Burchard insists that this pool, the *piscina superior*, completed by Hezekiah, lay outside the city, taking its water from the Siloam spring and from 'the lower fountain of Gion', which Rotermund locates in the Hinnom valley immediately west of the south-west corner of Jerusalem, i.e. west of Mount Sion. Burchard therefore refers to the present pool of Siloam, which is 'upper' in relation to the Birkat al-Hamra' (the *natatoria Siloe*) below it. See further below, nn. 479–81. 'Onus uallis uisionis': Isa. 22: 1.

aqua non possit per tantam altitudinem fluere[j] sursum. Verum tamen est, quod habet aquam de ipso fonte Syloe et de fonte inferiori aquarum Gyon, quia est extra ciuitatem sub ipsis fontibus non longe a natatoria Syloe. Alias piscinas non legi, nec uidi esse[k] in Ierusalem uel fuisse[l] antiquitus, nisi forte aliquis uelit mare eneum, quod in facie templi erat, inter piscinas computare. Berkilia[469] tamen quedam propter balnea facta sunt modernis diebus[m] in ciuitate non longe a domo patriarche et hospitalis sancti Iohannis,[470] de quibus non sit mentio in scriptura.

72. ¶ Vallis etiam[a] Iosaphat cingebat ciuitatem, ex parte orientis sub monte olivueti descendens.[b] Que licet adhuc sit satis profunda, multum tamen est impleta. Romani enim, ut dicit Iosephus,[471] ab ea parte ciuitatem oppugnantes incisis oliuis et arboribus aliis et [c]aggeribus inde factis[c] eam impleuerunt. Postea insuper capta ciuitate ruinas atriorum et templi complanato similiter monte Moria, ut de cetero locus iterum[d] muniri non possit, Helius Adrianus[472] fecit omnia proici in torrentem Cedron et ciuitatem aspergi sale. Hec omnia illic existenti[e] ad oculum patent. ¶ Sepulchrum enim[f] uirginis gloriose,[473] quod est in ualle Iosaphat, non quidem in ima[g] eius profunditate, sed in pede montis olivueti, parum tamen super[h] ipsam uallem et [i]in superficie terre[i] erat tempore habitationis Ierusalem ante subuersionem, nunc est longe sub terra, adeo quod ecclesia ipsa cum sit multum alta et testudinata, sicut optime decet uirginem gloriosam, tota nunc sit sub terra et repletionibus huius[j] omnino cooperta, et uallis desuper tota[k] plana, et uia sit desuper ipsam[l] ecclesiam ad eundam. Est tamen ibidem[m] in superficie terre quoddam hedificium ad modum capelule factum, quod cum intraueris descendes per gradus plurimos, sub terram in ecclesiam ipsam ad sepulchrum uirginis gloriose. Et credo quod sunt gradus sexaginta.

[j] duci *Lo*   [k] fuisse *LiZb*   [l] esse *LiZb*   [m] temporibus *BPb*

72   [a] *om.* *BPb*   [b] descendentis *BPb*   [c–c] aggeres inde facientes *LiLoZb*   [d] tantum *LiZb*   [e] ad terram uel *add.* *B*   [f] *om.* *B*   [g] *om.* *LiZb*   [h] *BLiZb*; supra *LoP*   [i–i] *om.* *BPb*   [j] *BP*; huiusmodi *LiLoPbZb*   [k] plena et *add. Li*   [l] *om. LiZb*   [m] *om. LiZb*

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[469] For the bronze sea made by Solomon, see 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 7: 23–47; for discussion, see *ABD*, v. 1061–2. The cisterns are probably Hezekiah's Pool, inside the Jaffa Gate.

[470] St John's Hospital was located in the Muristan, south of the Holy Sepulchre (for a detailed description of the buildings, see Murphy-O'Connor, *Keys to Jerusalem*, pp. 275–82).

[471] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 263–4; vii. 1–4.

[472] Hadrian was emperor AD 117–38: but see Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 7–9), who points out that Hadrian's known purpose was to rebuild the city, not to destroy it.

but this is in no way possible since the city lies more than 400 cubits above the Siloam spring, and water cannot flow up so high. But it is true that the fourth pool takes water from the Siloam spring and from the lower fountain of Gion, because it lies outside the city below those springs not far from the bathing pool of Siloam. I have not read of or seen other pools in Jerusalem ancient or modern, unless perhaps one wishes to count among the pools the bronze sea in front of the temple. However, in modern times some cisterns[469] were built on account of the baths not far from the house of the patriarch and of St John's Hospital;[470] of these there is no mention in scripture.

72. ¶ The valley of Jehoshaphat surrounded the city, coming down on the east below the Mount of Olives. Though fairly deep, it is much filled up, for the Romans, as Josephus says,[471] in besieging the city from that side cut down the olives and the other trees, and, making mounds of them, filled it up. Afterwards, when the city had been taken and Mount Moriah levelled, so that the place could not be defended again by anyone else, Aelius Hadrian[472] had the ruins of the courts and temple all thrown into the Kidron valley, and the city sown with salt. All this is obvious to anyone living there. ¶ For the tomb of the glorious Virgin[473] in the valley of Jehoshaphat, not indeed at the bottom of it but at the foot of the Mount of Olives, was at the time when Jerusalem was occupied and before its destruction a little above the valley floor and on its surface, but now is far below the ground, to the extent that the church itself, though very lofty and vaulted (as best befits the glorious Virgin), is now wholly underground and completely hidden by infill, and the valley above it quite flat, and there is a highway as it were for passage above the church. But there is at ground level a building in the form of a chapel; on entering, you descend many steps below ground into the church itself to reach the tomb of the glorious Virgin. I believe

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[473] The church incorporating the Virgin's tomb may go back to the time of Theodosius I (379–95), and was probably destroyed by the Persians in 614. Arculf *c.*670 saw a church built on two levels, the lower one containing the rock tomb of Mary. This church was destroyed by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009, but rebuilt *c.*1130 by the Benedictines as a Romanesque church. In 1165 John of Würzburg noted that the tomb lay in the middle of the crypt; in 1172 Theoderic mentions the more than forty steps (Burchard says he believes there are sixty) to the crypt and the decorated tomb, and the fortified church above it. In 1187 Saladin destroyed the convent but not the crypt, where in Burchard's time the Muslims kept the lamps alight and treated the tomb with respect. In the twelfth century the crypt was extended eastward and ended in a round apse with a window to which Burchard refers (for details and references, see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 287–315; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 263–4; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusaders*, pp. 119–21). The abbreviator omits all details of the interior of the church, of the tomb, and of the problem of flooding.

Est autem sepulchrum[n] in medio chori contra altare, marmore[o] et magnifice[p] decoratum. Et ego fui [q]in ipsa ecclesia et sepulchro.[q] Ecclesia[r] tamen multum humida est interius, quia torrens Cedron est sub ipsa replectionibus supradictis omnino coopertus, et quando[s] fuerit inundatio pluuiarum, ipse torrens, qui adhuc in antiquo suo meatu sub repletionibus ipsis currit, erumpens replet ecclesiam in tantum, quod sepe per hostium capellule[t] superius posite per omnes gradus exuberans exit aqua. ¶ In cimiterio uero[u] ipsius ecclesie non longe ab eius hostio hauritur aqua[v] de fonte quodam ab indigenis, qui[w] in Neemi fons draconis appellatur,[474] ante portam uallis siue gregis. ¶ Ecclesia uero beate uirginis[x] lumen habet intus de fenestris suis orientalibus contra montem oliueti positis, ubi bene potest secundum loci dispositionem accedere lux diei.[y]

73. Non longe ab hostio huius capelule,[a] que ducit in ecclesiam beate uirginis contra orientem, uidelicet[b] quinquaginta pedibus,[c] ut ego mensuraui, est hostium alterius ecclesie, que uocatur Gethsemani,[d] [475] ubi erat ortus, in quem intrauit Dominus cum discipulis suis, in latere montis Oliueti, adherens cuidam rupi concaue de monte dependenti, sub qua rupe discipuli sedebant, quando dixit eis Dominus: 'Sedete hic donec uadam illuc et orem.'[476] Et hostenditur adhuc[e] ibidem[f] locus sessionis eorum. Ibidem etiam ostenditur [g]locus, in quo tentus[g] fuit a turbis, Iuda eum osculo[h] tradente. Et uidetur impressio caluarie eius superius in rupe dependente et liniamenta uerticis[i] et capillorum eius [j]et in lapide alio impressio digitorum eius.[j] Quam impressionem dicitur fecisse rupem apprehendendo, cum a turbis teneretur. Et nota, quod de ipso lapide nec puluis, ut ita dicam, deponi potest, cum tamen multum laborauerim ferreis instrumentis, ut inde mecum aliquid deportarem, et tamen ita plane in eo uidentur impressiones predicte, ac si de pasta esset rupes ipsa.

[n] predictum *add.* *BPb*   [o] marmoreum *LiLoZb*   [p] mirifice *LiZb*   [q] in ipso sepulchro *BPb*; in ipso *Lo*   [r] *B+*; *om.* *P*   [s] cum *B*; si *Pb*   [t] capelle *BPb*   [u] *om.* *BPb*   [v] *om.* *BPb*   [w] dicitur *add.* *Li*   [x] Marie *BPb*   [y] *B+*; mundi *P*

73   [a] *LoPZb*; capelle *BLiPb*   [b] uix *B*   [c] *om.* *Pb*   [d] ubi Dominus orauit *add.* *B*   [e] *om.* *Li*   [f] *om.* *Pb*   [g-g] ubi Dominus captus *B*; locus in quo temptus *P*   [h] osseulo *P*   [i] uertiginis *P*   [j-j] *om.* *LiZb*

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[474] See Neh. 2: 13. This is the 'Dragon Well' of the King James ('Authorized') Version, or Jackal's Well in modern translations. It was apparently located between the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate (which Burchard locates south of the Valley Gate); Burchard sets the Valley Gate at the north end of the temple wall above the Kidron valley, and notes that the Dragon's Fountain was in front of it (see below). However, many scholars connect the original Valley

that there are sixty steps. The tomb, however, of marble and wonderfully decorated, is in mid-choir before the altar. I have been in the church and the tomb. The church, however, is very damp inside, because the torrent of the Kidron runs beneath, completely hidden by the rubble-fill mentioned above, and when there is a flood of rainwater, the torrent, which still runs in its old course below the fills, breaks through and fills the church to such an extent that often the water exits gushing over all the steps and through the door of the chapel located above. ¶ In the church's cemetery, not far from the church door, the local people draw water from a fountain called in Nehemiah the Dragon's Fountain,[474] before the Valley or Sheep Gate. ¶ The church of the Blessed Virgin is lit inside from its eastern windows, positioned facing the Mount of Olives, where, helped by the layout of the land, the daylight can have good access.

73. Not far—some 50 feet as I measured—from the door of the chapel, which leads eastward into the church of the Blessed Virgin, is the door of another church, called the Gethsemane church;[475] here was the garden which the Lord entered with his disciples, on the side of the Mount of Olives close by a hollow rock overhanging from the mountain; beneath this the disciples were sitting when the Lord said to them: 'Sit you here, till I go yonder and pray.'[476] There is shown there to this day the place where they sat. There too is shown the place where he was held by the crowds and Judas betrayed him with a kiss. The imprint of his skull is seen above on the hanging rock, together with the outline of his head and hair, and on another rock the impression of his fingers. This imprint is said to have been made by his grasping the rock, when he was held by the crowds. Note that not even dust, so to speak, can be taken off that stone, though I worked hard with iron tools to take some away with me, and yet the above-mentioned imprints can be seen clearly on it, as if the rock itself were made of dough.

Gate and the Dung Gate with the Hinnom valley to the south (see *ABD*, iii. 598–9). The abbreviator omits mention of the Dragon's Fountain.

[475] The Crusaders' church was based on a cave venerated as the place of the betrayal and arrest of Jesus, and mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), Egeria (384), Arculf (*c*.685), Saewulf (1102–3), Daniel (1105–6), John of Würzburg (1165), and Theoderic (1172) (for references see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 98–103; Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 264).

[476] Matt. 26: 36.

74. ¶ De Gethsemani quantum iactus est lapidis contra austrum est locus, ubi auulsus ab eis[a] orauit, et factus est sudor eius[477] sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram. Vbi etiam similis lapis est, similes impressiones habens genuum et manuum eius, de quo similiter nihil[b] deponi potest. Inter hunc locum et Gethsemani ante ecclesiam beate uirginis transit uia, qua ascenditur in montem olIueti et inde[c] in Bethaniam et ad Iordanem. ¶ De loco orationis Domini Ihesu plusquam iactus sit lapidis, contra austrum in opposito templi et in pede montis olIueti, in ualle Iosaphat [d]ostenditur hodie monumentum Iosaphat regis Iuda[d] habens superpositam piramidem[478] ualde pulcram.

75. ¶ Sub monte Syon contra regiam Salomonis in occidentali latere uallis Iosaphat est fons Syloe,[479] de quo per aqueductum fluit aqua in piscinam superiorem et in natatoriam Syloe,[480] quando fons idem[a] habundat aquis. Non enim fluit iugiter, sed interpolate. Ambe autem iste piscine sunt in pede montis Syon, inter ipsum et Acheldemach qui est ad austrum earum situs. Accedit insuper ad has piscinas etiam aqua de fonte Gyon inferiore,[481] qui oritur sub agro fullonis iuxta locum stacionis[b] Rabsacis,[482] quando exprobauit Domino audiente populo super murum. ¶ Iuxta piscinas istas ad iactum lapidis ultra uallem in parte eius australi est ager Acheldemach,[483] ubi est sepultura peregrinorum,[484] empta triginta argenteis,[485] quibus Iudas uendidit saluatorem. Multa sunt in agro isto monumenta preciosa. ¶ Infra piscinas istas et agrum Acheldemac contra orientem descendit torrens Cedron collectis ibi[c] similiter[d] omnibus aquis, quas secum trahit de partibus superioribus, scilicet de Rama et Anathot et sepulchro regine

74 [a] prolixius *add.* *BPb* [b] nullus *Pb* [c] *om.* *LiZb* [d d] regis Iuda Ezechiye sepulchrum *Li*; regis Iuda *Zb*; ostenditur hodie monumentum in quo sepultus est Iosaphat rex Iuda *B*

75 [a] *om.* *BPb* [b] *om.* *BPb*; ubi stetit Rapsaces *Lo* [c] *om.* *BPb*; insuper *LiZb* [d] *om.* *LiZb*

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[477] Luke 22: 44 (Vulg.). Luke 22: 43–4 are absent from most important early witnesses to the gospel text (e.g. P^{60}, Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus), but they are cited by Justin, Irenaeus, and others. They are probably an early addition to the gospel text, but Burchard would have been unaware of the textual history.

[478] The reference to the pyramid above the tomb suggests that Burchard is describing the second-century 'tomb of Zechariah'; the Hebrew inscription on the architrave relates the monument to the tomb of the priestly family of Hezir (1 Chr. 24: 15). Burchard attributes it to Jehoshaphat because of its location in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (cf. Joel 3: 2, 12). The Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 184^{va}) with other manuscripts identifies the king as Hezekiah. The tomb was known by various names (see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 160a). The abbreviator omits reference to the pyramid.

74. ¶ A stone's throw south of Gethsemane is the place where, separated from them, he prayed, 'and his sweat became as drops of blood trickling down upon the ground'.[477] Here too there is a similar stone, having similar imprints of his knees and hands. From this, similarly, nothing could be taken away. Between here and Gethsemane, in front of the church of the Blessed Virgin, passes the road which ascends to the Mount of Olives and so to Bethany and the Jordan. ¶ More than a stone's throw south of the place where the Lord Jesus prayed, opposite the temple, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, in the valley of Jehoshaphat is shown today the tomb of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, with a very fine pyramid set above it.[478]

75. ¶ Below Mount Sion, towards Solomon's palace on the west side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, is the Siloam spring,[479] from which water flows through an aqueduct into the upper pool and the Siloam bathing pool[480] when that spring is full of water (for its flow is not continual but intermittent). Both these pools are at the foot of Mount Sion, between it and Akeldama (which is to the south of these sites). Water also reaches these pools from the lower spring of Gion,[481] which arises below the Fuller's Field near the place where the Rabshakeh stationed himself[482] and railed against the Lord, in the hearing of the people, above the wall. ¶ Near those pools, a stone's throw down the valley to the south, is the field of Akeldama.[483] Here is the burial place of pilgrims.[484] It was bought with the thirty pieces of silver[485] for which Judas sold the Saviour. There are many expensive tombs in that field. ¶ Below those pools and the field of Akeldama to the east descends the torrent of the Kidron. It brings down with it all the waters collected similarly from higher parts, that is from Ramah, Anathoth, and the tomb

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[479] Burchard refers to the well-known spring at the head of Hezekiah's tunnel.

[480] Burchard probably refers to a conduit running round the southern end of Mount Ophel into the pool of Siloam (the upper pool/*piscina superior*), and thence to the Birkat al-Hamra' (*natatoria Siloe*). See Rotermund's 'Plan von Jerusalem' (Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard', p. 57) and the plan in Prag (Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 240). The abbreviator's short version (B51) is confusing, but his 'lower pool' (*natatoria Syloe*) probably refers to the Birkat al-Hamra'.

[481] lower spring of Gihon: probably the Birkat as-Sultan, or Germain's Pool.

[482] Rabsaces (Douai–Reims), Rab-shakeh (King James version): 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 18: 13–19: 37; Isa. 36: 1–37: 38.

[483] The name is derived from the Aramaic 'field of blood' (cf. Acts 1: 19). The association of Akeldama with the potter's field (Matt. 27: 18; drawing on Zech. 11: 12–13; Jer. 18: 2–12; 19: 1–13) led to its identification with a site in the lower Hinnom valley (see *ABD*, i. 134–5).

[484] See Matt. 27: 7.

[485] See Matt. 26: 14–16; 27: 3–10; Luke 22: 3–6; Acts 1: 18–19.

Iabenorum.[486] Et longe sub sepulchro beate[e] uirginis[487] auditur strepitus eius sub terram descendentis ad locum istum. Iunguntur[f] ei insuper aque exeuntes de piscinis istis, et sic omnes descendunt in uallem Geennon, que dicitur etiam locus Tophet.[488] In qua ualle est lapis Zeeleth et[g] fons Rogel,[489] ubi Adonias fecit conuiuium uolens regnare. Ibidem etiam sepultus fuit Ysaias propheta,[490] qui iuxta fontem Syloe serra[h] fuit sectus. Qui locus distat ab isto plus quam iacere possit arcus. Et sunt loca ista amenissima et orti et uiridaria, et omnino deliciis plena et torrens Cedron rigat loca ista. Super hunc locum est mons offensionis.[491] Et lucus[i] fuit in ualle ista, et traiciebant filios suos per ignem,[492] et colebant idola in loco isto. ¶ Hec [j]de hiis,[j] que sunt circa ciuitatem dicta, sufficiant. [k]Nunc tandem ad ea interius accedamus.[k]

76. (2) Nota igitur, quod loca multa sancta sunt in ciuitate ista[a] et tot loca deuotionem excitantia, quod dies non sufficit ad peragenda[b] singula. Ecclesia tamen sancti sepulchri tenet inter omnia hac principatum.[493]

[e] *om. B* [f] *B*+; iuguntur *P* [g] ibidem est *add. Zb* [h] lignea *add. B*
[i] luctus *B* [j-j] et his similia *B* [k-k] *om. LiZb*; ad ea *om. B*
76 [a] *om. P* [b] *BPbP*; peragendum *LiLoZb*

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[486] See Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 147; *Jewish Antiquities*, xx. 17–96. Josephus clearly locates the tomb of the queen (the modern Tombs of the Kings; wrongly identified by F. de Saulcy as the Tombs of the Kings of Judah) north of the 'third' wall of Agrippa. Helena, Queen of Adiabene (in north-eastern Iraq), a convert to Judaism, came to Jerusalem in AD 41 after the death of her husband Monobazus. She built a palace in the lower city and a tomb in the Hellenistic style north of Jerusalem, near St George's Cathedral (on these tombs see Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 272–4). Burchard is not specific about its site, but rightly associates it with higher locations to the north of Jerusalem.

[487] See above, n. 47.

[488] Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 102. 14–16) located this place, Topheth, 'beside the Fuller's Pool and the Field of Akeldama' (see *ABD*, vi. 600–1). Topheth seems to have been a cultic site associated with the sacrifice of children to the deity Molech. See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 10; Jer. 7: 31–2; 19: 6, 11–14.

[489] That is, 'Serpent's Stone', 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 1: 9, beside the spring En-Rogel. (For discussion of these names see Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Kings*, pp. 73–4.) En-Rogel is at the southern end of the Kidron Valley, a little over a third of a mile (650 metres) south of the Gihon spring (cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 17: 17; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 1: 9), now called the Bir 'Ayyūb (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 253).

[490] The legend of Isaiah's being sawn in half perhaps lies behind Heb. 11: 37. It first appears clearly in the pseudepigraphical *Ascension of Isaiah*, chs. 1–5, probably composed in Hebrew in Palestine in the first century AD (see *Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. Sparks, pp. 775–94).

[491] In modern translations, 'mount of corruption' or 'destruction', identified as Jabal Batn al-Hawa, at the south end of the Mount of Olives: see 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 13. This is where Solomon is said to have built shrines for foreign deities; cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 5–8.

[492] Cf. Jer. 7: 31; Ezek. 20: 31. However, this activity is associated with Topheth and the Wadi al-Hinnom rather than with the Mount of Olives. The abbreviator ignores this paragraph.

of Queen of Adiabene.[486] Far below the tomb of the Blessed Virgin[487] one can hear the roar of its underground descent to that point. It is joined by the overflow of water from those pools, and so they all descend into the valley of Gehenna, also called the place of Topheth.[488] In this valley is the stone of Zoheleth and the spring of Rogel,[489] where Adonijah, ambitious to rule, made a feast. There too was buried the prophet Isaiah,[490] who was sawn in half near the Siloam spring, more than a bowshot distant. These are very pleasant places, with gardens and greenery, full of delights in every way, and watered by the torrent of the Kidron. Above this is the Mount of Offence.[491] There was a grove in the valley; they used to drag their sons through fire[492] and worship idols there. ¶ Let this be enough said on what lies round about the city. Now at last let us proceed to what lies within the city.

76. (2) Take note, then, that there are many holy places in that city, and so many arousing devotion that a day is not enough to visit each one. But the Church of the Holy Sepulchre holds first place among them all.[493]

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[493] Church of the Holy Sepulchre: according to the gospel accounts (Mark 15: 20–2; Matt. 27: 33; Luke 23: 32–3), Jesus was crucified outside the city; archaeological evidence suggests in the quarried area west of the city. The new city wall built by Agrippa in AD 41–2 enclosed this area. For the effect of Hadrian's rebuilding of Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina on the site of the tomb of Jesus, see Biddle, *Tomb of Christ*, pp. 55–8. In the early fourth century the emperor Constantine had the site excavated. The tomb believed to be Christ's was cut into an east-facing rock slope; Constantine had it isolated as a free-standing aedicule with a colonnaded porch; round it he built a circular (rotunda) building with twelve columns round the circumference and a dome above, with an entrance on the east. This became the building called the Anastasis, and ultimately the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

East of this Constantine laid out a large courtyard with porticoes on three sides, and east of the courtyard a basilica church, dedicated in 335, with an entrance at the east end to the main street. This became known as the Martyrium. The site venerated as Golgotha (Calvary) was the rocky outcrop at the south-east corner of Constantine's courtyard.

This church was set on fire by the Persians in 614, but restored, and it survived the Muslim capture of Jerusalem in 638. It was seriously damaged by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009; when the Crusaders arrived in 1099 they found only the courtyard with the rotunda (the *Anastasis*), which they converted into a church by adding an apse on its eastern side. In the twelfth century they demolished the apse and opened the rotunda eastwards into a Romanesque church, dedicated in 1149. This is the oblong (*oblonga*) church of Golgotha recorded by Burchard in 1283. After 1187 when Jerusalem fell to Saladin, Christian pilgrims were allowed to visit the church. In the next century the church came under the rule of the Orthodox Patriarch, but Burchard (a Western friar) was apparently allowed to celebrate mass. The twelfth-century building known to Burchard brought together the Tomb and Calvary into one building, now entered via the south transept, as it is to this day (see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 6–72; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 181–95).

The abbreviator is surprisingly brief (B52) about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha, omitting all the architectural details. Particularly surprising is the complete absence of detail about the interior of the sepulchre itself.

¶ Ecclesia ista rotunda est, et habet[c] per diametrum inter columpnas septuaginta tres pedes preter absides, que habent per circuitum a muro exteriori ecclesie triginta pedes. Super[d] sepulchrum Domini quod est in medio eiusdem ecclesie, est apertura rotunda, ita ut tota crypta sancti sepulchri sit sub diuo. ¶ Golgathana autem[e] ecclesia adheret isti, et est oblonga, loco chori ecclesie sancti sepulchri adiuncta,[f] sed parum demissior. Sunt tamen ambe sub uno tecto. ¶ Spelunca, in qua est sepulchrum Domini, habet in longitudine octo[g] pedes, [h]in latitudine similiter octo pedes,[h] exterius undique tecta marmore, sed interius est rupes ualida,[i] sicut fuit in tempore sepulture.[j] Hostium ad hanc speluncam intrat ab oriente, demissum ualde et paruum.

77. Tumba uero[a] sancti sepulchri est ad dexteram intrantis iuxta parietem ad septentrionem, de marmore grisei coloris, alta a superficie pauimenti[b] tribus palmis, longa octo pedibus, sicut[c] ipsa crypta siue spelunca, ex omni parte clausa; nec lumen potest haberi intus ab extrinseco, quia nulla fenestra est, mittens lumen intus. Sed pendent nouem lampades super sepulchrum Domini ministrantes lumen intus. Alia [d]etiam spelunca est ante speluncam istam sancti sepulchri,[d] eiusdem longitudinis et latitudinis et dispositionis intus et extra. Et uidentur iste due extra existenti esse una, [e]sed cum intraueris, uidebis eas ab inuicem per medium parietem separatas.[e] Intratur autem primo ista et deinde[f] alia, in qua est sepulchrum. In istam exteriorem intrauerunt mulieres, quando dicebant: 'Quis reuoluet nobis lapidem ab hostio' et cetera.[494] Et iste lapis erat aduolutus hostio spelunce interioris,[g] [h]et iacet hodie magna pars eius ante hostium spelunce interioris,[h] cui fuerat aduolutus, in medio istius. Alia uero pars eius translata est in montem Sion pro lapide supponendo altari. Quem etiam ibidem uidi.

78. ¶ Mons caluarie, in quo Dominus crucifixus est, distat a loco sepulchri per [a]centum octo[a] pedes.[495] Et ascenditur ad locum, ubi crux[b] infixa[c] fuit rupi, per [d]decem octo[d] pedes a superficie pauimenti ecclesie. Scissio petre eiusdem, in qua crux fuit fixa, tante capacitatis est, ut caput hominis recipiat, nam ego in ea posui[e] caput meum. Et descendit

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[c] *om.* *B* [d] desuper *P* [e] *om.* *BLoPb* [f] *om.* *Li* [g] septem *BPb* [h-h] *om.* *BPb*; pedes *om.* *LiZb* [i] nuda *BLoPb* [j] passionis *BPb*

77 [a] *om.* *P* [b] *om.* *Li* [c] est interius *add.* *LiLoZb* [d-d] spelunca ad similitudinem sancti sepulchri ante dictum sepulchrum *B* [e-e] *om.* *BPb* [f] demum *Li* [g] exterioris *Lo* [h-h] *om.* *Li*

78 [a-a] 108 *BPb*; septuaginta *Li*; 700 *Zb*; 128 *Lo*; .cc.uiginti octo *P* [b] sancta *add.* *Li* [c] fixa *BPb* [d-d] *LiPZb*; duodetriginta *BLo*; .xxxviii. *Pb* [e] imposui *Lo*

¶ The church is round, with a diameter between the columns of 73 feet, excluding the apses which make a circle 30 feet wide, measured from the church's outer wall. Above the Lord's sepulchre, which is in the middle of the church, is a round opening, so that the whole crypt of the Holy Sepulchre is open to the sky. ¶ Attached to it is the church of Golgotha. It is oblong, and joined to the choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but on a slightly lower level. Both buildings, however, are under one roof. ¶ The cave containing the Lord's sepulchre is 8 feet long, similarly 8 feet broad, totally covered in marble outside but of strong rock inside, just as it was at the time of burial. The door to the cave enters from the east, and is very low and small.

77. The tomb of the Holy Sepulchre is on the right as one enters, by the wall to the north. It is of grey marble, three hands high above the surface of the pavement, 8 feet long (like the crypt or cave itself), and closed on every side. No light can reach in from outside, because there is no window to admit light. But above the sepulchre of the Lord hang nine lamps, offering light inside. There is another cave in front of the cave of the Holy Sepulchre, of the same length and breadth and arrangement inside and outside. These two caves seem to be one to the person standing outside, but when you enter, you will see that they are separated from each other by a wall in between. One enters the latter first, and then the other one, in which lies the sepulchre. The women entered that outer cave when they said, 'Who shall roll us back the stone from the door?', etc.[494] The stone was rolled against the door of the inner cave, and to this day a large part of it lies before the door of the inner cave, against which it had been rolled, in the middle of it. But another part has been moved to Mount Sion as a stone supporting the altar there. I saw that stone also in place.

78. ¶ Mount Calvary, on which the Lord was crucified, is 108 feet from the sepulchre.[495] One climbs 18 feet from the surface of the church pavement to the place where the cross was fixed into the rock. The split in the rock where the cross was fixed is of such size as can take the head of a man, for I placed my head in it. In length it descends

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[494] Mark 16: 3.

[495] 108 feet (in fact about 45 metres) from the sepulchre. An inscription on the wall above the arch leading to the chapel of Golgotha (in the south transept of the church, right of the modern entrance) makes clear that the Calvary chapel was consecrated in 1149 (Biddle, *Tomb of Christ*, pp. 92–8). One ascends to the Calvary chapel (belonging to the Franks, the Latins, and the Greeks); the rock of calvary can be seen below the Greek altar (see Murphy O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 54–5, fig. 14).

longitudo eius de loco fixionis crucis usque ad pauimentum ecclesie inferius[496] per decem[f] octo pedes, et color sanguinis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi apparet hodie in ipsa scissione petre.[497] Et scissio ipsa erat sub manu eius sinistra. Altare etiam hedificatum est iuxta eundem locum manus sinistre, ualde decorum[g] et pulcrum, de marmore. Ego bis[h] dixi missam de passione et legi passionem in missa secundum Iohannem in loco ipso passionis Christi. Pauimentum huius capelle[i] stratum est marmore totum, et parietes marmore sunt tecti et opere musiuo[j] decorate de auro purissimo.[498] Locus uero in quo crux fuit fixa est fossa profunda duabus palmis et ita capax quod in ea posui caput meum.

79. ¶ De caluaria contra orientem decem[a] passibus est altare quoddam, sub quo est pars columpne, ad quam Dominus fuit flagellatus,[499] illuc translata de domo Pilati, et sub lapide altaris est tecta,[b] ita ut a fidelibus possit tangi, uideri et obsculari. Est autem de lapide porphiritico ibi nigro, habens maculas quasdam[c] rubeas[d] naturaliter, quas credit uulgus tincturas esse sanguinis[e] Ihesu Christi. Alia pars calumpne dicitur translata esse in Constantinopolim. ¶ De altari calumpne huius contra orientem ad uiginti duo[f] pedes descenditur per gradus quadraginta octo[500] ad locum, ubi ab Helena[501] fuit crux inuenta. Et est ibi capelula[g] et[h] duo altaria longe infra terram. Iste locus, in quo crux fuit defossa, uidetur mihi fuisse unum de fossatis ciuitatis,[502] in quo cruces depositis corporibus misse fuerunt et desuper sordes ciuitatis comportate,[i] donec per Helenam loco mundato crux est inuenta. Prope ciuitatem enim erat locus passionis et ortus in loco illo.

[f] uiginti *BPb* [g] decens *Lo* [h] *om. LiZb* [i] ecclesie *Li* [j] mosaico *BPb*

79 [a] quatuor *Li*; uiginti quatuor *Zb* [b] erecta *Lo* [c] *B+*; *om. P* [d] *B+*; ruteas *P* [e] domini nostri *add. B* [f] *P*; duodecim *BLoPb*; decem *LiZb* [g] capella *B+* [h] sunt ibi *add. BPb* [i] deportate *B*

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[496] The church pavement 18 feet (about 5.5 m) below is that of the Chapel of Adam, named from the tradition that Christ died where Adam had been buried (Murphy O'Connor, ibid., p. 55). Baedeker (*Palestine and Syria*, p. 44) reports that the floor of the upper chapel is 14.5 feet (about 4.4 m) above the level of the church below.

[497] See Matt. 27: 51. Christ's blood was said to have flowed through the split in the rock down to Adam's head (see Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, p. 108; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 190–1; Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 13).

[498] Prag (*Jerusalem*, pp. 190–1) notes a twelfth-century mosaic depicting the Ascension in the ceiling of the 'Chapel of the Nailing to the Cross', to the south at the top of the stairs.

[499] Burchard locates the column at which Jesus was scourged east of Calvary, between Calvary and the steps down to the Chapel of St Helena, in the Chapel of Derision, or Crowning with Thorns. In the midst of it, Baedeker (*Palestine and Syria*, p. 43; plan p. 36, no. 37; cf. Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 194) refers to an altar shaped like a box which contains the so-called

from the place where the cross was fixed to the pavement of the church 18 feet below,[496] and in the split of the rock appears to this day the colour of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.[497] The split itself was beneath his left hand. A very handsome and beautiful altar of marble was built near the same position of his left hand. Twice I said the mass of the passion, and I read the passion according to John in the mass at the very site of Christ's passion. The pavement of this chapel is laid totally in marble, and the walls are covered in marble and decorated with mosaics of purest gold.[498] In fact the place in which the cross was fixed is a ditch two hands deep, large enough for me to put my head into.

79. ¶ Ten feet east of calvary is an altar, beneath which is part of the column at which the Lord was scourged.[499] It was brought there from the house of Pilate, and is covered in below the altar stone so that it can be touched, seen, and kissed by the faithful. It is of dark porphyritic stone, with natural red spots, which the common people believe to be the stains of the blood of Jesus Christ. Another part of the column is said to have been transferred to Constantinople. ¶ Twenty-two feet east of the altar of this column one descends forty-eight steps[500] to the place where the cross was found by Helena.[501] There is there, deep underground, a little chapel with two altars. The place in which the cross was buried seems to me to have been one of the city's ditches,[502] in which, when the bodies were taken down, the crosses were thrown and the city rubbish dumped on them, until when Helena cleansed the site the cross was found; for the site of the passion was near the city, and there was a garden there.

'column of derision'. Prag notes this relic, and also a fragmentary column preserved to the right of the entrance of the Chapel of St Mary, to the north of the aedicule (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 193). (Prag thus distinguishes two objects, in the two different chapels. Burchard clearly refers to the object in the Chapel of Derision described by Prag. Pringle (*Churches*, iii. 39) refers to the Chapel of the Flagellation at the south-east corner of the apsidal ambulatory, to the right of the steps down to the Chapel of St Helena.)

[500] Prag (*Jerusalem*, p. 194) notes twenty-nine steps down to this chapel, 5.5 metres below the level of the church. The chapel's distinctive form was created in the twelfth century by the removal of an earlier fill between the foundation walls of the fourth-century Constantinian basilica, which was adapted from a Roman cistern. In its south-east corner thirteen steps descend to the Chapel of the Invention (i.e. discovery) of the Cross, which was originally part of an Iron Age quarry (eighth–sixth centuries BC). Burchard's total of forty-eight steps is close to Prag's twenty-nine + thirteen (i.e. forty-two) steps (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 194–5; Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 15, 44).

[501] Wife of the Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus, mother of the Roman emperor Constantine (born 274, became emperor 306). Helena visited the Holy Land in 326, founded churches on the Mount of Olives and at Bethlehem, and by AD 400 was credited with discovering Christ's cross (see *ODCC*, p. 748 and references).

[502] A scholarly guess: Burchard reveals his archaeological instincts, and the abbreviator ignores them.

¶ Locus uero, ubi stetit beata uirgo[503] cum aliis mulieribus iuxta crucem, non fuit sub ipso bracchio crucis ad aquilonem, sicut uolunt quidam, sed ante faciem filii fere ad occidentem. Monstratur enim locus stationis eius hodie[j] contra faciem filii pendentis in cruce sub monte et rupe in qua crux fuit fixa. Et ueneratione habetur a fidelibus. Quem etiam locum pluries uidi. Ipse etiam Christus in cruce pendens faciem uertit contra occidentem,[k] [l]non contra orientem,[l] ut uolunt quidam. Quod patet ex eo, quod uorago illa magna, de qua dictum est supra, que fuit ab occidente pro fossato ciuitatis, erat retro crucem, et in ipsam fuit crux proiecta et postmodum inuenta, ut dictum est paulo ante. Multa altaria sunt in ecclesia ista et decenter posita et ornata.

80. ¶ Ante hostium occidentale huius ecclesie foris est locus ubi Maria Egyptiaca[504] orans ante imaginem beate uirginis, cum diuinitus remota fuisset, uolens intrare templum, consolationem per responsum beate uirginis[a] recepit.[b] Inde procedendo contra turrem Dauid et montem Syon est locus, ubi ab Herode Agrippa fuit Iacobus apostolus decolatus.[505] ¶ De inde eundo[c] in montem Syon reperies[d] domum Cayphe,[506] in qua Iudei Christo illuserunt, et locum, in quo ipsum recluserunt usque mane, qui locus carcer Domini appellatus est. ¶ Inde quantum iactus est lapidis, contra austrum, est locus, ubi beata uirgo migrauit et habitauit,[507] quam diu uixit post filii ascensionem. ¶ Huic loco prope est[e] cenaculum grande,[f] [508] in quo Dominus cum discipulis[g] cenauit,[509] pedes eorum lauit, corpus suum et sanguinem tradidit, post resurrexionem[h] apparuit pluries,[i] Mathias sorte electus est,[510] Spiritus Sanctus

[j] *om. LiZb* [k] monstratur enim locus stationis eius *add. Li* [l–l] *om. LiZb*

80 [a] ab ipsa imagine *add. P* [b] ambitus ecclesie sancti sepulchri intus muros habet 668 pedes ut ego permemet ipse mensuraui. Per diametrum uero habet septuaginta quattuor pedes *add. Lo* [c] *om. B* [d] reperiendo *Li*; reperieris *Zb* [e] adiacet *Li* [f] sanctum *add. Li* [g] suis *add. LiLoZb* [h] suam *add. B* [i] ubi *add. Li*

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[503] Only the Fourth Gospel (John 19: 25) mentions that Mary, the mother of Jesus, stood by the cross. The synoptic gospels note only that other women watched from afar (Matt. 27: 55; Mark 15: 40; Luke 23: 49).

[504] Mary of Egypt was an Alexandrian courtesan who was converted to Christianity on the threshold of the Holy Sepulchre, but was prevented from entering the church until she had venerated the image of the Theotokos (*ODCC*, p. 1049). Burchard locates the place outside the west door of the church, but the traditional place is in the north-east corner of the courtyard in the corner by Calvary (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 190; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 36, no. 7; p. 38; see also Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 14, referring to the icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the west wall of St Mary's Chapel north of the rotunda). The abbreviator makes no mention of this tradition.

[505] Burchard refers to the church of St James in the Armenian Quarter (Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 168–82), traditionally the prison where James was beheaded by Herod Agrippa (Acts 12: 2),

¶The place in which the Blessed Virgin stood[503] with the other women near the cross was not beneath the northern arm of the cross, as some would have it, but almost to the west, facing her son. For her position as she faced her son hanging on the cross is shown today as below the mountain and rock in which the cross was fixed, and it is held in veneration by the faithful. I have several times seen the place. Christ himself while hanging on the cross turned his face west, not east, as some would say. This is clear from the fact that the great wadi, mentioned above, which was the city ditch on the west, lay behind the cross; the cross was thrown into it and later found there, as noted a little above. There are many altars in that church, and fittingly placed and furnished.

80. ¶ Before the west door of this church, and outside it, is the place where Mary of Egypt,[504] wanting to enter the temple but removed from it by divine power, had prayed before an image of the Blessed Virgin and received consolation through the Virgin's response. Proceeding from there towards the tower of David and Mount Sion, one meets the place where the apostle James was beheaded by Herod Agrippa.[505] ¶ Going from there to Mount Sion you will find the house of Caiaphas,[506] in which the Jews mocked Christ, and the place where they imprisoned him until morning, which is called the Lord's prison. ¶ A stone's throw south of that is the place to which the Blessed Virgin moved and lived[507] for the rest of her life after her son's ascension. ¶ Near this place is the large dining room[508] in which the Lord dined with his disciples,[509] washed their feet, gave his body and blood, appeared several times after his resurrection, Matthias was elected by lot,[510] the Holy Spirit was

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but Acts gives no location (for the several locations for the tomb of St James, see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 185–9). The abbreviator ignores this tradition.

[506] South of the church of St James, 164 feet (50 m) south of the Ottoman city wall, near the Dormition Abbey, is the Church of the Holy Saviour, regarded by some as the house of Caiaphas (see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 365–72; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 233–5). Others locate Caiaphas' house at St Peter in Gallicantu (see Prag, ibid., 238; Murphy O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 119). The abbreviator omits.

[507] Burchard refers to the Dormition Church on the site of the Byzantine and then the Crusader Church of St Mary of Mount Sion (Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 261–87; Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 235). The abbreviator omits.

[508] This dining room ('coenaculum') was reconstructed by the Franciscans *c.*1335 from a building which originated in the second century AD. It was first identified as the site of the Last Supper in the fifth century. Theodosius called it 'the mother of all Christian churches'; it appears on the Madeba map. It was sacked by the Persians in 614, and by the Muslims in 965 and 1009 (see Murphy O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 118). The present building appears to have been built in the twelfth century and restored in the fourteenth (Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 235–6). The abbreviator omits.

[509] See Mark 14: 12–25; Matt. 26: 20–9; Luke 22: 14–38. The abbreviator omits.

[510] Acts 1: 21–5. The abbreviator omits.

datus est, et multa gloriosa[j] opera impleta.[k] Huic fere loco ab aquilone adherent sepulchra regum Iuda sicut Dauid Salomonis et aliorum partim in ipsa[l] ecclesia montis Syon constituta, partim extra. (3) ¶ Et nota quod ciuitas Ierusalem sita est in loco multum eminenti.[511] Et de ea uidetur tota Arabia et mons Abarim[m] et Nebo et Phasga et planities Iordanis et Iericho et mare mortuum [n]usque ad Petram[n] deserti. Nec uidi ciuitatem uel locum, qui pulcriorem haberet prospectum.[o] Ad ipsam autem ascenditur ab omni parte, quia sita est in loco altiori, qui est in terra illa, preterquam Silo,[512] qui distat ab ea per duas leucas.

81. (4) [a]De magnitudine autem ciuitatis sancte[a] sciendum est quod[b] secundum Iosephum absque monte Syon habuit ambitus ciuitatis[c] per girum triginta tria[d] stadia. Cum ipso autem monte murus exterior, scilicet tercius murus, secundum eundem Iosephum habuit nonaginta turres,[513] singulis turribus [e]per ducentos cubitos distantibus, hoc est per[e] trecentos[f] pedes, qui faciunt sexaginta passus, qui fuerunt inter turrim et turrim. Multiplicatis igitur sexaginta[g] passibus per nonagenta turres[h] exibunt passus quinquemilia quadraginta, qui faciunt ambitum ciuitatis. Cum igitur centum uiginti quinque passus [i]faciunt unum stadium, si diuiseris quinquemilia quadraginta per centum uiginti quinque, exhibebunt quadraginta stadia, qui faciunt quinque miliaria;[i] et iste fuit ambitus ciuitatis tempore euersionis, que facta est per Romanos, sicut dicit Iosephus, qui eidem euersioni interfuit. Sed postea Christiani ciuitatem amplificauerunt,[514] includentes locum sepulcri dominici, qui prius[j] exclusus erat, unde nunc patet ampliorem esse ambitum ciuitatis.[k] Dicit enim uenerabilis pater dominus Iacobus de Vitriaco,[515] ierosolimitanus patriarcha et apostolici sedis legatus, in libro suo, quem de conquesta terre sancte composuit,[l] inter cetera ita scribens: ‘Est autem sepe nominata et sepius nominanda ciuitas[m] secundum omnes[n] eius partes in monte sublimi sita, muro ualido undique[o] cincta,[p] nec nimia paruitate angusta, nec magnitudine cuiquam fastidiosa.

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[j] *om. Zb* [k] adimpleta *Li*; sunt impleta *Zb* [l] *om. LiLo* [m] *Lo*; Arabum *P+* [n–n] et Petra *Li* [o] aspectum *P*

81 [a–a] de ambitu ciuitatis Ierusalem *B* [b] *B+*; *om. P* [c] *om. BPb* [d] *B+*; *om. P* [e] *om. Li* [f] *B+*; ducentos *P* [g] *B+*; septem *add. P*; *cf.* .lvuii. *Pb* [h] *om. Li* [i–i] .cxxv. .cccxxx. stadia et passus quinque et uiginti qui faciunt quinque miliaria et tria stadia et passus quinque et uiginti *LiZb* [j] ante *LiLoZb* [k] Ego mensuravi ciuitatem ipsam (per diametrum scilicet *add. B*) ueterem que fuerat tempore passionis et inueni (per diametrum *add. Pb*) a porta uallis usque ad portam ueterem .ccclxxx. passus et ista fuit antiquitus latitudo ciuitatis, que hodie plurimum est ampliata *add. BPb* [l] quidem *add. Li* [m] sancta *add. B* [n] *om. B* [o] *B+*; *om. P* [p] *om. P*; ciuitas *B*

given, and many other glorious works were performed. Almost attached to this place on the north were the tombs of the kings of Judah, like David, Solomon, and others, placed partly in the church of Mount Sion, partly outside. (3) ¶ Note also that the city of Jerusalem is set on a very high place.[511] From it is visible all Arabia, Mount Abarim, Nebo, Pisgah, the plain of Jordan, Jericho, and the Dead Sea, as far as Petra Deserti. I have not seen a city or a place with a finer view. One ascends to it from every side, because it is set on the highest point in the land, apart from Shiloh,[512] which is 2 leagues distant from it.

81. (4) About the size of the holy city, you should know that, according to Josephus, the circuit of the city, without Mount Sion, measures 33 stadia. Complete with Mount Sion, the outer, that is, the third wall, again according to the same Josephus, has ninety towers,[513] the individual towers 200 cubits apart, that is, 200 feet (61 m) apart, which makes 60 paces between one tower and the next. The 60 paces multiplied by ninety towers gives 5,400 paces for the circuit of the city. Since therefore 125 paces make one stadium, if you divide 5,400 by 125, the result is 40 stadia, which make 5 miles, and that was the circumference of the city at the time of its overthrow by the Romans, as Josephus, who was present for that event, says. But later the Christians enlarged the city[514] and included the site of the Lord's sepulchre, formerly excluded; from which it is now clear that the circumference of the city was greater. For the respected father and lord Jacques de Vitry,[515] patriarch of Jerusalem and legate of the apostolic see, in the book which he wrote on the conquest of the Holy Land, says (among other things) as follows: 'The often named and more often to be named city is set in respect of all its parts on a high mountain, surrounded on all sides by a strong wall, neither cramped by being too small nor offensive to any for its greatness.

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[511] This section begins with an introductory note about Jerusalem's commanding view to the east, included by the abbreviator (**B54**). The section continues with material drawn from Josephus and Jacques de Vitry about the size of Jerusalem; this the abbreviator omits.

[512] Burchard locates Shiloh at Nabi Samwīl (Stewart, *Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 55, n. 4; Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 142–4): the elevation of Naby Samwīl 'cannot be less than some 500 feet above the plain and is apparently greater than that of the Mount of Olives' (Robinson, ibid., p. 139).

[513] Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 158 (Loeb ed., vol. iii, p. 246, note a) speaks of ninety towers at intervals of two hundred cubits; he notes that 'The whole circumference of the city was about thirty-three furlongs', i.e. nearly 4 miles, 6.5 km.).

[514] In fact, it was Herod Agrippa who enlarged Jerusalem a few years after Jesus' death.

[515] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, lx. Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 296, n. 366) notes that Jacques de Vitry was not patriarch, but bishop of Acre (1216–28).

A muro namque usque ad murum habet distantiam quantum quater bonus[q] iacere potest arcus, habens insuper a parte occidentali munitionem ex lapidibus quadris ferro[r] et plumbo indissolubiter compaginatam, que ex uno latere pro muro est ciuitati et turris Dauid appellatur. Ipsa eadem tamen est, que a quibusdam etiam Antonia dicitur[s] [516] et montem Sion habet[t] ab austro, in quo Dauid sibi habitaculum fecit, in quo etiam cum aliis regibus Iuda[u] sepultus est. [v]Et eam ciuitatem Dauid appellauit.[v] Mons autem caluarie, in quo Dominus est crucifixus, a parte occidentis erat extra murum ciuitatis, sed Heleus Adrianus ciuitatem ipsam [w]per Titum[w] et Vespasianum omnino destructam reparauit et in tantum ampliauit,[x] quod locum crucifixionis et sepulture dominice intra murorum ambitum inclusit, omni eius situ manente sicut prius.' Huc usque uerba domini Iacobi patriarcha. [y]Ego mensuraui ciuitatem ipsam que fuerat tempore passionis et inueni per diametrum a porta uallis usque ad portam ueterem .ccc. et triginta passus et ista fuit antiquitus latitudo ciuitatis que est hodie plurimum ampliata.[y]

82. (5) Ceterum de portis eius et montibus contra eam positis et locis eius disseramus.[517] ¶ [a]Primo igitur de portis que fuerunt in ea antiquitus et que sunt hodie. [b]Et nota[b] quod tunc octo erant et esse poterant [c]et plures[c] non erant necessarie. Et tot sunt hodie, sed habent plura nomina ut patebit.[a] ¶ Prima igitur[d] earum[e] erat porta Dauid.[518] Que erat in latere montis Syon contra occidentem, ubi erat angulus ciuitatis inferioris oppositus turri Dauid illo in loco, ubi due uoragines a se inuicem separabantur, quarum una contra aquilonem, alia procedebat contra orientem. Et erat ibi testudo facta[f] ultra uallem contra portam, per quam erat exitus ciuitatis. Ad dexteram huius testudinis Iudas in sicomoro quodam laqueo se suspendit.[519] Ista porta dicebatur porta[g] piscium, quia

[q] *om.* *BPb*   [r] cemento *LiLoZb*   [s] appellatur *B*   [t] *B*+; *om.* *P*
[u] *om. BLi*   [v–v] *om. Li*   [w–w] *B*+; *om. P*   [x] amplius *Lo*   [y–y] *om. LiZb*

82   [a–a] *om. LiZb*   [b–b] notandum *BPb*   [c–c] plures enim *BPb*   [d] *om. B*;
porta *add. BLi*   [e] *om. LiZb*   [f] contra orientem *add. Li*   [g] *B*+; *om. P*

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[516] 'This is the same tower... Anthony' ('Ipsa... dicitur'): this mis-identification of the tower of David with the Antonia does not appear in Donnadieu's text of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia orientalis*, lx. It was in fact Herod Agrippa, not Hadrian, who brought the place of the crucifixion and burial within the city walls.

[517] This section describes the gates of Jerusalem, and was probably a previously existing list incorporated by Burchard into his work (he criticizes its location of the Dung Gate). Its present location in the text appears to be where Burchard set it, but the abbreviator's version (B60–7) sets it later in the text, after the material about Bethlehem and the regions south of it. Possibly a page in the manuscript used by the abbreviator had become detached and was reattached at a later point in the copy.

The distance across it from wall to wall is 4 good bowshots; and moreover it has on the west side a fortress of squared stones solidly bonded together with iron and lead, which serves as the wall of the city on one side, and is called the tower of David. This is the same tower which is called by some the Antonia fortress;[516] it has Mount Sion to its south, where David made a dwelling for himself in which he with other kings of Judah is also buried. He called this the city of David. Mount Calvary, however, on which the Lord was crucified, was outside the city wall on the west side, but when the city was destroyed by Titus and Vespasian, Aelius Hadrian repaired it and extended it so far that it included the place of the crucifixion and burial within the circuit of the walls, the whole site however remaining as it was before.' The preceding is a quotation from the Lord Jacques de Vitry. I have measured the city as it was at the time of the passion, and I have found its diameter from the Valley Gate to the Old Gate to have been 330 paces, and that was the ancient breadth of the city, which today is much expanded.

82. (5) For the rest let us discuss the gates, the mountains set about Jerusalem, and its important sites.[517] ¶ First, then, about the gates which were there in antiquity and which are there today. Note that then there were, and could be, eight gates, and that more were not needed. There are the same number today, but they have more names, as will be shown. ¶ The first therefore of those gates was the Gate of David.[518] This was on the west side of Mount Sion, where the corner of the lower city was opposite the tower of David, at that point where the two wadis parted from each other, one of them going north, the other east. A vaulted construction was made there beyond the wadi towards the gate, through which there was an exit from the city. To the right of this vaulting Judas hanged himself on a sycamore beam.[519] That gate was

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Theoderic (*Libellus de locis sanctis*, lii, ed. Huygens, CCCM cxxxix. 145–6), *c.*1171, notes that the city has seven gates, of which six were closed nightly (the seventh, the Golden Gate, being open only on Palm Sunday and the Day of the Exaltation of the Cross). Of the city gates he names only the northern or St Stephen's Gate (now the Damascus Gate), the western gate near the Tower of David (today's Jaffa Gate), the gate built by Herod by the Antonia, the eastern gate near the Golden Gate, and the Gate of St Lazarus by the hospice.

[518] (i) David's Gate, Fish Gate (cf. Neh. 12: 39), Merchants' Gate: the modern Jaffa Gate. It is also known as as the Bab al-Khalil (Gate of the Friend, i.e. Abraham, the friend of God). The present gate was built by Suleiman in 1538. It was famously used by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898 (on a horse), and by General Allenby in 1917 (on foot).

[519] The New Testament evidence (Matt. 27: 3–10; Acts 1: 16–20) does not support Burchard's statement that Judas hanged himself to the right of the vaulted construction at David's Gate. The abbreviator omits this reference.

per eam uia erat de Ioppe et Dispoli[520] et maritima, unde adducebantur pisces. Dicebatur etiam[h] negotiatorum, quia per eam erat uia in Bethleem et in Ebron, in Gazam et Egyptum et Ethiopiam. Sed hec uia diuidebatur supra agrum fulonis in monte Gyon et ibat sinistra uersus Ebron ut dictum est, dextra uero uersus Ioppem. Sed hec iterum diuidebatur post modicum interuallum et ducebatur sinistra in uallem Raphaim sub castro Bethsura uersus Phylistiim et Gazam et inde inde in Egyptum et Ethyopiam unde negotiatores mercedes uarias adducebant. Alia uia ducebat in Emaus et Ramatha et Ioppe contra occidentem ad mare unde adducebant[i] ut dictum est pisces. Dicebatur etiam porta Dauid, quia turris Dauid et ciuitas[j] desuper imminebant.[k]

83. ¶ Secunda porta[521] ab ista fuit in eadem parte muri, respiciens similiter occidentem, sed ab hac[a] distabat contra aquilonem, et dicebatur[b] uetus, quia fuerat illic a tempore Iebuseorum. Dicebatur etiam iudiciaria, quia ante eam iudicium agitabatur et, que iudicata iam erant per sententiam, extra eam mandabantur executioni. Extra hanc fuit Dominus crucifixus, nam litostratos,[522] locus scilicet[c] iudicii, est intra[d] muros ciuitatis iuxta[e] eam. Huius porte uestigia adhuc apparent in muro ueteri[f] ciuitatis; in nouo uero muro, qui includit sepulchrum Domini, respondet ei porta eodem nomine appellata. Et ducit in Sylo et Betheron et Gabaon[g] et ad montem martirorum ubi locus[h] quidam triginta milia martirum [i]sepultos continet[i] quos Cosdroe rex Persarum interfecit.[j] Sic in istoria ecclesiastica continetur.[k] [523]

[h] autem *LiZb*; porta *add. BLiPb* [i] adducebantur *BPb* [j] Dauid *add. B*; eiusdem *add. Li+* [k] eminebat *BPb*

83 [a] priori *Lo* [b] porta *add. B* [c] *LoPZb*; *om. BLiPb* [d] inter *PPb* [e] extra *B* [f] *BPPb*; ueteris *LiLoZb* [g] et in Ioppa sicut in alia *add. LiZb* [h] leo *BLoPb*; in uno loco *Li*; leti *Zb* [i–i] *P*; sepeliuit *BLiLoZb*; sepelluntur *Pb* [j] interfecerat *Lo* [k] habetur *BPb*

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[520] Modern Lydda, or Lod. See below, n. 558.

[521] (ii) Old Gate (cf. Neh. 12: 39), Judgement Gate: Burchard notes that traces of the original gate could be seen in the inner old wall (corresponding to Josephus' second wall, running north towards the Damascus gate; Josephus, *Jewish War* v. 146). Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1867), i. 321) notes that this gate might be Adamnán's 'Gate of the Fuller's Field' (cf. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 95) 'somewhere over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre... probably also it was the same which Arabian writers call Serb... There is no trace of it in the present wall.' Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 297, n. 370) locates Burchard's Old Gate 'inside the city in a position corresponding to the present-day Seventh Station of the Via Dolorosa'. Burchard notes a corresponding gate in the new wall which enclosed the Holy Sepulchre, leading outside the city towards Shiloh (which he identified as Nabi Samwīl), Beth-horon (Bayt 'Ur) and Gibeon (el-Jib).

called the Fish Gate, because through it passed the road from Joppa and Diospolis[520] and the shore by which fish were brought in. It was called the Merchants' Gate, because through it passed the road to Bethlehem, Hebron, Gaza, Egypt, and Ethiopia. But this road divided above the Fuller's Field on Mount Gion, and on the left went towards Hebron, as noted, but on the right towards Joppa. But after a short interval this road divided again, and led on the left to the Valley of Rephaim, below the castle of Beth-zur towards the Philistines and Gaza, and thence to Egypt and Ethiopia, from which the merchants brought their various wares. The other road led westwards to Emmaus and Ramathaim and Joppa and the sea, from which they brought fish, as noted. It was also called David's Gate, because the tower and city of David overhung it.

83. ¶ The second gate[521] from this was in the same part of the wall (similarly looking west), but was at some distance north of it, and was called the Old Gate, because it had been there from the time of the Jebusites. It was also called the Gate of Judgement, since before it judgement was deliberated, and outside it judgements on which sentence had been passed were handed over for execution. Outside it the Lord was crucified, for the pavement,[522] the actual place of judgement, was inside the city walls by the gate. Traces of this gate remain today in the old city wall; in the new wall, however, which includes the Lord's sepulchre, there is a corresponding gate with the same name. It leads to Shiloh, Beth-horon, Gibeon, and to the Mount of Martyrs, where a certain place holds the burials of thirty thousand martyrs killed by the Persian king Chosroes. This story is contained in the Ecclesiastical History.[523]

[522] Burchard sets the pavement (Greek 'lithostratos'; John 19: 13) 'inside the city wall by the gate' (the traditional place of judgement). He is presumably thinking of the older gate in the second city wall (the wall of Josephus' time), because he knows that the outer wall is later.

[523] Burchard's reference here is uncertain. Chosroes' capture of Jerusalem in AD 614 is recorded by two historians, Sebeos (*c.*670) and Strategius (*c.*760) (see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 8–9, 214–15), and by the seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale* (PG xcii. 987–8; *Chronicon Paschale, 284–628*, trans. Whitby and Whitby, pp. 156–7 and n. 437); the martyrs are mentioned in Thietmar's *Pilgrimage*, ch. 9 and in Philip of Savona's late thirteenth-century *Description of the Holy Land*, ch. 6 (translated in Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, pp. 113, 338). The 'new wall' enclosing the Holy Sepulchre was not part of the medieval walls (which were destroyed in 1219) and perhaps became incorporated into the sixteenth-century walls of Suleiman the Magnificent. See Rotermund's map, which with Marino Sanudo's plan of Jerusalem (Rotermund, 'Das Jerusalem des Burchard', p. 57; Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto als Kartograph Palästinas', Tafel iv) places this 'corresponding gate' between David's Tower and the Nebulosa Tower.

84. ¶ Tertia porta est ab ista contra aquilonem, et dicitur porta Effraym,[524] [a]quia per eam ad montem Effraym[a] iter erat. In ea[b] conueniebat murus nouus [c]cum ueteri,[c] qui factus fuerat propter sepulchrum Domini includendum. ¶ Dicitur[d] nunc porta sancti Stephani, quia idem sanctus[e] fuit extra extra eam lapidatus.[525] Hec ducit in Sichem et Samariam et Galileam. ¶ Quarta[f] est [g]ab ista[g] contra orientem in angulo ciuitatis[h] supra torrentem Cedron, dicta porta anguli, quia in angulo ciuitatis sita erat.[526] Vnde in libro Regum dicitur quod Iohas rex Israel cepit Amasiam regem Iuda et duxit eum in Ierusalem, [i]et interruptus murus Ierusalem,[i] a porta Effraym usque ad portam anguli .cccc. cubitis. ¶ Dicta[j] est etiam porta Beniamin, quia per eam fuit uia in Anathot et in Bethel et in desertum et ad ciuitates alias tribus Beniamin, [k]et de deserto Beniamin[k] per eam inducebantur ligna[l] pinea in camelis. ¶ Quinta porta erat contra austrum ab ista, et dicitur porta sterquilinii uel stercoris, sita[m] super torrentem Cedron.[527] [n]Et per eam descendebant tempore pluuie sordes ciuitatis in torrentem Cedron.[n] Per istam[o] similiter erat uia in desertum. Sed non erat porta ista multum populosa, quia loca contra eam posita erant barbare habitationis.

85. ¶ Sexta porta erat ab ista similiter contra austrum super torrentem Cedron, porta gregis dicta,[528] quia per eam inducebantur greges, que in templo immolandi erant, quia piscina probatica[529] prope eam erat. ¶ Dicta fuit etiam porta uallis, quia per eam in uallem Iosaphat[530] erat uia. Et distat ab ea sepulchrum beate uirginis[531] quantum lapidis est iactus. Huic imminebat turris, que dicebatur Phaselus, ab Herode rege facta.[532]

84 [a-a] *om.* *Li* [b] ubi *add.* *Li* [c-c] *om.* *Li* [d] autem *add.* *BPb* [e] Stephanus *add.* *B* [f] porta *add.* *BPb* [g-g] *om.* *Li* [h] muri *Lo* [i-i] *add.* *LiZb* [j] quinta *Li* [k-k] *om.* *LiZb* [l] *B*+; *om.* *P* [m] *B*+; *om.* *P* [n-n] *om.* *BPb* [o] portam *add.* *BPb*

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[524] (iii) Ephraim Gate: the modern Damascus Gate, or Bāb al -'Amūd. The original builder was Herod Agrippa, in AD 41–3; Hadrian rebuilt it in AD 135 as a free-standing monumental city entrance; it was connected to the walls in the late third century. In the sixth century it was called the Galilee Gate, and by the Crusaders St Stephen's Gate. It was rebuilt in 1537–8 by Suleiman. Burchard seems to indicate that a gate existed here in the late thirteenth century, but Prag (*Jerusalem*, p. 73) denies that a gate existed between 1217 and 1537; recent work suggests that the Crusader gate had two main phases, the first in the twelfth century and the second in the thirteenth, during Frankish occupation (1229–44). Burchard then might not have known a fully developed gate in operation. This gate led north to Mount Ephraim, i.e. the hill country between Bethel and Shechem.

[525] See Acts 7: 58–60. The gate named after St Stephen today is the gate north of the Haram ash-Sharif on the east side, overlooking the wadi Kidron.

[526] (iv) Corner Gate, Benjamin Gate: 2 Chr. 25: 23 refers to the wall 'between the Ephraim Gate and the Corner gate', and 2 Chr. 26: 9 to the tower built at the Corner Gate. Burchard clearly locates this gate between today's Damascus Gate and today's St Stephen's Gate. It

84. ¶The third gate lies north of that, and is called the Ephraim Gate,[524] because through it goes the road to Mount Ephraim. Here the new wall, which was built to include the Lord's sepulchre, met the old. ¶ It is now called the Gate of St Stephen, because this same saint was stoned outside it.[525] It leads to Shechem, Samaria, and Galilee. ¶ The fourth gate lies east of that, in the corner of the city above the Kidron valley. It is called the Corner Gate, because it is set in a corner of the city.[526] Hence it is said in the book of Kings that Joash, king of Israel, captured Amaziah king of Judah, and led him into Jerusalem, and the wall of Jerusalem was broken from the Ephraim Gate to the Gate of the Corner, 400 cubits. ¶ It is also called the Benjamin Gate, because through it goes the road to Anathoth, Bethel, the desert, and the other cities of the tribe of Benjamin. Through it are brought in from the desert of Benjamin pine logs on camels. ¶ The fifth gate is south of that one, and is called Dung or Rubbish Gate, set above the Kidron valley. Through it in time of rain the city's sewage went down into Kidron valley.[527] Through it similarly went the road to the desert. But this gate was not much used, because the places beyond it were inhabited by barbarians.

85. ¶The sixth gate, similarly to the south of the Fish Gate above the Kidron valley, was called the Sheep Gate,[528] because through it were brought in the sheep to be sacrificed in the temple, because the Sheep Pool was nearby.[529] ¶ It was also called the Valley Gate because the road to the Valley of Jehoshaphat went through it.[530] The sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin[531] is a stone's throw from it. The tower called Phasael, built by king Herod,[532] overlooked it. It was also called the Gate of the

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presumably lay near the north-east corner of the city. Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), i. 387) refers to a gate between the Damascus Gate and the north-east corner of the city, called by the Franks the Gate of Herod; possibly this was the Gate of the Corner, but it lies some way west of the corner. Rotermund ('Das Jerusalem des Burchard', p. 10, map p. 57) places the 'porta anguli' much nearer the corner. The abbreviator, unusually, includes further information from the Old Testament (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 14: 13). See p. 277 (B63).

[527] (v) Dung Gate: cf. Neh. 2: 13. Burchard locates this apparently between the Corner Gate and the Sheep Gate, but there is no evidence for it here, and Burchard himself has doubts; see the discussion about the eighth gate below.

[528] (vi) Sheep Gate; Valley Gate; Gate of the Valley of Jehoshaphat; Gate of the Dragon's Well: According to Boas (*Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, p. 58) 'no trace of the medieval gate is known to survive', but it presumably 'stood near to the Turkish St Stephen's or Lions' Gate, possibly slightly further west'.

[529] See above, n. 455.

[530] Cf. Joel 3: 2, 12

[531] See above, n. 473.

[532] In fact this tower was part of Herod's citadel on the west of the city, by today's Jaffa Gate. Herod named it after his brother (Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 166).

Dicta fuit etiam porta fontis draconis,[533] quia fons, qui[a] dicebatur draconis,[b] erat ante eam. Per hanc [c]uia est[c] in montem olíueti, Bethaniam et ad Iordanem. ¶ Septima porta erat ab ista similiter contra austrum, et dicitur porta aurea.[534] Et erat super torrentem Cedron similiter, sed in atrio templi. Hoc tamen scito, quod non erat ista porta ciuitatis, sed templi. Per eam si quidem erat uia de monte olíueti per compendium quoddam ultra uallem Iosaphat per testudinem quandam. Et intra istam erat porta templi, que dicebatur speciosa. De hac erat uia in Bethaniam et Iericho et in Iordanem. Octaua porta[535] fuit a superiori similiter australis, super torrentem Cedron in ualle sita, inter montem Syon et montem templi. Et dicebatur porta fontis[d] Syloe siue porta aquarum, quia ducebat ad fontem et natatoriam Siloe et uallem Gehennon et Acheldemach et ad ortum regis. [e]Ego potius credo hanc fuisse portam sterquilinii secundum situm locorum, quam aliam supradictam.[e] Nec credo, quod plures porte fuerint in Ierusalem,[536] quia secundum situm ciuitatis non erant necessarie. Per totum enim circuitum montis Syon etsi[f] porta erat necessaria, tamen nullo modo esse poterat quia dispositio loci[g] impediebat, qui undique preruptus erat.

86. (6) ¶ Montes autem circa Ierusalem erant isti.[537] Ab orientali parte[a] ciuitatis erat mons olíueti,[538] supra illam, maior et altior ceteris montibus, qui erant circa illam. ¶ In eius summitate hedificata est ecclesia in

85 [a] sic *add.* *Li* [b] *om.* *Li* [c–c] uiam itur *LiZb* [d] *B+*; *om.* *P*
[e–e] *LiZb*; *om.* *BPbLoP* [f] *om.* *Li* [g] *om.* *B*

86 [a] partis Ierusalem *B*

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[533] Burchard here identifies this gate with the Sheep Gate. Neh. 2: 13, however, appears to locate this gate near the Dung Gate, which in Nehemiah's narrative seems to belong to the southern approaches to the city; medieval writers, however, linked Nehemiah's Valley Gate with the Valley of Jehoshaphat of Joel 3: 2, 12 and so placed it, the Dung gate, and the Dragon's Well above the Kidron valley on the north-east corner of the city. Burchard's doubts about this location for the Dung Gate are justified.

[534] (vii) Golden Gate: Burchard rightly comments that this is not a gate of the city but of the temple. The structure visible to Burchard and to today's observer was probably built by Caliph Abd al-Malik (685–705), on foundations which may go back to the Shushan Gate of the Temple (Mishnah, *Middoth* 1: 3; *Mishnah*, trans. Danby, p. 590). The Latin title *aurea* ('golden') may have derived from confusion with the Greek title for the gate, *horaia* ('beautiful'; cf. Acts 3: 1–10) (see Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 102; Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 96). The Piacenza Pilgrim (AD 570) seems to indicate that the gate from Gethsemane into Jerusalem was next to the Gate Beautiful (Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 101; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, p. 83), which was part of the temple. However, the Beautiful Gate of Acts 3: 1–10 is usually located at the west wall of the temple court (Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 96; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, map p. xvi; Peters, *Jerusalem*, p. 83).

[535] (viii) Gate of the Siloam Spring, Water Gate: Neh. 8: 1; 12: 37. Burchard sees that the Dung Gate should be in this southern area and proposes to identify it with the Water Gate.

Dragon's Well,[533] because the Well called the Dragon's Well lay before it. Through this went the road to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and the Jordan. ¶ The seventh gate was similarly south of the latter and is called the Golden Gate.[534] It was similarly above the Kidron valley, but in the temple court. But note that this was not a gate of the city but of the temple. Through it a road came from the Mount of Olives, beyond the valley of Jehoshaphat, by a short cut, by a certain vaulted arch. Inside the gate was the temple gate called Beautiful. Out of this went the road to Bethany, Jericho, and the Jordan. The eighth gate was similarly south of the previous one, set above the Kidron valley in the valley between Mount Sion and the temple mount. It was called the Gate of the Siloam Spring or the Water Gate, because it led to the spring and the bathing-pool of Siloam, to the valley of Gehenna, Akeldama, and the king's garden. I believe, to judge from the location of places, that this rather than the gate given above was the Dung Gate.[535] I do not believe that Jerusalem had more gates,[536] for given the city's position no more were needed. For round the whole of Mount Sion even if a gate were needed, in no way could there have been one, for the ground, steep on every side, would have prevented it.

86. (6) ¶ These were the mountains round about Jerusalem.[537] East of the city, above it, was the Mount of Olives,[538] larger and higher than the other mountains about it. ¶ On its top was built a church on the spot

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Burchard seems to locate this gate on the site of the present Dung Gate (Bab al-Maghariba, Gate of the Moors; see Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 69, map pp. 70–1) or its predecessor, which makes topographical sense, as this gate would give access to the Siloam spring below.

[536] Other gates were introduced at later times; e.g. the New Gate in the north-west corner (built in 1887). However, Burchard seems to pass over the medieval Sion Gate constructed c.1212 (see Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, pp. 56–7), about 330 feet (100 m) east of the present Zion Gate (built by Suleiman in 1540), perhaps because the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed by al-Mu'azza 'Isa in 1219, and remained in ruins until Suleiman rebuilt them (1537–41). Burchard's description of the Water Gate is largely in the past tense, and he must have relied on earlier records as well as his own observation (note the reference to the *uestigia* visible of the 'old gate' above). Indeed, it seems likely that Burchard incorporated a pre-existing list of gates. The abbreviator does not include Burchard's view about the Dung Gate, but seems to expand rather than abbreviate Burchard's final remarks by arguing that the terrain between the Water Gate and David's Gate on the southern circuit made the addition of other gates impossible.

[537] Burchard signposted this as the next subject in **82**. The abbreviator approaches the topic differently (**B54**), in words that seem to follow on from previous words in **80** (see n. 511).

[538] Burchard now embarks on a long passage about the Mount of Olives, absent from the abbreviated version. It is perhaps surprising that the abbreviator omits mention of the Church of the Ascension, but not surprising that he omits the Mount of Offence, Topheth and Gehenna, Akeldama, the tomb of Helena, and the temple to Chemosh, which were probably of little concern to worshipping Christians in Magdeburg.

loco, unde Dominus ascendit in celum.[539] In cuius medio est locus idem[b] et desuper apertura, ut pateat locus etiam in aere, per quem ascendit. [c]Verum est, quod[c] lapis [d]ille, in quo stetit, quando ascendit, et[d] qui uestigia eius impressa tenebat, positus fuerat ibi[e] pro altari, sed modo altare destructum est, et est ibi mameria.[f] Lapis uero ille positus est in obstructionem hostii orientalis sine calce tamen et potest bene aliquis inmittere[g] manum et tangere uestigia, sed non uidere. In latere huius ecclesie adheret capella quedam[540] ad austrum, in qua sepulta est[h] Pelagia, quondam famosa meretrix, quam Dominus postea graciam penitentie contritionis ei conferendo reliquit etiam[i] peccatoribus in exemplum. Dicitur etiam[j] quod[k] in peccato mortali existens inter tumbam eius et murum proximum transire non potest, sed nescio ueritatem; plures tamen transeunt et hoc ego uidi. ¶ In eodem monte contra austrum minus quam iactus sit lapidis, est alia ecclesia, que domus panis dicitur,[l] ubi Dominus discipulos docuit orare, et dominicam orationem in lapide ibi scripsit. [541] ¶ Mons offensionis[542] isti contra austrum adiacet, competenter altus, sed per uallem intermediam separantur. Dicitur autem mons offensionis, quia Salomon in eo templum Moloch posuerat[m] a regione templi, Dominum prouocando. Subter eum etiam contra austrum est locus Tophet siue Gehennon.[543]

87. ¶ Inter orientem uero et austrum respectu ciuitatis situs est ager Acheldemach,[544] et mons desuper ualde altus, qui eodem nomine appellatur, [a]et tenet fere totam partem austri contra ciuitatem.[a] Isti ab

[b] ibidem *BPb* [c-c] *B+*; et *P* [d-d] *B+*; *om.* *P* [e] ibidem *LiLoZb* [f] mameria *LoPb*; memoria *B+* [g] mittere *BPb* [h] sancta *add. B* [i] eam *add. B* [j] *om. BPb* [k] aliquis *add. BPb* [l] *om. Li* [m] proposuerat *Li*

87 [a-a] *om. Li*

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[539] See Luke 24: 50–2; Acts 1: 3–12. Egeria celebrated the Ascension on the Mount of Olives in 384, the first church being built there by 392. It was sacked in 614 by the Persians; Arculf in the late seventh century described it as a round building with three porticoes and a roof open to the sky; in the middle of the church the Lord's footprints, impressed in the dust, were visible through a railed-off opening (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 100–1). Daniel (1104–6) mentions the stone on which Jesus stood below a marble-slabbed court; Theoderic's description (*Libellus de locis sanctis*, xxvii, ed. Huygens, CCCM, cxxxix (1994), pp. 143–97, at 174) shows how by his time the church had been built up. He says that the church is approached by twenty steps, and has a round marble structure in the middle topped by an altar; beneath the altar appears the stone on which the Lord is said to have stood when he ascended. This aedicule probably belongs to the mid-twelfth century (see Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 72–88; Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 256; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 142; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, p. 113).

[540] On the south-west side of the Church of the Ascension is a Jewish tomb which in Christian tradition became St Pelagia's tomb, mentioned by Theoderic (*Libellus de locis sanctis*,

where the Lord ascended to heaven.[539] That place is in the middle of the church, and above it is an opening, so that the place in the air through which he ascended might also lie open. It is true that the stone on which he stood when he ascended and which kept the impression of his footprints was placed there before the altar, but now the altar has been destroyed and there is a mosque there. But that stone was placed, without mortar, to block the east doorway, but one can easily insert one's hand and touch the footprints, but not see them. Attached to the south side of this church is a certain chapel[540] in which is buried Pelagia, once a well-known prostitute, whom the Lord, after conferring on her the grace of penitence and contrition, left also as an example to sinners. It is said that someone living in mortal sin cannot pass through between her tomb and the neighbouring wall, but I do not know the truth of this; many people pass through, as I have seen. ¶ On the same mountain less than a stone's throw to the south is another church called 'the house of bread',[541] where the Lord taught the disciples to pray, and wrote the Lord's Prayer on a stone there. ¶ The Mount of Offence[542] adjoins the Mount of Olives to the south. It is fairly high but the two are separated by a valley between them. It is called the Mount of Offence because Solomon set the temple of Moloch on it, away from the temple area, so challenging the Lord. Below this also to the south is the place of Topheth or Gehenna.[543]

87. ¶ To the south-east of the city lies the field of Akeldama,[544] and above it a very high mountain called by the same name; it occupies almost the whole of the area facing the city on the south. Adjoining this

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xxvii, ed. Huygens, CCCM, cxxxix. 174) (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 258; Pringle, *Churches*, iii. 344–5).

[541] 'the house of bread', or, the Church of the Paternoster: Eusebius, associating the site with the Ascension of Jesus, says that this was one of the three churches built by Constantine over caves (the other two being the birth cave at Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre; see *Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, pp. 12, 16–22). Egeria in 384 connects this church (the Eleona, named from its position on the Mount of Olives) with the Lord's instruction of the apostles (see Wilkinson, ibid., pp. 134–5). The church was destroyed by the Persians in 614. By the time of the Crusades it had become especially the cave where Jesus taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer. Theoderic (*Libellus de locis sanctis*, xxvii, ed. Huygens, CCCM, cxxxix. 174) refers to an inscription below the altar giving the Lord's Prayer. It is thought that a small chapel was built in the early twelfth century, followed by the larger church over the subterranean grotto mentioned by Theoderic where Jesus taught his disciples. It was probably damaged in 1187 (see Pringle, *Churches* iii. 117–24; Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 258; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 143–4).

[542] 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 7; see above, n. 491.

[543] Topheth: see above, n. 488. Gehenna: a Greek form (cf. Matt. 5: 22) of the Hebrew Gê-Hinnōm, Valley of Hinnom, notorious as a place where children were burned in sacrifice (cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 10; Jer. 7: 31; 19: 1–9).

[544] See above, n. 483.

occidente adheret ager fulonis[545] et mons desuper eiusdem altitudinis cuius et prior. ¶ Huic uero agro scilicet[b] fulonis adheret mons Gyon[546] ab occidentali scilicet parte ciuitatis, ita tamen, ut uia, que precedit de porta Dauid siue negotiatorum, transeat inter eos. Iste mons Gyon ab occidente supereminet ciuitati, sed paulatim defficit, ita ut contra portam ueterem uel iudiciariam non sit multum altus. Terra tamen tumorosa est [c]de cetero[c] contra occidentem et aquilonem usque ad sepulchrum Helene regine,[547] quod est contra portam Beniamin supra torrentem Cedron[d] collocatum.[e] Vltra torrentem[f] Cedron in latere aquilonari montis olиueti est mons [g]alius similiter multum altus, quatuor stadiis distans[h] ab Ierusalem,[g] ubi Salomon Chamos, ydolo Moabitarum, similiter templum construxit,[i] [548] ubi[j] postea tempore Machabeorum et Romanorum hedifficatum fuit castrum,[549] cuius adhuc indicia ibi sunt, unde Ierosolimite fuerunt multipliciter infestati. Isti montes omnes sunt prope menia ciuitatis, non tamen ita prope, ut inde possit ciuitas instrumentis aliquibus [k]uel ingeniis[k] impugnari. Et hec de situ ciuitatis eiusdem et portis et montibus dicta [l]circa ipsam[l] sufficiant. [m]Ceterum ad descriptiones partis terre, que adhuc restat, redeamus.[m]

88. (IX. 1) ¶ De Iherusalem igitur procedendo duabus leucis contra angulum, qui est inter occidentem et septentrionem, est mons Sylo, qui nunc ad sanctum Samuelem dicitur,[550] altior utique omnibus montibus, qui sunt in terra sancta, quantum ad situm; omnibus enim supereminet. Et distat de Gabaa Saulis[551] per unam leucam et plus et de Rama Beniamin similiter. In hoc loco fuit archa Domini[552] longo[a]

[b] *BLoPb; om. LiP* [c-c] *B+; om. P* [d] *B+; om. P* [e] *om. Li* [f] uero *add. BPbZb* [g-g] *om. B* [h] *om. Pb* [i] similiter multum altus quattuor stadiis ab Ierusalem *add. B* [j] etiam *add. B* [k-k] *om. Li* [l-l] *om. BLiPb* [m-m] *B+; om. P*

88 [a] multo *Li*

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[545] See above, n. 459.

[546] See above, n. 428.

[547] Mentioned by Josephus, *Jewish War*, v. 55, 119, 147, apparently opposite a gate in the north wall of Jerusalem.

[548] Burchard has already referred to the Mount of Offence (or Mount of Corruption) where Solomon built shrines for foreign deities (see 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 7; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 13) on the south side of the Mount of Olives. Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), i. 565–6) suggested that Burchard located Solomon's shrine for Molech on the southern part of the Mount of Olives (the Mons Offensionis), and his shrine for Chemosh on the north side of the Mount of Olives. Chemosh was the name of the Moabite god, named on the Mesha stele and also in the Old Testament: see Num. 21: 29; Judg. 11: 24; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 7, 33; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 13; Jer. 48: 7, 13, 46.

[549] It is not clear to which castle Burchard refers. The castles that most disturbed the people of Jerusalem were (1) the Akra, first built by the Seleucids against the Maccabees (1 Macc. 1: 33) and subsequently captured and reorganized by the Maccabaeans (1 Macc. 13:

in the west is the Fuller's Field,[545] with a mountain above it of the same height as the previous one. ¶ Thus on the west side of the city this field, that is the Fuller's Field, adjoins Mount Gion,[546] but with the result that the road from David's Gate, or the Gate of the Merchants, passes between them. Mount Gion overlooks the city from the west, but gradually slopes away so that in front of the Old or Judgement Gate it is not very high. However, for the remainder, the land is hilly towards the west and north, as far as the tomb of queen Helena,[547] which lies against the Benjamin Gate above the Kidron valley. Beyond the Kidron valley on the north side of the Mount of Olives is another mountain similarly of great height, 4 stadia from Jerusalem, where Solomon similarly built a temple to Chemosh, the idol of the Moabites.[548] Here later, in the time of the Maccabaeans and Romans, was built a castle,[549] whose traces are there still; the people of Jerusalem suffered frequent attacks from it. Those mountains are all near the city walls, though not so near that the city could be attacked from them by any military machines or engines. Let this be enough said about the position of the city, its gates and surrounding mountains. Let us return to the description of the remaining parts of the land.

88. (IX. 1) ¶ If we proceed, then, 2 leagues away from the north-west corner of Jerusalem, we come to Mount Shiloh, now named for St Samuel.[550] As for its position, it is higher than all the mountains in the Holy Land, for it rises above them all. It is a league and little more from Gibeah of Saul,[551] and similarly from Ramah of Benjamin. In this place the ark of the Lord[552] remained for a long time, with the tabernacle

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50; 14: 37); and (2) the Roman Antonia, a fortress built 37–35 BC by Herod the Great to protect the temple, and named after Mark Antony (Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 401; v. 238–47). But these were not located on a mountain north of the Mount of Olives.

[550] Burchard refers to Nabi Samwīl (167137), north-west of Jerusalem, the traditional burial place of the prophet Samuel (see above. n. 512). Justinian (emperor 527–65) built a monastery here. The Crusaders identified Nabi Samwīl as ancient Shiloh (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 3) and in 1157 built a church over Samuel's tomb, but it decayed after 1187 (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 96; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 419). In **60** above Burchard identifies Shiloh with Ramah, north of Bethel, which does not seem consistent with the Nabi Samwil identification. The reference to Shiloh as the highest mountain in the Holy Land seems to refer back to **82**; Burchard seems to have built the paragraphs on the gates of Jerusalem and the surrounding mountains into this larger context, as is suggested by the closing words of **87** ('let us return to the description of the remaining parts of the land').

[551] Probably modern Jaba' (175140), 5.5 miles (9 km) north-east of Jerusalem; see *ABD*, ii. 1007–9: see 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 11: 4; 14: 16; 15: 34; Isa. 10: 29. The ark is not associated with Gibeah in the Old Testament. The abbreviator ignores Gibeah. Burchard locates it one league from Nabi Samwīl.

[552] See Exod. 25: 10–22.

tempore et tabernaculum federis quod fecerat Moyses in deserto.[553] (2) ¶ De isto[b] ad unam leucam paruam est Gabaon,[554] ciuitas de tribu Benyamin, sita in eodem monte,[c] unde et ibi dicitur fuisse excelsum maximum.[d] Istius ciuitatis incole miserunt ad Iosue nuntios in Galgala, fraudulenter facientes cum eo pacem et fedus, quasi essent in remotibus partibus constituti.[555] (3) ¶ De Ierusalem quattuor leucis contra occidentem est Emmaus[556] castellum,[e] ubi Dominus ambulans cum duobus discipulis in specie peregrini agnitus[f] est[g] in fractione panis. Hoc hodie Nichopolis dicitur. (4) ¶ De Ierusalem [h]duabus uel tribus leucis[h] [i]sub monte Sylo[i] contra occidentem est Bethoron inferior,[557] de quo fit mentio in libro Iosue et Machabeorum I et est in tribu Beniamin. (5) ¶ De Ierusalem quattuor leucis et dimidia contra occidentem euntibus Diospolim siue Liddam[558] est Cariatharim,[j] que fuit una de urbibus Gabaonitarum,[559] ubi[k] uiginti annis mansit archa Domini, postquam de Philistim est reducta. ¶ [l]De Cariatharim duabus leucis contra occidentem fere est [m]Lachis,[560] similiter una de urbibus Gabaonitarum, cuius fit mentio quarto Regum, quam obsedit Sennacherib tempore Ezechie. Ista fuit de tribu Beniamin.

89. (6) ¶ De Cariathiarim duabus leucis contra austrum fere est[m] Bethsames[561] opidum, quod ad differentiam alterius [a]Bethsames, que est in Neptalim,[a] dicitur Bethsames Iude, ac tamen in rei ueritate erat de

[b] monte *add.* B+ [c] B+; *om.* P [d] magnum *BPb* [e] castrum *B*
[f] cognitus *Li* [g] ab eis *add. Li* [h–h] *P*; duabus leucis *BPb*; tribus leucis et dimidia *Li*; tribus leucis *LoZb* [i–i] *om. Li* [j] ciuitas *add. B* [k] in qua *LiZb*
[l–l] *om. Pb* [m–m] *om. B*; quarto Regum *and* ista fuit... Beniamin *om. Pb*

89 [a–a] *om. B*

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[553] See Exod. 26: 1–37.

[554] Modern al-Jīb (167139), 5 miles (8 km) north-west of Jerusalem. For the high place, see 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 3: 3–15. Cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 2: 12–28; 3: 30; 20: 4–10 (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 335–6; *ABD*, ii. 1010–12). The abbreviator ignores Gibeon.

[555] See Josh. 9: 3 – 10: 15.

[556] See Luke 24: 13–35. Burchard refers to Nicopolis, modern Kh. Imwas (149138), 4 leagues, about 18 miles (29 km) or 160 stades from Jerusalem; this fits with the 160 stades of some New Testament manuscripts at Luke 24: 13. However, this is too far for the journey of a single day recorded by Luke, and the best gospel manuscripts read 60 stades (7 miles, 11.5 km), which would take the traveller to al-Qubeiba (163138) or nearly to Abu Ghosh (160134), where the Crusaders located Emmaus until after 1187, after which they located Emmaus at Qubeiba. (See Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 176, 361–2, 435–6; see also *ABD*, ii. 498.) Imwas/Nicopolis was abandoned after 1187, so Burchard a century later makes no reference to the Crusader church there (see Pringle, *Churches*, i. 52–9). The abbreviator omits reference to Nicopolis.

[557] Lower Beth-horon is now associated with Bayt 'Ur at-Tahta (158144); Upper Beth-horon is Bayt 'Ur al-Foqa (161143): see Josh. 10: 10–11; 16: 3, 5; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 9: 17; 1 Macc. 7: 39, 9: 50 (where Lower Beth-horon is mentioned alongside Emmaus among cities fortified by Bacchides) (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 275; *ABD*, i. 688–9). The abbreviator omits.

[558] Diospolis, Lydda (140151): see Ezra 2: 33; Neh. 7: 37; 11: 35; 1 Macc. 11: 34; Acts 9: 32–8. The Roman general Cassius enslaved its people, but Antony restored them (Josephus,

of the covenant which Moses had made in the wilderness.[553] (2) ¶ A short league from there is Gibeon,[554] a city of the tribe of Benjamin, lying on the same mountain; for which reason that too is said to have been the very highest place. The inhabitants of this city sent messengers to Joshua in Gilgal, fraudulently making peace and a treaty with him as if they were residents in remote parts.[555] (3) ¶ Four leagues west of Jerusalem is the castle of Emmaus,[556] where the Lord, walking with two of his disciples in the guise of a stranger, was recognized in the breaking of bread. This place is today called Nicopolis. (4) ¶ Two or 3 leagues west of Jerusalem below Mount Shiloh is Lower Beth-horon,[557] which is mentioned in the book of Joshua and in the first book of Maccabees, and is in the tribe of Benjamin. (5) ¶ Four and a half leagues west of Jerusalem on the way to Diospolis or Lydda[558] is Kiriath-jearim,[559] one of the Gibeonite cities, in which the ark of the Lord remained for twenty years after it was brought back from the Philistines. ¶ Almost west of Kiriath-jearim is Lachish,[560] similarly one of the Gibeonite cities mentioned in 4 Kings, which Sennacherib besieged in the time of Hezekiah. It belonged to the tribe of Benjamin.

89. (6) ¶ Almost 2 leagues south of Kiriath-jearim is the town of Beth-shemesh,[561] which, to distinguish it from the other Beth-shemesh in Naphtali, is called Beth-shemesh of Judah, though in fact it belonged to

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Jewish Antiquities, xiv. 275, 304–13). After the revolt of AD 66–70 Vespasian resettled the town. In the time of Septimius Severus (emperor 193–211) it became a Roman colony, and was renamed Diospolis. The Crusaders believed it to be the place of the martyrdom of St George (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 370).

[559] Biblical Kiriath-jearim (Vulgate, Cariathiarim), perhaps Tall al-Azhar (157136), 8 miles (13 km) west of Jerusalem: a city of Judah (Josh. 15: 60), a Gibeonite city (Josh. 9: 17), probably a cultic centre which housed the ark for a time (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 6: 19 – 7: 2; 2 Chr. 1: 4). Burchard locates Kiriath-jearim 2 leagues north of Beth-shemesh (89, n. 561), which would place it a little south of Nicopolis/Kh. 'Imwas (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 419–21; *ABD*, iv. 84–5). The abbreviator omits Kiriath-jearim and Lachish.

[560] Lachish is identified with Tall ad-Duwayr (135108). Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 120. 19–21) located it at the seventh milepost on the road from Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) to Gaza. See Josh. 10: 31–2; 2 Chr. 11: 9; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 14: 19. Burchard locates Lachish west of Kiriath-jearim, and so well north of Tall ad-Duwayr. Perhaps he was thinking of Tel Batash (142133) or Tel Miqneh (136123). For Sennacherib's siege of Lachish in 701 BC, see 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 18: 14–17; 19: 8. For the biblical and archaeological evidence see *ABD*, iv. 114–28.

[561] Tall ar-Rumeileh, west of 'Ain Shems (148129): the list of Josh. 19: 41 locates it in Dan's territory, but Josh. 21: 16 puts it in Judah's, as Burchard has observed. Josh. 19: 41 may reflect Beth-shemesh's position in the second administrative district of Solomon's kingdom; cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 9. For Beth-shemesh in Naphtali see Josh. 19: 38; another Beth-shemesh was located in Issachar (Josh. 19: 22). For the story of the ark at Beth-shemesh see 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 6: 9–15. For the victory of Jehoash king of Israel over Amaziah of Judah at Beth-shemesh see 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 14: 11; 2 Chr. 25: 21; Burchard ignores it. See Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 282; *ABD*, i. 696–8.

tribu Dan, que [b]erat circa sortem[b] Iude iuxta mare. De ipsa tamen Iuda in Saracha et Estaol usque ad terminum[c] Ioppe fere accepit sortem. In campum[d] huius uille due uacce de Accharon[562] reduxerunt archam Dei,[e] quando Bethsamite mettebant triticum in ualle, et mortua sunt de ipsis septuaginta milia[563] plebis, eo quod uidissent archam Domini nudam. (7) ¶ De Ierusalem decem[f] leucis contra occidentem est Ramatha Sophim,[564] que partim de tribu Benyamin, partim de tribu Effraym erat, sita tamen in monte Effraym. Planicies enim illa sic appellatur, licet mons non sit, sed campus. Planities dicta[g] fuit Arimathia,[565] de qua fuit Ioseph,[h] nobilis decurio, qui sepeliuit Dominum Ihesum Christum. Samuel propheta fuit de eadem oriundus et in ea sepultus. Hodie dicitur Ramula.[i] [566] (8) ¶ De Ramula tribus leucis contra occidentem est Ioppe ciuitas,[567] ubi Ionas intrauit nauem, uolens fugere a facie Domini[j] in Tharsis, hoc est ad insulas maris.[568] In ea est hodie hospitium[k] Petri ecclesia sita sub rupibus iuxta mare. Sunt etiam ibi scopuli ad quos secundum fabulas dicitur Andromeda filia Cephei religata[l] deuoranda[m] a bellua marina sed a rege[n] Persaeo liberata. (9) ¶ Sub ea est Iamnia,[569] portus alius[o] Iudee, ad duas[p] leucas contra austrum.[q] Quem portum cepit Iudas Machabeus et succendit ita ut ignis in Ierusalem uideretur.

[b–b] circa finem sortis *BPbLo*; omnia fuerunt sortis *Li*; circa fuerunt sortis *Zb* [c] terminus Iude *Li* [d] campo *LiZb* [e] Domini *BLiZb* [f] uiginti *P* [g] etiam *add. P* [h] *om. Li* [i] De Cariathiarim superius dicta contra orientem fere est Lacis ciuitas similiter una de urbibus Gabaonitarum cuius fit mentio quia obsedit Sennacherib tempore Ezechie *add. B* [j] *om. B* [k] beati *add. Li* [l] religanda *Li* [m] *om. BPb* [n] *om. BPb* [o] altus *Li* [p] quattuor *B* [q] fere *add. PLo*

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[562] Biblical Ekron (Vulgate, Accaron; Kh. al-Muqanna' (135131), 35 miles (56 km) south-west of Jerusalem); cf. Josh. 15: 45–6; 19: 43; Judg. 1: 18; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 5: 10; 7: 14; 17: 52; Jer. 25: 20; Amos 1: 8; Zeph. 2: 4; Zech. 9: 5–7; 1 Macc. 10: 89 (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 319; *ABD*, ii. 415–22). Burchard places Ekron 4 leagues west of Beth-shemesh (101, n. 635).

[563] See 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 6: 19. The numbers given in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts are confusing. The Masoretic text gives 'of the people, seventy men, fifty thousand men'. Josephus (*Antiquities*, vi. 16) gives 'seventy'. The Vulgate gives 'seventy men and fifty thousand of the common people'; cf. Septuagint (see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel*, pp. 58–9). The abbreviator omits both Beth-shemesh and Ekron.

[564] Burchard declares it a plain (*planicies*), and identifies it with Arimathea and Ramula (see *ABD*, v. 613–14 and next entry), noting it as Samuel's birthplace (cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 19–20) and burial place (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 25: 1, Ramatha; RSV Ramah).

[565] Probably the Samaritan toparchy (1 Macc. 11: 34) cited in each gospel as the home of the Joseph who asked Pilate for Jesus' body (Mark 15: 43 and parallels). Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 32. 21–3) identifies Joseph's home city with Armathem Seipha, the city of Elkanah and Samuel (Ramathaim-zophim, 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 1), which he locates near Diospolis/Lydda. Burchard identifies it with Ramula, now Ramla, in the plain south-east of Jaffa. He states that Arimathea is 10 leagues west of Jerusalem in a plain, which suggests that he is following the Eusebius tradition. From the Middle Ages some scholars have located Arimathea at Rentis (151159), some 15 miles (24 km) east-south-east of Jaffa (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 428–9; *ABD*, i. 378; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 199–200).

the tribe of Dan, which surrounded the land allotted to Judah beside the sea. From Dan, however, Judah received its lot in Zorah and Eshtaol almost as far as the border of Joppa. To the field of this town two cows from Ekron[562] brought back the ark of the Lord, while the people of Beth-shemesh were reaping their wheat in the valley. Seventy thousand of their people[563] died, because they had seen the ark of the Lord uncovered. (7) ¶ Ten leagues west of Jerusalem is Ramathaim-zophim,[564] which belonged partly to the tribe of Benjamin, partly to that of Ephraim, but it lies on Mount Ephraim. For that level area is so called, though it is not a mountain but a plain. The plain was called Arimathea,[565] from which came Joseph, the noble councillor, who buried the Lord Jesus Christ. The prophet Samuel was also born there and was buried there. It is now called Ramleh.[566] (8) ¶ Three leagues west of Ramleh is the city of Joppa,[567] where Jonas boarded ship, wanting to flee from the Lord's presence to Tarshish, that is, to the islands of the sea.[568] In Joppa today is the Hospitallers' church of Peter, located below the cliffs by the sea. There are there the rocks to which (according to the legends) Andromeda the daughter of Cepheus was bound, to be eaten by the sea monster, but freed by king Perseus. (9) ¶ Below Joppa, almost 2 leagues south, is Jamnia,[569] another port of Judah. Judas Maccabeus captured this port, and burned it, with the result that the fire was seen in Jerusalem.

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[566] Ramla was built as a new city in 712–15. When the Crusaders approached, its people fled. The Crusaders took it in 1099, and built St George's church. In 1191 Saladin destroyed the fortifications, and though Richard I 'Lionheart' held it briefly, the city remained in Muslim hands. In 1229–44 it reverted to the Franks. In 1266 Baybars took Ramla and rebuilt the White Mosque. Ramla was not a Christian city in the time of Burchard, who barely mentions it (see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 181–99).

[567] Modern Jaffa or Yafo (126162): see Josh. 19: 46; 2 Chr. 2: 16; Ezra 3: 7; Jonah 1: 3; 1 Macc. 13: 11. The Crusaders captured it in 1099. In the twelfth century Joppa consisted of an upper citadel with St Peter's church, and lower suburbs by the sea. It fell to the Muslims in 1187, to Richard I in 1191, was in Muslim hands from 1197 to 1204, when it was ceded to the Christians. In 1268 it fell to Baybars, who destroyed the castle. Burchard therefore ignores it apart from a reference to Jonah (see Pringle, *Churches*, i. 264–73; Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 355–6; *ABD*, iii. 946–9). Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus, was bound to a rock at Joppa (cf. Strabo, *Geographia*, xvi. 2. 28) as an expiatory victim, to free Ethiopia from a monster, but Perseus, returning from killing the Gorgon, saw her, fell in love, and freed her. The abbreviator ignores Joppa altogether; Joppa was important to pilgrims but not to those who stayed at home in Magdeburg.

[568] Jer. 10: 9, Ezek. 27: 12; 38: 13 suggest Tarshish was the source of various metals. Tarshish is usually identified as the classical Tartessus in Spain (cf. Herodotus, *History*, ed. Godley, iv. 152; Strabo, *Geography*, iii. 2. 71; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xxxvii. 43). Burchard connects Tarshish with 'the isles of the sea'; cf. Ps. 71 (72): 10 (see *ABD*, vi. 331–3).

[569] Modern Yavneh (126141)): cf. Josh. 15: 11 (Jabneel; Vulgate, Jebneel); 2 Chr. 26: 6 (Jabneh); 2 Macc. 12: 8, 9, 40 (Jamnia); Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, v. 87; xiii. 395; xiv. 75. Judas Maccabaeus burned it. Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 106. 20–1) sets it between Diospolis (Lydda) and Azotus (Ashdod). The Crusaders built the castle of Ibelin here in 1141, but it was lost to Saladin in 1187; Burchard does not mention it (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 354; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, ii. 109–10; *ABD*, iii. 634–7). The abbreviator ignores Jamnia.

90. (10) ¶ De Ierusalem duabus leucis contra austrum sita est Bethleem,[570] ciuitas illa[a] ueri Dauid ortu[b] insignis, in sinistra parte uie, que ducit uersus[c] Ebron, extra uiam tamen ad iactum arcus unius. Prius tamen occurrit sepulchrum Rachel,[571] ad dextram, iuxta uiam, cui[d] pyramis pulcra imminet[e] quam hedificauit Iacob in titulum[f] monumenti Rachel superponens[g] eidem super tumbam duodecim[h] lapides grandes secundum numerum filiorum Israel qui hodie sunt[i] ibidem iuxta sepulchrum Rachel.[j] Inueniuntur quidam lapilli[k] omnino sicut cycera dispositi, quos ibidem solent colligere peregrini propter dicta quedam que ibi dicuntur fuisse facta. ¶ Contra orientem uero ciuitatis Bethleem[l] fere[m] est turris Ader[572] siue gregis ubi Iacob dicitur tempore aliquanto post mortem Rachelis mansisse et pecora sua[n] pauisse. ¶ De Bethleem quinque iactus arcuum fere distans[o] ibidem est[p] ubi pastores custodientes uigilias noctis super gregem suum in hora natiuitatis Christi uiderunt et audierunt angelos cantantes[q] 'Gloria in excelsis Deo'.[r] Qui etiam[s] nuntiauerunt[t] esse natum mundi Saluatorem.[573] ¶ Bethleem uero sita est in monte competenter alto,[574] sed arto, qui ab oriente in occidentem in longitudine se extendit. Ab occidente habet introitum, et ibi est cisterna[575] iuxta portam, de qua Dauid desiderauit bibere, cum esset in presidio. In fine uero orientali ciuitatis eiusdem sub rupe quadam, que erat iuxta murum ciuitatis et uidetur secundum morem terre[u] illius fuisse locus pro stabulo, habens presepe excisum [v]in petra,[v] ut ibi moris est facere presepia, ortus est huic mundo de uirgine matre sol iusticie, Christus Iesus, ostendens se sua natiuitate sordes et tenebras mundi ablaturum, eo quod in sordibus nasci et oriri uoluit talis loci.

90 [a] benedicta *add.* *BPb* [b] ortus *LiZb* [c] *om.* *LiZb* [d] cuius *Li* [e] eminet *Li* [f] typum *BPb* [g] *LiP*; supponens *BLoPbZb* [h] uiginti *B* [i] *om.* *LiZb* [j] *om.* *LiZb* [k] nigri *add.* *LiZb* [l] *om.* *BPb* [m] *PZb*; *om.* *BLiLoPb* [n] *om.* *Li* [o] distat *Li* [p] locus *add.* *Li* [q] Domino *add.* *Li* [r] *om.* *P* [s] tunc *add.* *B* [t] clamauerunt *BPb* [u] *B+*; *om.* *P* [v–v] *om.* *BPb*

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[570] Bethlehem, nearly 6 miles (9 km) south of Jerusalem: cf. Gen. 35: 19; 48: 7; Judg. 17: 7–9; 19: 1, 2, 18; Ruth 1: 1–2; 4: 11; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 16: 4; 17: 12; 20: 28; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 23: 15; Ezra 2: 21; Neh. 7: 26; Jer. 41: 17; Mic. 5: 2; Matt. 2: 1, 6, 16; Luke 2: 15; John 7: 42. Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Trypho Iudeo*, 78 (PG vi. 470–801, at 657–62); Justin Martyr, *The Dialogue with Trypho*, trans. Williams, p. 164, refers to a cave as the site of Jesus' birth. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 51 (GCS, *Origenes Werke*, i. 102 = PG xi. 756) speaks of a manger. Constantine built an octagonal apse onto a basilica, and in front of it a court enclosed by four porticoes; for the plan see Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 229–37; see especially Hamilton, *Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, pp. 11–15; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 377–8; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 137–57; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. Cameron and Hall, pp. 133, 293. The Bordeaux Pilgrim visited it in 333; Jerome resided there from 384–420. The church was destroyed in 529, and rebuilt by Justinian.

90. (10) ¶ Two leagues south of Jerusalem lies Bethlehem,[570] the city famous for the birth of the true David. It is on the left side of the road to Hebron, but a bow shot off the road. First, however, one meets by the road on the right the tomb of Rachel.[571] Above it is a fine pyramid which Jacob built to serve as a monument for Rachel; placing on it, above the tomb, twelve huge stones according to the number of the sons of Israel, which are there today beside the tomb of Rachel. Certain small stones are found spread about just like chickpeas which pilgrims were accustomed to collect there on account of certain stories of events which are said to have happened there. ¶ But almost to the east of the city of Bethlehem is the tower of Eder[572] or of the flock, where Jacob is said to have remained for some time after the death of Rachel and fed his flocks. ¶ Almost five bowshots from Bethlehem is where the shepherds, keeping watch by night over their flock at the hour of Christ's birth, saw and heard the angels singing 'Glory to God in the highest'.[573] They also announced the birth of the saviour of the world. ¶ Bethlehem in fact is placed on a fairly high,[574] but narrow, mountain, extending lengthwise from east to west. Its entrance is from the west, where by the gate is a cistern[575] from which David wished to drink, when he was on guard duty there. At the eastern end of the city, below a rock which was by the city wall and which seems after the custom of that land to have been a place used for a stable, with a manger cut out in the rock, as mangers there are usually made, there was born for this world from a virgin mother the sun of righteousness, Christ Jesus. By wanting to be born and grow up in such a foul place, he shows that he would take away by his birth the foulness and darkness of the world.

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[571] Rachel was the second wife of the patriarch Jacob and the mother of Joseph and Benjamin (see Gen. 30: 22–4; 35: 16–21). Rachel's tomb was in Benjaminite territory (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 10: 2), but Ephrath (Gen. 35: 16), where Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, became identified with Bethlehem (Gen. 35: 19). Adamnán located Rachel's tomb 'on your right as you go towards Hebron. It is of poor workmanship, unadorned' (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 105). In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela described it as a pyramid of twelve stones. The present domed structure was probably built by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 312; *ABD*, v. 608–9; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 176–8).

[572] See Gen. 35: 21 (171123). The Vulgate names it 'turris gregis'; the RSV calls it 'the tower of Eder'. It is associated with Kh. Siyar al-Ganam, 1.5 miles (2.5 km) east of Bethlehem (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 107; *ABD*, ii. 284). The abbreviator omits the reference to Jacob.

[573] See Luke 2: 8–14. The abbreviator omits the angels' song.

[574] high…mountain: Bethlehem is 2,500 feet (762 m) above sea level.

[575] cistern: Prag (*Jerusalem*, p. 313; cf. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 100) notes a turning from the Jerusalem road to the 'fountain of David' half a kilometre before Bethlehem.

91. Iuxta predictam uero rupem est alia capacior, quattuor tantum pedibus distans, sub qua erat presepe, in quo dulcis puer ille mox natus coram[a] boue et asino inuolutus[b] fuerat reclinatus. Videtur tamen mihi pro certo una tantum rupes[c] fuisse, sed factum est hostium in medio per rupem, per quod in chorum de cappella illa est ascensus. Ad locum autem dulcissime natiuitatis descenditur ab ecclesia[576] in capellulam per uiginti gradus, cuius causas superius assignaui. Est autem capellula illa tota interius facta de opere musauo et strata marmore[577] et sumptuose ualde facta. Super locum illum, ubi beata uirgo peperit, potest dici missa super tabulam marmoream, que strata est ibi. De lapide etiam nudo uidetur ibi pars, ubi natus est Christus. Similiter etiam pars quedam presepis, in quo iacuit Christus, relicta est nuda. Que loca fideles deuotissime obsculantur. Ego steti duabus noctibus in istis locis, nunc istum, nunc illum osculando. ¶ Non uidi ego nec audiui alium, qui dixerit se uidisse ecclesiam tam deuotam toto orbe terrarum sicut est ecclesia Bethleemitana. Sunt enim in ea columpne marmoree per quattuor[d] ordines disposite nobilissime non solum multitudine, sed etiam[e] magnitudine stupende. Preterea nauis ipsa ecclesie desuper columpnas usque ad trabes[f] facta est de opere musiuo[g] pulcerrimo et nobilissimo de omnibus istoriis a creatione mundi usque ad aduentum Domini ad iudicium.[h] Totum insuper pauimentum ecclesie stratum est marmore diuersorum colorum et generum. Parietes etiam ecclesie pere totum circuitum tecti sunt tabulis marmoreis diuersum colorum,[i] quarum pretium secundum opinionem multorum non potest estimari. Incredibilia quedam possent de opere ecclesie huius scribi. Sarraceni quidem omnes ecclesias beate uirginis honorant, sed precipue istam que est in Bethleem.

92. ¶ Vidi ego in ecclesia ista miraculum gloriosum. Soldanus enim[a] uidens [b]ecclesie huius[b] ornatum[c] et tabulas et columpnas omnes preciosas ualde, precepit omnia deponi et portari in Babiloniam,[578] uolens

91 [a] *om. BPb* [b] pannis *add. BPb* [c] *om. B* [d] tres *Lo* [e] *B+*; *om. P* [f] in tectum *add. Lo* [g] mosaico *LiPb* [h] depicta *add. Li* [i] quod mira uarietate picture decorat *add. P*

92 [a] *om. Li* [b–b] in ecclesia ista *LiZb* [c] gloriosum *add. Li*; ornamentum *Pb*

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[576] The Church of the Nativity is built directly over the cave of the nativity (see Baedeker, *Palestina and Syria*, pp. 102, 104; Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 314–15; Murphy O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 229–37; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 137–56). Burchard knows of one set of steps from the chapel to the cave below. The bronze doors at the northern and southern entrances to the grotto go back to Justinian (Prag, *Jerusalem*, p. 318).

[577] The fourth-century church had a mosaic floor (Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 232, 235). Burchard reports that the floor was laid with marble of various colours, and the

91. By the rock just mentioned is another larger one a mere 4 feet from it, below which was the manger in which the sweet, newborn child was swaddled and laid before the ox and ass. But I think that for certain there was only one rock, but that a door was made through the middle of the rock through which one climbs from the chapel into the choir. One descends from the church[576] to the place of that most sweet nativity down twenty steps (I have explained the reasons above) to the small chapel. The whole small chapel within is made of mosaic and paved with marble[577] and most expensively built. Above this place, where the Virgin gave birth, mass can be said on a marble slab laid there. Also seen there is part of the bare stone where Christ was born. Similarly too the part of the manger on which Christ lay is left bare. The faithful kiss these places with utmost devotion. I stood two nights in these places, kissing now one, now the other. ¶ I have not seen or heard anyone else claim to have seen such a holy church as the Bethlehem church in the whole world. For there are in it marble columns arranged most impressively in four ranks, amazing not only for their number but their size. Further, the nave of the church above the columns to the roof beams is made of the most beautiful and impressive mosaic presenting all history from the creation of the world to the coming of the Lord in judgement. The whole pavement of the church is laid on top with marble of different colours and kinds. The walls also round the whole church are covered with marble panels of different colours, according to the opinion of many of inestimable value. Some unbelievable things could be written about the fabric of this church. All Saracens honour churches of the Blessed Virgin, but especially this one in Bethlehem.

92. ¶ I myself have seen in this church a glorious miracle. The sultan, seeing in that church the ornamentation, the panels, and all the very precious columns, ordered them all to be taken down and carried to Cairo,[578]

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walls above the columns up to the roof beams with mosaics. These belonged to the restoration of 1165–9. The top register shows angels, set between the windows. The middle register presented the decisions of the six ecumenical councils (south wall), and of six provincial councils (north wall). The lowest register portrayed the ancestors of Jesus according to Luke (north wall) and Matthew (south wall). The west wall showed the Old Testament prophets. These mosaics were the gift of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80); see Hamilton, *Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, p. 56; Prag, *Israel and Palestinian Territories*, p. 379. The abbreviator omits description of the entry to the chapel of the nativity, and of the marble slab on which Christ was said to have been born.

[578] Babylon is modern Cairo. See Thietmar, in *IHC* iii. 282–5; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 129. See further nn. 711 and 717 below.

inde palatium suum hedifficare. Mira res![579] artificibus cum instrumentis accedentibus ipso adhuc Soldano astante[d] cum multis aliis de sano et integro pariete,[e] quem nec accus uidebatur[f] posse[g] penetrare, serpens mire magnitudinis exiuit primeque tabule, que[h] occurrit,[i] morsum dedit. Tabula per transuersum crepuit. Secundam adiit[j] tertiamque et quartam et deinceps usque ad quadraginta, et omnibus similiter[k] accidit. Omnibus stupentibus et ipso Soldano et[l] continuo propositum[m] reuocante serpens disparuit. Remansit igitur ecclesia et remanet usque hodie sicut prius; uestigia tamen corporis serpentis apparent usque hodie in singulis tabulis, quas transiuit, quasi combustio quadam igne facta. Et super omne mirabile uidetur, quomodo[n] serpens ille sic procedere potuit per transuersum in pariete, qui erat planissimus[o] et politissimus,[p] sicut uitrum.

93. ¶ In exitu huius ecclesie contra aquilonem est ambitus claustri[580] monachorum, descendendo tamen ad illud per gradus quosdam.[a] In hoc claustro est cella[b] beati Iheronimi et lectus eius et sepulchrum et officine claustri, in quo legitur idem beatus Ieronimus prefuisse. ¶ In australi parte chori ecclesie ostenditur locus, ubi magna pars innocentium[581] ab Herode dicitur interfecta[c] [d]quorum corpora etiam ibidem requiescunt.[d] ¶ De ecclesia ista quantum iactus est lapidis fere contra orientem est ecclesia sancte Paule et Eustochium filie[e] eius,[582] ubi sunt etiam sepulchra earundem. (11) ¶ De Bethleem ad dimidiam[f] leucam contra occidentem est uilla quedam nomine Bezek,[583] que habundat optimo uino, ita quod in terra illa non inuenitur melius. Incole huius uille omnes sunt Christiani et[g] uillarum adiacentium in descensu uallis Raphaim[584]

[d] *BLoLi*; distante *P* [e] *om. B* [f] *om. B* [g] posset *B* [h] *om. Li* [i] et ei *add. Li* [j] tamquam et *B adds* [k] *om. LiZb* [l] *om. BPb* [m] proposito *B* [n] quod *BPb* [o] planus *LiZb* [p] propolitissimus *P*

93 [a] aliquos *B* [b] et monasterium *add. B* [c] interfectos *B* [d-d] *om. BPb* [e] filii *B* [f] unam *Li* [g] etiam *add. Pb*

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[579] Burchard claims to have seen in that church 'a miracle'. He then tells how an extraordinary event caused the sultan to abandon his plan of removing the slabs and columns from the church. He ends the story, however, by saying that the traces of the snake's body 'appear to this day', a phrase which is the hallmark of a popular story and does not suggest a recent personal experience. Burchard has probably incorporated and perhaps improved a well-known tale. The appearance of a large snake may well have been a portent capable of deterring a sultan—Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 303, n. 410; *Churches*, i. 139) suggests Baybars I as a possibility—from his intentions.

[580] There was a fifth-century Byzantine monastery at Bethlehem where Jerome worked at his translation of the Vulgate. The Crusaders built a new cloister in the twelfth century, but the Latin monks left after 1187. Burchard, surely correctly, locates Jerome's cell, bed, and

wanting to build his palace with them. A miracle![579] The workmen arrived with their tools, the sultan was standing apart with many others, when out of the solid, intact wall which seemed impenetrable even to a needle came a snake of amazing size, which bit the first panel it met. The panel cracked across. The snake approached the second, the third, and the fourth, and reached the fortieth, and the same thing happened to them all. With everyone aghast, the sultan himself immediately withdrew his proposal, and the snake vanished. So the church remained, and still remains as before; but traces of the snake's body appear to this day on each panel it crossed, as if burnt on by fire. It seems especially miraculous that the snake could thus pass across the wall, which was extremely smooth and highly polished, like glass.

93. ¶ At the north exit of this church is the cloistered walk[580] of the monks; one descends to it, however, by a few steps. In this cloister is the cell of blessed Jerome, with his bed and his tomb, and the workshops of the cloister, in which it is said that the same blessed Jerome presided. ¶ In the southern part of the choir is shown the place where most of the Innocents[581] are said to have been killed by Herod and whose bodies also lie there. ¶ Almost a stone's throw east of that church is the church of Saint Paula and her daughter Eustochium.[582] Their tombs are also there. (11) ¶ Half a league west of Bethlehem is a village called Bezek[583] where there is excellent wine in plenty, so much so that no better is found in the land. All the inhabitants of this village and of the neighbouring villages down the valley of Rephaim[584] as far as the

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tomb in the cloister, not in the cave below, where his tomb and cell have been shown only since the late fifteenth century (Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 106).

[581] See Matt. 2: 16–17.

[582] Paula (347–404) and her daughter Julia Eustochium (370–*c*.419) were Roman noblewomen who became disciples of Jerome. The text explicitly identifies Eustochium as Paula's daughter. Pringle describes the church (*Churches*, i. 156–7). Jerome (*Epistula* cviii, CSEL lv. 306–51, at 318 = PL xxii. 878–906, at 888; see Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 46–52) describes Paula's journey to the Holy Land, including her visit to Bethlehem and the Tower of Eder. After further travel to Egypt, she returned to Bethlehem and 'lived for three years in a tiny lodging'. (For a detailed account of Jerome and Paula, see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, pp. 171–9.)

[583] This is hardly the Bezek of Judg. 1: 1–7 or 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 11: 8–11 (cf. Eusebius, *Onomastikon* 54), which is near Shechem (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 285). 'Half a league west of Bethlehem' (Lilienfeld manuscript, fo. 187va, one league) suggests Bayt Jālā or somewhere in its vicinity; cf. Bethsech (**102**, n. 648), named in connection with Bethzur and Bethlehem (see Pringle, *Churches*, i. 93–5). The abbreviator ignores Bezek and its Christian vine-tenders.

[584] Cf. Josh. 15: 8; 18: 16; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 5: 18; 23: 13; Isa.17: 5. The valley, running south-west from Jerusalem, an agricultural area, provided a route from Philistia to Jerusalem (Abel, *Géographie*, i. 402; *ABD*, v. 676–7).

usque ad torrentem botri.[585] Et per omnia loca hec excellit uinum in bonitate et Christiani isti[h] colunt has uineas, et habent priuilegium a Soldano ibi manendi et colendi[i] eas, et reddunt Soldano inde[j] censum magnum. In hac uilla captus est Adanibezech cesis summitatibus manuum eius et pedum. (12) ¶ De Bethleem sex leucis contra orientem supra mare mortuum est mons Engadi,[586] de quo dictum est supra.

94. (13) ¶ De Engadi tribus leucis contra austrum est collis Achile,[587] qui postea hedifficato ibidem[a] ab Herode castro inexpugnabili Massada[588] est appellatus. In hoc[b] loco legitur[c] Dauid Saulem fugiens aliquotiens latuisse. (14) ¶ De Bethleem duabus leucis contra collem Achile[d] est ciuitas Thecua,[589] in monte sita, de quo fuit Amos propheta, qui etiam sepultus est ibidem, quem[e] Ochosias, rex Israel, nocte[f] per tempora transfixum interfecit.[590] Huic ciuitati adiacet desertum Thecue. (15) ¶ Inter Thecuam et Engadi loco medio est uallis benedictionis,[591] ubi Iosaphat, rex Iuda, pugnauit contra Idumeos et filios Ammon, et uicit eos. (16) ¶ Iuxta hunc locum ad unam leucam ad sinistram contra desertum[g] Quarentene est castrum quoddam [h]ab Herode[h] magno hedificatum, quod Herodium dicitur, alto loco situm, ubi idem[i] est sepultus, ut dicit Iosephus.[592] (17) ¶ De Thecua quinque[j] leucis inter orientem et austrum est Zyph[k] oppidum,[593] iuxta desertum, quod etiam[l] Zyph dicitur, ubi legitur Dauid similiter latuisse [m].ii. Regum .xv.[m] (18) Huic contra austrum adiacet desertum Machon,[n] [594] in quo est

[h] *om. BPb* [i] tollendi *Pb* [j] *om. Li*

94 [a] ibi *Li* [b] quo *BPb* [c] dicitur *Li* [d] Massada *B* [e] etiam *add. Li* [f] *om. Li* [g] Thecue et *add. BPb* [h–h] *om. Li* [i] ibidem *B* [j] duabus *P* [k] *om. Li* [l] *om. Li* [m–m] *LoP*; primo Regum *LiZb*; *om. BPb* [n] Macheron *BPb*

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[585] The valley of Eshcol; see Num. 13: 23–4; 32: 9 (Abel, *Géographie*, i. 403–4; *ABD*, ii. 617).

[586] See above, n. 381.

[587] Possibly Old Testament Keilah, today Kh. Qila (150113) (Josh. 15: 44; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 23: 1–14; 26: 1–3; Neh. 3: 17–18), where David sought refuge from Saul; but Kh. Qila lies in the Shephelah north-west of Hebron, not south of En-gedi, and Burchard's hill of Achile lies south of En-gedi and south-south-east of Tekoa on the road from Bethlehem. One wonders whether he had in mind the Birkat al-Khalil between En-gedi and Masada (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 171), but he explicitly identifies Achile with the site of Herod's Masada. Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 304, n. 415) locates Achile in the district of Ziph, south-east of Hebron, rather than at Masada.

[588] Masada (183080) is 10 miles (16 km), south of En-gedi. The fortress on Masada was begun by Jannaeus (103–76 BC). Herod the Great rebuilt the fortress. In AD 66 the Zealots killed the Roman garrison (Josephus, *Jewish War*, ii. 408) and held Masada until AD 74 (Josephus, *Jewish War*, vii. 389–406) (see *ABD*, iv. 586–7).

wadi of the grape cluster[585] are Christians. Through all these places the wine is of the highest quality. The Christians tend these vineyards, and they hold from the sultan the right of staying there and tending the vineyards, and the sultan receives a large revenue in return. In this village Adonibezech was captured, and his fingers and toes cut off. (12) ¶ Six leagues east of Bethlehem, above the Dead Sea, is Mount En-gedi,[586] mentioned above.

94. (13) ¶ Three leagues south of En-gedi is the hill of Keilah,[587] which later, when Herod had built an impregnable castle there, was called Masada.[588] David is said to have hidden in this place on several occasions when fleeing from Saul. (14) ¶ Two leagues from Bethlehem towards Keilah is the city of Tekoa,[589] set on a mountain, the home of Amos the prophet, who was also buried there. Ahaziah, king of Israel, killed him by night with a thrust through his temples.[590] Adjoining this city is the desert of Tekoa. (15) ¶ Between Tekoa and En-gedi is the Valley of Blessing,[591] where Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, fought against the Idumaeans and the Ammonites, and defeated them. (16) ¶ Near this place, a league away to the left toward the desert of Quruntul, is a castle built by Herod the Great. It is called Herodium, is set on a height, and, as Josephus says,[592] is where Herod was buried. (17) ¶ Five leagues south-east of Tekoa is the town of Ziph,[593] by the desert, which is also called Ziph, where David is similarly said (2 Kings 15) to have hidden. (18) Adjoining this place to the south is the desert of Maon,[594]

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[589] Kh. Tequ'a (170115), 10 miles (16 km) south of Jerusalem: cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 14: 2, 4, 9; 23: 26; 1 Chr. 27: 9; 2 Chr. 11: 6; 20: 20; Neh. 3: 27; Jer. 6: 1; Amos 1: 1; 1 Macc. 9: 33; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 15; *Jewish War*, iv. 518. In the time of the Crusaders there were the ruins of a Byzantine church, and a large village inhabited by both Muslim and Christian families (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 478–9; *ABD*, vi. 343–4; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 347–50).

[590] For this legend, omitted by the abbreviator, see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, iv. 262; vi. 357; *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. Charlesworth, ii. 391. The Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 187$^{\mathrm{vb}}$) omits *nocte* (by night).

[591] See 2 Chr. 20: 1–30.

[592] Herodium is Jabal al-Fureidis (173119), 8 miles (13 km) south of Jerusalem: the site was identified by Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 173; Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 348; *ABD*, iii. 176–80). See Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 673; *Jewish Antiquities*, xiv. 360; xv. 323–5; xvii. 199; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, v. 14. (70); Loeb, vol. ii, pp. 274–5. No certain evidence of Herod's tomb has yet been found on the site (see Patrich and Arubas, 'Revisiting the mausoleum at Herodium'). The abbreviator omits this paragraph.

[593] Tel Zif (162048): see Josh. 15: 55; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 23: 14–24; 26: 2; 2 Chr. 11: 8 (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 490; *ABD*, vi. 1104). The abbreviator notes Ziph above (B58).

[594] Tall Ma'in (162090), 8 miles (13 km) south-south-east of Hebron: cf. Josh. 15: 55; the wilderness of Maon, 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 23: 24–5. (See Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 377; *ABD*, iv. 512–13.) The abbreviator notes Maon above (**B58**).

mons Carmellus ubi habitauit Nabal Carmellus,[595] qui nuntios Dauid repulit, cuius etiam uxorem Habigail duxit Dauid[o] eo[p] mortuo. ¶ De deserto Machon[q] inter austrum et orientem adiacet mons Seyr alius[r] siue Ydumea quam terram filii Israel longo tempore iussi sunt circumire. (19) ¶ De[s] deserto Machon[t] contra austrum adiacet terra Amalech[596] quam iussus est Saul[u] subuertere interfectis habitatoribus eius. Ante terram Amalech contra maris mortui linguam[v] [597] est Cades Barne,[598] de quo loco Moyses missit duodecim exploratores,[w] ubi longo tempore mansuerunt filii Israel et inde iussi sunt montem Seyr circumire et redire in desertum per uiam maris rubri.[599]

95. (20) ¶ De Bethleem tribus[a] leucis contra austrum, uia, que ducit Ebron, est Bethacarem,[b] in alto loco sita.[600] Cui ad austrum adiacet alia[c] uilla, Rama nomine,[601] excelsa ualde, in qua in colle quodam[d] sublimi stans cum aliis multis uidi totam terram Arabie usque ad montem Seyr et omnia loca circa mare mortuum et loca latibulorum Dauid; Iordanem insuper usque Sethim et usque ad montem Abarim. Contra occidentem uero uidi in eodem[e] loco totum littus maris magni ab Ioppe usque Gazam et Bersabee usque desertum Sur; totam insuper terram Philistiim,[f] a Ramatha Sophym per Gath et Acharon[g] et Azotum et Iamniam et Ascalonam cum omni planitie sub monte Iuda. (21) ¶ De Rama plus quam [h]leucis duabus,[h] ad dextram, prope uiam regiam, que ducit Hebron, est Mambre,[602] ubi habitabat Habraham longo tempore, ubi sedens ad hilicem[i] Mambre in hostio tabernaculi sui uidit tres uiros descendentes per uiam, quos etiam recepit hospitio, ut dicitur Genesis .xviii..[j] ¶ Ilex illa hodie ostenditur ante hostium tabernaculi Abrahe. Verum [k]est quod[k] illa uetus haruit, sed de radice eius alia nata est. De cuius fructu et ligno tuli mecum in magna[l] quantitate et habet folia

[o] *om.* *Li* [p] ipso *BPb* [q] Macheron *BPb* [r] *om.* *Li* [s] *om.* *LoZb* [t] Macheron *B* [u] *om. P* [v] limitem *Lo* [w] *om. LiZb*

95 [a] quattuor *Li* [b] Bethaca *Li*; Bethakar *Zb*; uilla *add. LiZb* [c] illa *BPb* [d] *om. Li* [e] *LiLoZb*; Ebron *BPPb* [f] Philistinorum *BPb* [g] Aratham *Li*; Racaram *P* [h-h] leucam unam *LiZb* [i] radicem *LiZb* [j] *BPbLo*; .xxuiii. *P*; *om. LiZb* [k-k] *om. LiZb* [l] bona *BLoPb*

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[595] 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 25: 1–42. Carmel is found at Kh. al-Karmil nearby (Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 296).

[596] In Old Testament tradition Amalek is connected with Edom; see Gen. 36: 12–16; Num. 24: 20. For their region see Gen.14: 7; Num. 13: 29; Judg. 12: 15; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 15: 6–7; 30: 1–2. For the Amalekites and their relationship with Israel (mostly hostile) see Exod. 17: 8–13; Deut. 25: 17–18; Judg. 3: 12–14; 6: 3–5; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 15: 2–33; 27: 8–9; 30: 11–20; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 1: 1–10; Ps. 82 (83): 7. (See Abel, *Géographie*, i. 270–3; *ABD*, i. 169–71.)

[597] al-Lisan, on the south-east coast of the Dead Sea.

in which lies Mount Carmel, the home of Nabal of Carmel,[595] who drove away David's messengers, and whose wife Abigail David took after Nabal's death. ¶ Adjoining the desert of Maon to the south-east is the other Mount Seir, or Idumaea. The Israelites were commanded to travel round this land for a long time. (19) ¶ Adjoining the desert of Maon to the south is the land of Amalek,[596] which Saul was ordered to subdue, its inhabitants having been killed. Before the land of Amalek, opposite the tongue of the Dead Sea,[597] is Kadesh-barnea;[598] from here Moses sent twelve spies. Here the Israelites remained for a long time, and from here they were ordered to travel round Mount Seir, and return to the desert by the way of the Red Sea.[599]

95. (20) ¶ Three leagues south of Bethlehem on the road to Hebron is Beth-haccarem, set on a height.[600] Adjoining it on the south is another village, Ramah by name,[601] very high up; here, standing on a high hill with many others I saw the whole land of Arabia as far as Mount Seir, all the places round the Dead Sea, and David's hiding places; the Jordan too as far as Shittim and the mountains of Abarim. To the west, however, in the same place, I saw the whole coast of the Mediterranean Sea from Joppa to Gaza, and Beersheba to the desert of Sur; in addition, all the Philistine country from Ramathaim-zophim past Gath, Ekron, Ashdod, Jamnia, and Ashkelon, with the whole plain below the Judaean hill country. (21) ¶ Over 2 leagues from Ramah, on the right, by the royal highway leading to Hebron, is Mamre,[602] where Abraham lived for a long time. Here, sitting at the oak of Mamre in his tent doorway, he saw three men coming down along the road, whom he received with hospitality, as it says in Genesis xviii. ¶ That oak tree is shown today before the door of Abraham's tent. However, the old tree has dried up, but another has sprouted from its root. I took away with me a large amount of its fruit and timber. It has small leaves, larger than

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[598] 'Ain al-Qudeirat (096006), an oasis in north Sinai: Burchard apears to have located it vaguely west of the Dead Sea. Cf. Num. 13: 26; Deut. 1: 19. (See *ABD*, iv. 1–3.)

[599] For the story of the spies, see Num. 13–14; by way of the Red Sea: Deut. 2: 1.

[600] Usually identified with 'Ain Karim, 4 miles (6.5 km) west of Jerusalem (165130), or Ramat Rahel, 2.5 miles (4 km) south of Jerusalem (170127); see *ABD*, i. 686–7. See Jer. 6: 1; Neh. 3: 14. But neither place is 3 leagues south of Bethlehem; Burchard's description of the view suggests the hills somewhere around Migdal 'Oz.

[601] Stewart and Pringle (Stewart, *Burchard of Mount Sion*, p. 90, n. 7; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 305, n. 425) suggest an identification with Rāmat al-Khalīl (160108), 20.5 miles (33 km) from Jerusalem, nearly2 miles (3 km) north of Hebron.

[602] Associated in the Old Testament with Hebron (Gen. 23: 19). See Gen. 13: 14–18; 18: 1–33; 23: 17–20; 25: 9–10; 49: 28–32; 50: 13. It is not clear whether Mamre is in origin a personal or a place name (see *ABD*, iv. 492–3). For the oak of Mamre see Gen. 18: 1–15.

modica maiora quam lentiscus sed fructus omnino sicut quercus. (22) ¶ De ilice Mambre [m]per dimidiam leucam ad dextram iuxta uiam[m] est Ebron,[603] illa uetus ciuitas, quondam Atharbe dicta, in qua regnauit Dauid septem annis, in monte sita bene firmo et alto, sed omnino est destructa. Et sunt ruine eius magne ualde, et uidetur[n] fuisse gloriosa.

96. (23) ¶ De ista ciuitate fere quantum arcus ter[a] potest iacere contra austrum fere et tamen declinando ad orientem est Ebron noua hedificata in loco illo,[b] ubi erat spelunca duplex in qua sepulti sunt[c] Adam et Eua, Abraham et Sara, Ysaac et Rebecca, Iacob et Lia.[d] [604] Saraceni circa speluncam duplicem que erat in ecclesia cathedrali hedificauerunt munitionem, [e]firmam ualde, in cuius muris uidi[f] lapides uiginti septem et uiginti octo uel triginta[g] pedum, et non uidi in sicco et plano loco locum aliquem ita firmum.[605] Sepulchrum patriarcharum uisitaui in loco isto, et mansi in eo duabus noctibus.[h] Sed de ecclesia cathedrali fecerunt Saraceni mameriam et plus uenerant locum istum quam Mecham ubi [i]Machomet est sepultus.[i][e]

[m–m] *om. B* [n] mihi *add. Li*

96 [a] *om. LiZb* [b] *LoPZb*; *om. BPb* [c] nostri patres scilicet *add. B* [d] Ebron distat ab Ierusalem per quinque et uiginti miliaria. Spelunca dupliciter distat ab Ebron per .cccxxxv. passus uersus orientem. Habet autem introitum ab oriente et cum intraueris uidebis murum normalem quadratum quod habet introitum ab oriente, et in eo uidebis octo sepulchra quorum duo sunt superiora uersus dextram intrantis uertentia capita ad aquilonem et pedes ad austrum scilicet Adam et Eue. Ad pedes autem istorum sunt alia tria, scilicet Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et ad pedes istorum uirum uxores singulorum omnes capita ad aquilonem pedes uero uertentes ad austrum. Supra sepulchra omnium sunt ciboria marmorea candida satis sed Ade et Eue sunt nigriora aliquantulum forte quia magis antique uel per diluuium denigrate. Eua ad sinistram Ade requiescit. Feminarum etiam sepulchra uilioris scematis sunt quam uirorum. Vnde miror quod quidam qui non uiderunt uolunt dicere quod in spelunca duplici uiri in superiori serie uero in inferiori sunt locate, cum dispositio loci hoc deneget, sicut oculis meis uidi *add. Lo* [e–e] *om. BPb* [f] mensuraui *Lo* [g] uiginti, sex et uiginti, duodetriginta *Li*; sex et uiginti, duodetriginta, triginta *LoZb* [h] una nocte *LoLi* [i–i] aiunt Mahometum esse sepultum *Li*

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[603] Hebron (159103): ancient Hebron lay on Jabal ar-Rumaydah, perhaps Burchard's 'high, strong mountain' (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 114; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 393–8). The archaeological evidence suggests occupation from Early Bronze to Iron Age I. The city (previously named Kiriath-arba, Josh. 14: 15) is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament in connection with Abraham, the Israelite conquest, and King David, who reigned there for seven years (2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 2: 1–4, 11; 5: 1–5). In the Hellenistic period Judas Maccabaeus in 164 BC tore down Hebron's strongholds and burned its towers (1 Macc. 5: 65) (see *ABD*, iii. 107–8).

[604] For the biblical roots of this tradition and the purchase of the cave, see Gen. 23: 17–20; 25: 10. The abbreviator (B59) combines old and new Hebron, ignoring David's rule and the city's ruins, and focusing on the burial of Adam and Eve and the patriarchs. Basnage in his

the lentiscus, but its fruit is in every way like that of the oak. (22) ¶ Half a league from the oak of Mamre, on the right by the road, is Hebron,[603] that ancient city once called Kiriath-arba, in which David ruled for seven years. It was set well on a strong, high mountain, but is completely destroyed. Its ruins are very large, and it seems to have been a splendid place.

96. (23) ¶ Almost three bowshots south or rather a little south-east of that city is new Hebron, built at that place where there was a double cave in which were buried Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah.[604] The Saracens built a very strong fortress round this double cave, which was in the cathedral church, in whose walls I saw stones measuring 27, 28, or 30 feet.[605] I have not seen any place so strong on dry, level ground. I visited the tomb of the patriarchs there, and stayed in it for two nights. But the Saracens made a mosque of that cathedral church, and held the place in greater honour than Mecca, where Muhammad is buried.

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edition of Canisius's *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum* (p. 20, note a) comments: 'Hic multae fabulae; quippe ibi nec fuit Paradisus terrestris, nec Adam ibi creatus, nec per centum annos in spelunca Abelem caesum luxerunt. Cave igitur, ne in iis fidem adhibeas!' ('Here are many fables; since there was no earthly Paradise there, nor was Adam created there, nor did they grieve the murder of Abel in a cave for a century. Take care therefore lest you put your faith in them!')

[605] Burchard refers to the Haram, whose walls with their enormous stones, together with the monuments for the patriarchs, were built by Herod the Great. Josephus does not mention Herod's building at Hebron, but notes that Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Jacob were buried there (*Jewish Antiquities*, i. 237, 256, 345; ii. 196) but that Rachel was not (*Jewish Antiquities*, i. 343). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (AD 333) identifies the six monuments as for Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their wives Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah (*Egeria's Travels*, trans. Wilkinson, p. 163). The Piacenza Pilgrim (*c.*570) notes Mamre as the resting place of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, and Joseph (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 85). Arculf in the late seventh century presents the tombs in two groups of three: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the three wives Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, with a separate tomb for Adam (Wilkinson, ibid., p. 105). The Saracens built a mosque within the walls of the Haram; the Crusaders converted it into a cathedral church, which after 1187 was turned back into a mosque. In 1266 Baybars prohibited Christian pilgrims from the site, but Burchard apparently managed to visit it and to stay overnight. Burchard gives no details about the cave and the tombs; he perhaps did not gain access to the underground area which had been discovered in 1119 (see Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 434–5; Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 393–8; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 311–14; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 223–39). The Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 188ra) pointedly notes that the Saracens venerate the place more than Mecca, where they *say* (*aiunt*) Mhammad was buried. The abbreviator includes reference to the Saracen fortress and the Christian cathedral below, after reference to the Field of Damascus (*ager damascenus*).

97. (24) ¶ De spelunca duplici contra occidentem quantum iacere potest arcus bonus, est ager damascenus,[606] in quo loco plasmatus fuit Adam. Ager iste in rei ueritate rubeam ualde[a] habet terram,[607] que omnino est flexibilis, sicut cera. De qua tuli[b] in magna quantitate. Similiter faciunt[c] peregrini alii et Christiani uisitantes loca ista.[d] Saraceni insuper portant terram istam in camelis in Egyptum et Ethyopiam et Indiam et ad loca alia, pro speciebus ualde caris uendentes eam. Et tamen modica apparet fossio in loco illo. Dicitur enim, quod semper anno reuoluto, quantumcunque magna sit fossio, semper miraculose repletur. Sed oblitus fui querere ueritatem in loco illo; hoc tamen dico, quod modica erat fossa, cum essem ibi, ita quod uix quattuor uiri sedissent in ea; nec erat profundior, quam usque ad scapulas meas. Dicitur tamen, quod, quicumque terram istam secum portat, animal eum[e] non offendit [f]nec cadit nec infunditur.[f] Hominem insuper[g] dicitur a casu incolumem[h] conseruare. Vallis ista[i] circa Ebron fertilis est nimis[j] et amena supra modum et delectabilis ad manendum. (25) ¶ De fossa ista contra austrum ad iactum arcus est locus, ubi Cayn Abel, fratrem suum[k] interfecit, sicut dicitur Gen. .iiii.[608] Item de fossa eadem contra occidentem, quantum bis iacere potest arcus, in monte quodam a latere Ebron ueteris[l] australi est spelunca quedam in rupe, in qua Adam et Eua interfectum[m] Abel, filium suum, luxerunt .c. annis. Sunt hodie ibidem[n] in spelunca lecti singulorum et fons intus scaturiens, de quo biberunt. Fere habet triginta[o] pedes in longitudine et latitudine spelunca ista. Sub ista spelunca in ualle descendit uia que de Ebron ducit in Gazam contra austrum et est de Ebron ueteri quantum bis iacere potest arcus.[p]

98. (26) ¶ De Ebron duabus[a] leucis contra austrum est Dabir,[609] que etiam Cariathsepher dicitur,[b] id est ciuitas litterarum, quam cepit Cenez, frater Caleph iunior, et dedit ei Axam, filiam suam uxorem et irriguum superius et inferius. (27) De Ebron tribus[c] leucis contra

97 [a] *om. BPb* [b] mecum *add. BPb* [c] *om. BPb* [d] sancta *BPb* [e] eius *Lo* [f-f] *om. LiZb*; infundit *Lo* [g] *om. Lo* [h] *om. LiZb* [i] *om. BPb* [j] ualde *Lo* [k] *om. PZb* [l] a parte *add. Li*; ueteri *Lo* [m] *om. BLi* [n] *om. P* [o] uiginti *LoP* [p] *B+*; *om. P*

98 [a] tribus *P* [b] *om. Li* [c] *BPbP*; duabus *LiLoZb*

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[606] A 'Field of Damascus' is unknown at Hebron. Felix Fabri, however, describes at length his visit to it (*Felix Fabri*, trans. Stewart, pp. 411–13). In Hebrew tradition Adam was buried outside the Garden of Eden, in Jerusalem, or Damascus, or Hebron; the term relating to the Damascus tradition, *ager Damascenus*, has possibly been applied to the Hebron tradition (Hillhorst, 'Ager Damascenus', pp. 1–44).

97. (24) ¶ A good bowshot west of the double cave is the Field of Damascus,[606] where Adam was fashioned. That field has in fact very red earth,[607] which is as completely pliant as wax. I took away a large amount of it. Other pilgrims and Christians visiting those places do the same. Further, the Saracens carry that earth on camels to Egypt and Ethiopia and India and other places, selling it for very expensive spices. Yet the excavation appears small at that place, for it is said that always at the turn of the year, however great the excavation, it is always miraculously refilled. But I forgot in that place to ask the truth of this, but I can say that when I was there the hole was small, so that barely four men could have sat in it, and it was not deeper than up to my shoulders. It is said, however, that an animal will not injure those who carry off that earth with them, nor will it fall or collapse. Moreover it is said that it keeps a person safe from accident. That valley around Hebron is extremely fertile and pleasant beyond measure and delightful to stay in. (25) ¶ A bowshot south of that excavation is the place where Cain killed his brother Abel, as is told in Genesis 4.[608] Again, 2 bowshots west of that excavation, on the mountain by the south side of Old Hebron, is a cave in the rock where Adam and Eve mourned their murdered son Abel for a hundred years. The beds of both of them are in the cave today, and a spring from which they drank bubbles up inside. The cave is almost 30 feet in length and breadth. Below that cave, in the valley, descends the road which leads from Hebron to Gaza to the south; it is 2 bowshots from Old Hebron.

98. (26) ¶ Two leagues south of Hebron is Debir,[609] which is also called Kiriath-sepher, that is, the city of letters, which Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, captured; and he gave to Caleb his daughter Achsah as wife, together with the upper and lower irrigation channel. (27) Three leagues north (but a little west) of Hebron is the Valley of Eshcol,

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[607] The account of the sale of red earth to Egypt is known from the anonymous *De situ urbis Ierusalem* (*c.*1130) (*IHC*, ii. 80) and from Thietmar (1217–18) (*IHC*, iii. 266; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 114). The abbreviator ignores the miraculous refilling of the excavation.

[608] The abbreviator omits reference to the place, combining the story with Adam and Eve's mourning.

[609] Debir, also called Kiriath-sepher, was previously identified with Tall Bayt Mirsim but now with Kh. Rabûd, 8 miles (13 km) south-west of Hebron (151093) (Galling, 'Zur Localisierung von Debir', *ZDPV*, lxx (1954), 135–41; accepted by Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 279, n. 78; p. 433): see Josh. 11: 21; 15: 15–19; Judg. 1: 11–15). Burchard locates Debir about 5 miles (8 km) south of Hebron. The abbreviator ignores Debir. In the biblical story, Othniel takes Debir for Caleb, who rewards Othniel by giving him his daughter as wife, and with her the upper and lower springs.

aquilonem fere (sed declinat partim contra occidentem) est Neellescol, i.e. torrens botri,[d] unde exploratores tulerunt palmitem cum uua sua, quam portabant in uecte duo uiri.[610] Ad leuam huius uallis per dimidiam[e] leucam descendit riuus,[f] in quo Philippus[611] baptisauit [g]Candace eunuchum[g] [h]non longe a Sicelech que inde fere duabus leucis distat.[h] (28) De Neellescol sex[i] leucis contra septentrionem[j] est domus Zacharie, in quam intrauit beata uirgo[k] et salutauit Elizabeth.[612] Vbi etiam natus est Iohannes Baptista. (29) [l]De domo illa tribus[m] leucis contra aquilonem et tantundem contra uulturnum[n] de Nichopoli est Nobe, ciuitas sacerdotum,[613] que nunc Bethenopolis dicitur in uia que ducit Diospolim [o]et Ramatha,[o] ubi Dauid ab Abimelech[p] sacerdote accepit gladium Goliath Gethei.[l] (30) [q]De Bethleem una leuca et plus est[r] uia, que ducit Thecua, et[s] sepulchrum est sancti Karitoth abbatis[t][614] cum suis monachis, qui omnes eo migrante migrauerunt. Et fuit quondam[u] concursus magnus ad locum illum.[q]

INCIPIT PRIMA DIVISIO QVARTE AVSTRALIS

99. [a] (X. 1) ¶ Prima diuisio quarte australis incipit ab Accon, sicut omnes alie. In qua primo quattuor leucis de Accon occurrit ciuitas Cayphas,[615] sub pede montis Carmeli aquilonari. (2) ¶ De Caypha tribus

[d] uel uallis lacrimarum *add. LiZb* [e] *B+*; unam *LiLo* [f] riuulus *Li* [g-g] eunuchum regine Candacis *BPb*; Candacis eunuchum *Li*; Candacem eunuchum *PZb*; eunuchum Candacis regine Ethiopum *Lo* [h-h] inde duabus leucis oriente est Sicelech ciuitas quam dedit Achis rex Geth Dauid in quo mansit uii mensibus et fuit de tribu et sorte Symeon *Lo* [i] quattuor *LiLoZb* [j] Ierusalem *B+* [k] postquam recessit ab ea angelus *add. Lo* [l-l] inde duabus leucis ad aquilonem duabus uero de Emmaus contra occidentem est Nobe oppidum nunc Bedionopolis denique ad occidentem in uia que ducit Dyospolim ubi Dauid uenit ad Abimelech sacerdotem qui dedit ei gladium Golia et panes *Lo* [m] duabus *LiZb* [n] occidentem *Zb* [o-o] *om. Li* [p] Achimelech *P* [q-q] De domo Zacharie duabus leucis contra orientem fere uia que ducit Thecuam sanctus Karithon sepultus est cum suis monachis qui omnes eo migrante migrauerunt. Et ostenditur ibidem usque hodie sepultura de Bethlehem duabus leucis *Lo* [r] *Pb*; *om. P* [s] *Pb*; *om. P* [t] *om. Pb* [u] *om. BPb*

99 [a] *heading om. P. For the treatment of this* diuisio *in BL Add. MS 18929 see the Introduction, pp. cxlii–cxlix.*

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[610] Num. 13: 23; see Abel, *Géographie*, i. 403–4. The phrase 'The Valley of Tears' (cf. Ps. 83 (84): 6–7 (5–6)) might seem more appropriate to the cave where Adam and Eve mourned their son Abel. The Hebrew Bible mentions no specific place of this name, though there is the place Bochim ('weeping') in Judg. 2: 4–5, and Allon-bacuth, the oak of weeping (Judg. 20: 23, 26; 21: 2). It is not clear why Burchard associates this name with the valley of the cluster.

[611] See Acts 8: 36.

[612] See Luke 1: 40. The alleged site of Zechariah's house is at Mâr Zakarīyâ, near 'Ain Kârim. There was a Byzantine church here, rebuilt by the Crusaders, but abandoned after

that is, the Valley of the Cluster,[610] from which the spies brought back a branch with its grape-cluster, which two men carried away on a pole. On the left of this valley for half a league descends the stream in which Philip[611] baptized the eunuch of Candace, not far from Ziklag, which from there is almost 2 leagues distant. (28) Six leagues from the Valley of Eshcol towards Jerusalem is the house of Zechariah, into which the Blessed Virgin entered, and greeted Elizabeth.[612] Here too John the Baptist was born. (29) Three leagues north of that house, and an equal distance south of Nicopolis, is Nob, the city of priests,[613] now called Bethenopolis, and on the road which leads to Diospolis and Ramathaim. This is where David received from the priest Ahimelech the sword of Goliath of Gath. (30) One league and more from Bethlehem, on the road to Tekoa, is the tomb of St Chariton the abbot,[614] with his monks, who all left this earthly life with him. Once a large gathering of people came to this place.

THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN QUARTER

99. (X. 1) ¶ The first division of the southern quarter like all the others starts from Acre. In it, 4 leagues from Acre, one first meets the city of Haifa[615] at the northern foot of Mount Carmel. (2) ¶ Three leagues

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1187 (see Prag, *Jerusalem*, pp. 300–2; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 30–47). Burchard's sequence (Eshcol, Philip, house of Zechariah) is reversed by the abbreviator.

[613] Nob (al-Isâwīyeh (173134), or Ras al-Mešarif on Mount Scopus); see 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 21: 1–9; 22: 11–19; Isa. 10: 32; Neh. 11: 32 (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 399–400; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 440; *ABD*, iv. 1133). Burchard clearly locates it north-west rather than north-east of Jerusalem, probably at Bayt Nūbā (153140), about 12.5 miles (20 km) north-west of Jerusalem. The abbreviator omits this story.

[614] Burchard refers to St Chariton, who died *c.*410. His monastery was at Kharetûn, near Tekoa. (On this place and its caverns, see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 110; Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1841), ii. 175, and Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 119 and 137 (no. 34); Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 221–4; iii. 158–60.) The abbreviator omits this story.

At this point there follows in the abbreviator's work the section on the gates of Jerusalem (B60–7), for which see 82–5 above. The first division of the southern quarter is entirely lacking from the abbreviator's work. It is possible that this section was missing from the manuscript before the abbreviator. It may be that the abbreviator thought that the contents of this section, which contained nothing about the life of Christ, had little interest for his readers

[615] Haifa was preceded by the Early Bronze-Persian period sites Tall Abu Hawam (on its eastern side) and Shiqmona (T. es-Semak) on its western side. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 108. 31 wrongly identified Haifa with nearby Sycaminum (Shiqmona). Haifa developed in Roman and Byzantine times, but was perhaps destroyed in the fourth century. It had re-emerged as a smaller town by the twelfth century, and was taken by the Crusaders (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 347–8).

leucis contra austrum est Castrum peregrinorum fratrum militie templi,[616] munitum prae omnibus locis, que unquam possiderunt Christiani. Et est situm in corde maris munitum muris et antemuralibus et barbicanis ita fortibus et turribus, quod non deberet illud expugnare[b] totus mundus. (3) ¶ De Caypha ad unam leucam, [c]ad sinistram[c] uie[d] que ducit ad Castrum peregrinorum, supra in monte Carmeli[617] ad dimidiam[e] fere est spelunca Elye[618] et mansio Elysei[619] et fons,[620] ubi habitabant filii prophetarum in Carmelo et[f] habitant[g] hodie fratres de Carmelo.[621] Et fui cum ipsis ibidem. (4) ¶ De Castro peregrinorum quattuor leucis est Cessarea,[622] Palestine metropolis, in qua fuit sedes archiepiscopalis. Hec primo dicebatur Dora, postea[h] Pyrgus Stratonis, sed Herodes Magnus eam instaurauit et Cessaream appellauit. De cuius structura et munitione Iosephus multa scribit. Cingitur ab occidente mari magno, ab oriente palude quadam dulci et profunda in qua est multitudo cocodrilorum.[623] Et incideram[i] ibi fere in[j] periculum ualde magnum, nisi Dominus misericorditer adfuisset. Situm quidem habet firmum Cessarea, [k]sed hodie[k] penitus est destructa. Mansionem in ea habuit Philippus et filie eius.[624] Petrus etiam baptizauit Cornelium[l] centurionem[625] in ea, [m]qui primus in ea fuit episcopus.[m] Paulus etiam ibidem[n] coram rege Agrippa et Felice preside contra Tertulium oratorem eligantissime disputauit.[626]

[b] merito *add.* *BPbZb*   [c–c] *om.* *BPb*   [d] *P*; uia *BLiPbZb*   [e] leucam *add.* *BPb*   [f] ubi *Pb*   [g] ibi *add.* *B*   [h] *om.* *BPb*   [i] uideram *B*   [j] *om.* *B*   [k–k] *om.* *Li*   [l] et *add.* *B*   [m–m] *B+*; *om.* *P*   [n] *om.* *B*; in ea *LiPbZb*

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[616] Pilgrims' Castle (*Castrum Peregrinorum*, Chateau Pélérin) lies on the coast at Athlit, 15 kilometres south of Haifa. It was built in 1218 by the Templars. In 1265 Baybars sacked the town but did not attack the castle. It was abandoned after the fall of Acre in 1291 (see Johns, 'Excavation report: Athlit'; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 124–7).

[617] Mount Carmel, occupied from prehistoric times, is famous as the site of Elijah's confrontation with the prophets of Baal (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 18: 17–46). In Hellenistic times there was perhaps a temple of Zeus there (the fourth-century BC *Periplus* of Skylax describes it as 'mons Ioui sacer'; *Geographici Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, i. 79; cf. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 415). Tacitus (*Histories*, ii. 78) refers to an altar and worship there.

[618] See Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, p. 290.

[619] See 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 25.

[620] Burchard probably has the spring of 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 21 in mind, but this is associated with Jericho, not Carmel.

[621] Latin hermits established a monastery in the wadi 'Ain al-Siyad 4 kilometres south of the Cave of Elijah on the site of an earlier Byzantine monastery. The monastery was handed over to the Franks in 1283, but deserted after the fall of Acre in 1291 (Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 290–1).

[622] Caesarea (140212) was not Old Testament Dor (Kh. al-Burj (142224)), which lay 12 kilometres north of Caesarea; cf. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 136. 16. See Judg. 1: 27; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 11; 1 Chr. 7: 29; 1 Macc. 15: 10–14. Strato's Tower (named after a fourth-century BC king of Sidon) was a little north of the Crusader town of Caesarea and is first mentioned in the Zenon Papyri *c.*259 BC. Jannaeus captured it in 103 BC. Herod the Great built a new harbour

south of Haifa is Pilgrims' Castle belonging to the Order of the Knights Templar.[616] It is the best fortified of all places ever held by the Christians. It is set in the heart of the sea, fortified by walls, outworks, barbicans, and towers so strong that the whole world should not be able to storm it. (3) ¶ One league from Haifa, on the left of the road to Pilgrims' Castle, almost half a league above on Mount Carmel,[617] is the cave of Elijah[618] and the house of Elisha,[619] and the spring[620] where the sons of the prophets used to live on Carmel and where today the Carmelite brothers live.[621] I stayed with them there. (4) ¶ Four leagues from Pilgrims' Castle is Caesarea,[622] the metropolis of Palestine, where was the archiepiscopal seat. This was first called Dor, then Strato's Tower, but Herod the Great rebuilt it and called it Caesarea. Josephus writes at length about its building and defences. It is surrounded on the west by the Mediterranean, and on the east by a deep freshwater marsh containing many crocodiles.[623] I had almost fallen into great danger there had not the Lord in his mercy removed me. Caesarea has a strong position, but today is totally destroyed. Philip and his daughters had a house there.[624] Also Peter there baptized the centurion Cornelius,[625] who became the first bishop in that place. In the same place Paul also argued most eloquently before king Agrippa and Felix the governor against the advocate Tertullus.[626]

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and city there *c.*22–10 BC (see Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 408–14; *Jewish Antiquities*, xv. 331–42) which soon became the capital of the Roman province of Judaea. It was important in the early history of the church (cf. Acts 9: 30; 10: 3–48) and in the Jewish War. In the third century Origen worked here, building a huge library; Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea wrote his *Historia ecclesiastica* here. In the Byzantine world its bishops rivalled those of Jerusalem, and it was regularly visited by pilgrims and scholars. It flourished under Justinian and until the Muslim conquest in 640. The Crusaders captured it in 1101 but Saladin took it in 1187 and then Baybars in 1265, and the fortifications were destroyed after 1291. There are some remains of the Crusaders' cathedral and city walls, but they had been destroyed by Burchard's time, as he notes (see Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 295–301; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, pp. 240–50; Pringle, *Churches*, i. 166–83).

[623] Crocodiles: the names Crocodilopolis (Strabo, *Geography*, xvi. 2. 27) and Crocodile River (Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, v. 17 (75); Loeb vol. ii, pp. 278–9) attest the presence of crocodiles in this region in the ancient world; Tristram (*Natural History of the Bible*, p. 261) notes evidence for their existence in the region. Baedeker (*Palestine and Syria*, p. 237, notes that 'a crocodile was killed here as late as 1902'.

[624] For Philip and his daughters, see Acts 6: 5; 8: 3–13, 26–40; 21: 8–9.

[625] Acts 10: 1–48.

[626] See Acts 24–6. Paul defended himself at Caesarea against the case presented by the lawyer Tertullus before the Roman Felix (Agrippa's son-in-law and governor of Judaea AD 52–60; see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xx. 162, 177–8; *Jewish War*, ii. 270; Acts 24: 1–23), and then before Felix's successor Festus (governor AD 59–62; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xx. 182–96; *Jewish War*, ii. 271; see Acts 25: 1–7). He then spoke before King Agrippa II (AD 28–*c.*93) and his sister Bernice (Acts 26: 2–32). Agrippa was the son of Agrippa I and Cypros (Josephus, *Jewish War*, ii. 220; *Jewish Antiquities*, xix. 354). Brought up at Rome under the emperor Claudius, he took over the kingdom of his brother, Herod of Chalcis, later adding Galilee and Peraea. He opposed the revolt in AD 66, remaining loyal to Rome (see *ABD*, i. 99–100).

100. (5) ¶ De Cessarea nouem[a] leucis contra austrum est [b]munitio hodie[b] Arsur dicta;[627] quondam tamen Antipatrida dicebatur ab Antipatro, patre[c] Herodis Magni.[d] Que fuit fratrum de hospitali sancti Iohannis, qui licet eam perdiderunt, tamen soluunt domino de Arsur [e]et heredibus suis[e] uiginti[f] octo milia bisantorum aureorum singulis annis [g]usque in eternum.[g] (6) ¶ De Arsur quattuor leucis contra orientem est Manetat[h] [i]nunc Khaco[i] dicta,[628] et fuit de tribu Manasse, in planitie sub monte Effraym sita, non longe a monte Saron. In hac presidium militum posuerunt Saraceni contra Castrum Peregrinorum. (7) Per hanc est uia in Sichem et in Ierusalem. De Kaco[j] quattuor leucis contra austrum est mons Saron et oppidum Sarona, cuius mentio fit in Actibus Apostolorum.[629] (8) ¶ De Arsur siue Dora[630] sunt octo leuce usque Ioppe, que est supra mare sita. De qua dictum est supra. (9) ¶ De Ioppe quattuor leucis est Geth,[k] non longe a mari sita, [631] que quondam una erat de quinque[l] ciuitatibus Philistinorum, sed nunc modicum est casale et uocatur Ybilin[632] in colle situm. Ab ea incipit prope terra Philistinorum. (10) De Geth duabus[m] leucis contra austrum est Bethsames Iude de quo dictum est supra.[633]

101. (11) ¶ De Bethsames duabus[a] leucis contra orientem[b] in monte Iuda uidetur mons Modin,[634] de quo oriundi erant Machabei. Et

100 [a] *P*; duabus *BPb*; tribus *LiZb* [b-b] hodie *om. BPb*; est uilla quedam hodie *LiZb*; Dora ciuitas *add. Lo* [c] *om. B* [d] *om. Li* [e-e] *B+*; *om. P* [f] triginta *Zb* [g-g] *om. Li*; usque *om. BPb* [h] *BPb* Manathot; Manetith *LiZb* [i-i] Menkaro *Li*; modo Karo *Zb* [j] Menkaro *Li* [k] ciuitas *add. B* [l] *om. Zb* [m] *B+*; octo *P*

101 [a] *LiZbP*; sex *BPb* [b] *BPbP*; austrum *LiZb*

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[627] Burchard probably refers to Arsûf (132178) on the coast (ancient Apollonia) (see Prag, *Israel and the Palestinian Territories*, pp. 301–4). In 1261 the Hospitallers took over Arsûf, but Baybars captured it in 1265. Robinson (*Biblical Researches* (1841), iii. 46), however, showed that Antipatris (Ras al-'Ain (143168), 26 miles (42 km) south of Caesarea) stood in the plain, not on the coast: see Acts 23: 31. Antipatris was previously named Aphek; it was renamed by Herod the Great in honour of his father Antipater (Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 417; *Jewish Antiquities*, xvi. 142–3); Antipater (*c.*100–40 BC) was an Idumaean (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 245–6; *ABD*, i. 273–4).

[628] Burchard identifies Manetat with Chaco (Qāqūn, nearly 4 miles (6 km) north-north-west of Tulkarm). Chaco's Crusader castle was taken by Baybars in 1265 (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 237; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 35–7; Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 83–4; Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 164–5). The Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 188^{vb}) turns 'nunc Chaco' into 'Menkaro'; probably the name Chaco was unknown to the Lilienfeld scribe. But the scribe adds, 'through here goes the road (presumably from Acre) to Sichem and Transjordan'. For Manetat, Laurent's text reads Machmethath, unknown, but probably north-east of Shechem. Abel (*Géographie*, ii. 57; *ABD*, iv. 815) links it with Aser; Aharoni

100. (5) ¶ Nine leagues south of Caesarea is the fortress today called Assur,[627] but it was once called Antipatris after Antipater, father of Herod the Great. It belonged to the Order of the Hospital of St John who, although they have lost it, nevertheless pay to the Lord of Assur and his heirs thirty-eight thousand golden besants each year for ever. (6) ¶ Four leagues east of Assur is Manetat, now called Chaco.[628] It belonged to the tribe of Manasseh. It is situated on the plain below Mount Ephraim, not far from Mount Sharon. The Saracens put a garrison there against Pilgrims' Castle. (7) Through here lies the road to Sichem and to Jerusalem. Four leagues south of Chaco is Mount Sharon and the town Sarona, of which there is mention in the Acts of the Apostles.[629] (8) ¶ From Assur, or Dor,[630] there are 8 leagues to Joppa, which is situated above the sea, and is described above. (9) ¶ Four leagues from Joppa is Gath,[631] placed not far from the sea. It was once one of the five Philistine cities, but it is now a small village called Ibelin,[632] set on a hill. Near here begins the Philistine territory. (10) Two leagues south of Gath is Beth-shemesh of Judah,[633] described above.

101. (11) ¶ Two leagues east of Beth-shemesh in the Judaean hill country Mount Modein[634] is visible, from which arose the Maccabees. Their

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(*Land of the Bible*, pp. 257, 439) tentatively locates it at Kh. Makhneh al-Fôqā (175176), but neither site fits Burchard's description.

[629] The biblical Sharon was a coastal plain, not a hilly region ('mons') or a city ('oppidum'). Isa. 35: 2 mentions Sharon alongside Carmel, 1 Chr. 27: 29 describes it as a place of pasture. Acts 9: 35 mentions it alongside Lydda (see *ABD*, v. 1161–3).

[630] Assur: see pp. cv, cxiii, 289. The identification with Dor, north of Caesarea, is strange. For Joppa, see above, n. 567).

[631] Gath is usually identified with Tall as-Safi (135123), 5 miles (8 km) north-west of Bet Guvrin (see *ABD*, ii. 908–9). Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 309, n. 451) suggests identification with al-Burj (Qal-'at Tantūra). Gath is famous as the home of the Philistine Goliath. (See Josh. 13: 3; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 5: 8–9; 7: 14; 17: 1–57; 21: 10–15; 27: 1–4; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 1: 20; 21: 21–2; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 12: 17; Amos 6: 2; Mic. 1: 10.) Burchard locates it 4 leagues from Joppa, near the sea, which does not fit well with Tall as-Safi, nor with Eusebius' location (*Onomastikon*, 68. 4–7) between Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin) and Diospolis (Lydda). Yabneh, south of Jaffa, is a possibility, but Burchard also locates Yabneh 2 leagues north of Beth-shemesh. These considerations might suggest Tall Gezer for Burchard's Gath.

[632] At Yavneh (Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 31–2, 120).

[633] See above, n. 561.

[634] The Maccabaean tombs are in the region of Ras Medieh (150148) (*ABD*, iv. 894), 18 miles (29 km) north-west of Jerusalem: see 1 Macc. 2: 70; 9: 19; 13: 27–30. Burchard locates Modein 2 leagues south of Beth-shemesh, but Modein in fact lies some 15 miles (24 km) north of it. Burchard seems to know the tombs; has he, or a scribe, simply written south for north? See now Zissu and Perry, 'Hasmonaean Modi'in and Byzantine Moditha', who locate the Maccabaean tombs at nearby Khirbat al-Hammam/Khirbat Midieh.

monstrantur hodie sepulchra eorum. [c]Illic etiam procul, ita ut uideantur in mari,[c] quia alte situs est locus. (12) ¶ De Bethsames fere quattuor leucis contra occidentem[d] non longe a mari est Accaron,[635] ciuitas secunda de quinque urbibus[e] Philistinorum, que nunc modicum est casale tamen adhuc antiquum nomen retinet. (13) ¶ De Accaron quattuor leucis contra austrum est Azotus,[f] tertia de quinque ciuitatibus Philistinorum, per unam leucam distans a mari.[636] Et est nunc similiter casale satis paruum. (14) ¶ De Ioppe duabus leucis est Lidda siue Diospolis,[637] de qua dictum est supra. Inde tribus[g] leucis contra orientem fere sed tamen aliquantulum ad aquilonem est Lepna,[h] non longe a Lachis, quam cepit Iosue et obsedit Sennacherib sicut dicitur quarto Regum.[i][638] ¶ Inde tribus leucis, uia, que ducit in Gabaon, est Acceda[j] opidum,[639] et Maceda,[640] iuxta illud, que ambo cepit Iosue, cum liberasset Gabaonitas. Vbi se in spelunca absconderunt quinque reges. ¶ Inde tribus[k] leucis contra orientem non longe a Nobe est Sochot Iude,[641] iuxta uallem terebinthi,[642] ubi Dauid puer in funda et lapide interfecit Goliath Getheum. ¶ Inde per unam leucam contra austrum descendit uia que de Ierusalem ducit in Ramatha et Ioppe. (15) De Nobe que nunc Bethenopolis[643] dicitur sunt tres leuce usque[l] in Emmaus, que hodie Nichopollis[644] appellatur.[m]

[c–c] et uidetur usque de mari *BPb* [d] austrum *LiZb* [e] urbibus *PZb*; ciuitatibus *BPb*; urbibus uel ciuitatibus *Li* [f] *om. Li*; ciuitas *add. B* [g] duabus *LiZb* [h] ciuitas *add. B* [i] et Ysaia *add. B* [j] *BLi*; Azeda *P* [k] quinque *Li* [l] *om. B* [m] dicitur *Li*

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[635] Ekron (Vulgate, Accaron), now Kh. al-Muqanna', Tel Miqneh (135131), north-east of Ashdod: Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 22. 9) locates it between Azotus (Ashdod) and Jamnia (Yabneh). See Josh. 13: 3; 15: 45–6; 19: 43; Judg. 1: 18–19; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 7: 14; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 1: 2; 1 Macc. 10: 89 (see Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, p. 434; *ABD*, ii. 415–22). Burchard locates Ekron 10 leagues south of Joppa; in fact Kh. al-Muqanna' is about 20 miles (32 km) south of Joppa. Pringle (*Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 309, n. 453; cf. Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 319) notes that the medieval location was more probably 'Aqīr (134142), east of Yabneh. Acording to the Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 188^{vb}), the ancient name of Accaron was unknown ('nescitur'); perhaps the scribe did not recognize biblical Ekron in it.

[636] Modern Ashdod (117129): see 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 5: 1–7; 2 Chr. 26: 6; Isa. 20: 1; Zeph. 2: 4; Zech. 9: 5–6; Neh. 4: 7; 1 Macc. 4: 15; 5: 68; 10: 78; 14: 34; 16: 10; Acts 8: 40 (see *ABD*, i. 477–82, 541–2). On Burchard's reckoning, Azotus is 14 leagues south of Joppa; the actual distance is about 26 miles (42 km). (See Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 253–4; *ABD*, i. 477–82.)

[637] See above, n. 558.

[638] Tel Bornat (138115), or Tall Judeideh (141115); see *ABD*, iv. 322–3 for discussion; see Josh. 10: 29–30; 12: 15; 15: 42; 21: 13; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 8: 22. It was besieged by Sennacherib (Isa. 37: 8; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 19: 8; 23: 31; 24: 18; Jer. 52:1). Eusebius (*Onomastikon*, 120. 25) locates it near Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin), which fits both Tel Bornat and Tall Judeideh.

tombs are shown there today even from afar, so that they are visible from the sea, because their location is high up. (12) ¶ Four leagues west of Beth-shemesh, not far from the sea, is Ekron,[635] the second of the five Philistine cities. Now it is a small village, but it keeps its ancient name to this day. (13) ¶ Four leagues south of Ekron is Azotus,[636] the third of the five Philistine cities. It is one league distant from the sea. It is now similarly a small village. (14) ¶ Two leagues from Joppa is Lydda or Diospolis,[637] described above. Three leagues almost to the east but a little to the north is Libnah,[638] not far from Lachish, which Joshua captured and Sennacherib besieged, as is told in 4 Kings. ¶ Three leagues from there, on the road to Gibeah, is the town of Azekah,[639] with Makkedah[640] next to it, both of which Joshua captured when he had freed the Gibeonites. This is where five kings hid themselves in a cave. ¶ Three leagues east of this not far from Nob is Socoh of Judah,[641] by the Valley of the Terebinth,[642] where the boy David killed Goliath of Gath with his sling and stone. ¶ One league south of this descends the road which leads from Jerusalem to Ramathaim and Joppa. (15) There are 3 leagues from Nob, now called Bethenopolis,[643] to Emmaus, which today is called Nicopolis.[644]

Burchard's location 2 leagues east of Diospolis puts it nearly 25 miles (40 km) further north. Burchard similarly sets Azekah and Makkedah (below) further north than other geographers.

[639] Burchard's Acceda (RSV Azekah) is Tall Zakariya (143123), 5 miles (8 km) north-east of Bet Guvrin: see Josh. 10: 10–11; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 17: 1; 2 Chr. 11: 9; Jer. 34: 7; Neh. 11: 30. Azekah appears in the Lachish letters (no. 4; see *ANET*, p. 322) (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 257; *ABD*, i. 537–9). Burchard appears to locate Azekah further north, on the road from Diospolis/Lydda via Libnah to Gibeah north of Jerusalem.

[640] Kh. Bayt Maqdum (147105); see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 378; Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 126. 22–5; trans. Freeman-Grenville, p. 144); or 'somewhere in the central or N Shephelah', in the vicinity of Azekah and Lachish (*ABD*, iv. 478): see Josh. 10: 16–30; 12: 16; 15: 41. Burchard appears to locate Makkedah further north than Eusebius, who puts it at the eighth milestone east of Eleutheropolis (Bet Guvrin).

[641] Socoh of Judah is identified with Kh. 'Abbad (147121), immediately west of Kh. Shuweikeh, which preserves the ancient name (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 467 (Socho (1); *ABD*, vi. 99): this is probably the Socoh in the Shephelah near Azekah in the Elah valley; cf. Josh. 15: 35; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 17: 1; 2 Chr. 11: 6; 28: 18. The present text locates Socoh 3 leagues east of Azekah, near Nobe; the Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 188^{vb}) says 5 leagues.

[642] This is the valley of Elah, 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 17: 2. Baedeker (*Palestine and Syria*, p. 124) and Abel (*Géographie*, ii. 85) identify this with the wadi as-Sant, on which Tall as-Safi (Gath) is sited.

[643] Burchard appears to refer to Nob of Isa. 10: 32 (see above at n. 613). Bethenopolis is perhaps the Betoannaba of Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 20. 17, 4 Roman miles from Diospolis (see Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, p. 35).

[644] Nicopoli is modern Kh. 'Imwas (149138): but probably al-Qubeiba or Abu Ghosh is meant; see above, n. 556.

102. (16) ¶ De Emmaus[a] leuca et dimidia ascenditur per uallem Rapham[645] a latere domus Zacharie,[646] que relinquitur ad dextram euntibus in Ierusalem, et de eadem domo [b]per unam leucam et dimidiam[b] ad dextram est castrum ualde munitum, Bethsura,[647] situm a latere montis contra Bezeth[648] et Bethleem, quod hedifficatum fuit tempore Machabeorum et per fraudem cepit illud Antiochus adolescens. Distat autem per dimidiam leucam et paruum amplius de Ierusalem. (17) ¶ De Azoto quattuor[c] leucis contra austrum est Ascalona,[649] quarta ciuitas Philistinorum, in littore maris sita, formam habens semicirculi, munita ualde, et est quasi totum robur Sarracenorum in terra[d] illa. (18) ¶ De Ascalona quinque leucis contra austrum est Gaza ciuitas,[650] in littore maris sita. Nunc communiter dicitur Gazara,[e] et est sita in uia que ducit in Egyptum. (19) ¶ De Gaza sunt quattuor leuce usque Bersabee,[651] que nunc Giblin[f] [652] dicitur, et est terminus Iudee et terre[g] promissionis contra austrum. In hac multo tempore manserunt[h] Abraham [i]et Isaac[i] sicut dicitur in Gen. Distat ab Ebron plusquam per dietam sicut et Gaza.[j] Has partes terre promissionis, que[k] [l]cesserunt in sorte tribui[l] Iude, sequitur desertum illud magnum, quod extenditur usque ad flumen Egypti[653] in quo multo tempore filii Israhel manserunt,

102 [a] una *add. B* [b–b] *LiPZb*; duabus leucis et dimidia *BPb* [c] sex *Li Zb* [d] *om. Li* [e] *PPb*; Gazata *BZb*; Gazatha *Li* [f] *BPbP*; Gyth *Li*; Galayn *Zb* [g] *B+*; terminus *P* [h] habitauerunt *LiZb* [i–i] *om. Li* [j] a Bethlehem *add. Li* [k] *om. B* [l–l] *P*; cecidit tribui *Li*; acceperunt in parte tribus *BPb*

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[645] See above, n. 584.

[646] At 'Ain Kârim; see above, n. 612.

[647] Kh. et-Tubeiqah (159110), 15 miles (24 km) south of Jerusalem: see Josh. 15: 13–9, 58; 2 Chr. 11: 7; Neh. 3: 16. The Hellenistic city appears in 1 Macc. 4: 29; 4: 61; 6: 7, 26, 31, 49–50; 9: 52; 11: 65–6; 2 Macc. 11: 5; 13. 22. Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 52. 1–5 locates it at the twentieth milestone on the Jerusalem–Hebron road. Stewart (*Burchard of Mount Sion, A.D. 1280*, p. 96, n. 2; cf. Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 310, n. 464; see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 283; *ABD*, i.701–2) identifies the castle as the twelfth-century castle of Belmont (Soba), west of Jerusalem (162132). For the capture of Beth-zur by Antiochus IV, see 1 Macc. 6: 49–50.

[648] Cf. Bezek (see above, n. 583): probably in the region of Bayt Jala.

[649] Ashkelon (107119) is mentioned on the late thirteenth-century Merneptah stele; the Old Testament knows it as a Philistine city (Josh. 13: 3; Judg. 14: 19). See Judg. 1: 18; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 1: 20; Amos 1: 8; Jer. 25: 20; 47: 5; Zeph. 2: 4, 7; Zech. 9: 5. It was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 604 BC, but flourished in the Persian and Hellenistic periods; Herod the Great gave it baths, fountains, and colonnades (Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 422), but in AD 66 the people of Ascalon massacred 2,500 Jewish residents (Josephus, *Jewish War*, ii. 477). In the seventh century the city became part of the Muslim world; the Crusaders took it in 1153, but in 1187 it surrendered to Saladin, and in 1270 Baybars finally destroyed it. Burchard describes it as well fortified, but by Burchard's time it was not (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 252–3; *ABD*, i. 487–90).

[650] Gaza (099101) was the capital of the Egyptian province of Canaan from *c.*1550–1150 BC and subsequently the leading Philistine city (Josh. 13: 3), with its temple of Dagon (Judg. 16: 23–30). Saul died fighting the Philistines (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31), David defeated them (2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 8: 1), and Solomon is credited with ruling them (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 21, 24), but relationships

102. (16) ¶ A league and a half from Emmaus one ascends through the valley of Rephaim,[645] by the side of the house of Zechariah,[646] which one leaves to the right on the way to Jerusalem. One and half leagues from that same house to the right is the well-fortified castle of Beth-zur,[647] set on the flank of the mountain over against Bezeth[648] and Bethlehem. This was built in the time of the Maccabees, and the young Antiochus took it by deceit. It is a little more than half a league from Jerusalem. (17) ¶ Four leagues south of Azotus is Ashkelon,[649] the fourth Philistine city, set on the sea-coast. It has a semicircular shape, and is well fortified. It is as it were the total core of Saracen strength in the land. (18) ¶ Five leagues south of Ashkelon is the city of Gaza,[650] set on the sea-coast. Now it is commonly called Gazara, and it is located on the road that leads to Egypt. (19) ¶ From Gaza there are four leagues to Beersheba,[651] now called Giblin.[652] It marks the boundary of Judaea and of the promised land to the south. Here Abraham and Isaac remained for a long time, as it says in Genesis. Like Gaza, it is more than a day's journey from Hebron. These parts of the promised land which fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah are followed by the great desert which extends to the river of Egypt.[653] In this desert the children of

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between the Philistines and the kingdoms of Judah and Israel remained difficult, as Amos 1: 6–8 testifies, until the Assyrians took control of all three kingdoms in the eighth–seventh centuries BC, the Babylonians taking over in the seventh–sixth centuries. The Persian ruler Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BC; Gaza became an important border town in the Fifth Satrapy of the Persian Empire. Two centuries later Gaza was besieged and conquered by Alexander the Great; it subsequently became part of the Ptolemaic empire (301–198 BC), then the Seleucid empire (198–102 BC) and for a short while under Hasmonaean rule, until 63 BC, when Rome took control. Gaza was soon put under Herod's jurisdiction, but in the first century AD established some autonomy and so prospered as a port trading with Egypt and the wider Roman empire, especially as a slave market. In the Byzantine period Christianity developed, and paganism was suppressed (see *ABD*, ii. 917–21). Gaza was taken by the Muslims in 637, and by the Crusaders in 1149, but it returned to Ayyubid rule in 1187; the Crusaders built a church, dedicated to St John, above a fifth-century Byzantine church; but this became the present Umeiri mosque. Burchard gives no details about Gaza; for him, it was not a Christian part of the Holy Land (see Abel, *Géographie*, ii. 327–8; *ABD*, ii. 912–21).

[651] Tall as-Seba' (134072): since the excavations of Aharoni (1969–74) and Herzog (1976) it is generally accepted that Tall as-Seba' covers the remains of the royal and administrative centre of Judaean Beersheba, and that the modern town covers the lower city (see Gen. 26: 33; Josh. 15: 28; 19: 2; 1 Chr. 4: 28). The site of the Roman–Byzantine town of Berosabe lay at Bir as-Sabe' 4 kilometres to the west. The wells of Beersheba are important in the patriarchal narratives; cf. Gen. 21: 25–32; 26: 32–3 (see *ABD*, i. 641–5).

[652] See above, n. 102. Burchard is in error here; Bet Guvrin/Jiblin was Eleutheropolis, not Beersheba.

[653] Gen. 15: 18 seems to refer to the Nile and the Euphrates at opposite ends of the land to be given to Abraham's descendants. But as Burchard is here completing his description of the land allotted to Judah, he probably has in mind 'the Brook of Egypt', on the border of Judah with Egypt (cf. Num. 34: 5; Josh. 15: 4, 47; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 8: 65, cf. 2 Chr. 7: 8, 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24: 7; Isa. 27: 12; Ezek. 47: 19; 48: 28. This 'brook' (Hebrew *nahal*) is probably to be identified with the Nahal Besor (see *ABD*, ii. 321).

de loco ad locum transeuntes. Hec de terra ista et de locis eius dicta sufficiant. (XI. 1) Ceterum de longitudine et latitudine,[m] secundum quod[n] diligentius considerare potui,[o] subiungam.[654]

DE LONGITVDINE ET LATITVDINE TERRE SANCTE

103. [a] ¶ Sciendum igitur, quod longitudo terre sancte ab aquilone incipit sub monte Libani,[b] ubi sita est Cessarea Phylippi, extenditurque contra austrum usque Bersabee Iuda, quod est contra desertum.[c] Longitudo enim[d] eius et latitudo, quam decem tribus inhabitabant, non est multum spatiosa, sed secundum quod potui melius inuestigare eam oculis contemplando et pedibus peragrando, uidetur mihi tanta[e] esse, quantam infra[f] describam, et ad hoc adducam testimonium Iosephi qui eam descripsit. Sicut infra ponam. Verum est, quod ultra Iordanem[g] non multum processi,[655] et terram duarum tribuum et dimidie non transiui, et ideo pono non eam. ¶ Videtur tamen mihi quod longitudo eius, que se extendit a capite maris Galilee septentrionali usque ad torrentem Arnon, ubi terminatur, est fere quadraginta septem[h] leucarum. [i]Latitudinem non uidi.[i] Terram autem decem tribuum citra Iordanem [j]in longitudine et latitudine[j] Iosephus sic describit:

104. (2) ¶ Tribus Iuda[656] superiorem obtinuit regionem que in longitudine quidem extenditur ab Egypto usque in Ierosolimam, que longitudo [a]dicitur septem dietas continere;[a] in latitudine uero a lacu aspalti [b]quod est mare mortuum[b] usque ad mare magnum contra occidentem; quod est spatium quindecim leucarum. (3) ¶ [c]Tribui Simeonis[c] in ipsa tribu Iuda [d]obuenit pars[d] que est iuxta Egyptum [e]et montem[e] Arabie[657]

[m] eius *add. B*; terre sancta et promissionis eius *add. Pb* [n] eam *add. BPbd* [o] hic *add. BPb*

103 [a] *heading om. P; Lo sets this section at the end of the manuscript* [b] Libano *BPPb* [c] austrum *LiZb* [d] tamen *LiZb* [e] tota *BPbP* [f] inferius *LiZb* [g] *om. BPb* [h] *BPb* 27; in longitudine *add. LiZb* [i–i] *om. LiZb* [j–j] *B+; om. P*

104 [a–a] septem dietas obtinetur *B*; septem dietas continere *PPb*; septemdecim dietas continere *Lo*; habere duodecim dietas itinere *LiZb* [b–b] *om. Lo* [c–c] Tribus Symeon *BLo* [d–d] accepit sortem *Lo* [e–e] in monte *BPb*

The shorter version here includes a section 'De terra Ierosolymita' (**B68**), which derives verbatim from the late twelfth-century treatise known as *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*. For this treatise, see the edition by Kedar, 'The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*', in France and Zajak (eds.), *The Crusades and their Sources*, pp. 111–33.

Israel remained for a long time, moving from place to place. Let what we have said about the land and the places in it suffice. (XI. 1) For the rest, I shall add below an account of the length and breadth of the land, so far as I could give it careful consideration.[654]

ABOUT THE LENGTH OF THE HOLY LAND

103. ¶ It should be known, then, that lengthwise the Holy Land begins from the north below Mount Lebanon, where Caesarea Philippi lies, and extends southwards as far as Beersheba of Judah, which is towards the desert. For its length and breadth, which the ten tribes occupied, is not particularly spacious, but to judge from what I could discover by studying it with my eyes and traversing it with my feet, it seems to me to be just so large as I shall describe below. To this I shall adduce the witness of Josephus, who described it. I shall set it out thus below. It is true that I have not been far beyond the Jordan,[655] and I have not crossed the land of the two and a half tribes, and so I do not cover that. ¶ It seems to me, however, that its length, extending from the head of the Sea of Galilee in the north to its end at the wadi Arnon, is almost 47 leagues. Its breadth I have not seen. But Josephus describes the length and breadth of the land of the ten tribes this side of Jordan thus:

104. (2) ¶ The tribe of Judah obtained the upper country.[656] The length of this extended from Egypt to Jerusalem, and is said to be seven days' journey, but the breadth of it runs westwards from the Asphalt Lake, which is the Dead Sea, to the Mediterranean, which is a distance of 15 leagues. (3) ¶ To the tribe of Simeon,[657] within the tribe of Judah, came

In the next section on the length of the Holy Land Burchard borrows and adapts a section from Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, v. 80–7), giving the lengths and breadths in leagues. This section is absent from the abbreviator's work.

[654] Burchard's verb (*subiungam*) suggests that he is knowingly attaching a piece from elsewhere.

[655] Burchard's limited acquaintance with the land beyond the Jordan has been revealed in several places. As he says he has not crossed the territory of the two and a half tribes, he presumably visited some part of the region further south, around the north end of the Dead Sea.

[656] Josephus' text gave 'Idumaea' where Burchard gives *regionem* (region, country). Josephus includes Ashkelon and Gaza within Judah's allotment; Burchard simply gives the Mediterranean as the western boundary, though Judah's real border lay inland of the coast.

[657] Josephus gives Simeon's allotment as the portion of Idumaea bordering on Egypt and Arabia; some scholars have conjectured that Burchard has turned Arabia into Mount Abarim, perhaps following some scribal error in the text he used.

[f]sed huius partis miliaria non pono[f] quia [g]intra sortem Iude continentur.[g] (4) ¶ Beniaminite[658] sortiti sunt ab Iordane usque ad mare magnum, longitudinem [h]que est similiter quindecim[h] leucarum [i]sicut et Iude latitudo.[j] Huius uero latitudo est ab Iherusalem est que non habet plene quattuor leucas usque Bethel.[i] (5) ¶ Tribus Effraym[659] a Iordane flumine[k] usque Gaderam[l] que est iuxta Ioppem [m]sortita est[m] longitudinem[n] [o]que est sedecim leucarum,[o] latitudinem[p] usque ad campum[q] ubi incipit Galilea, que est fere duodecim[r] leucarum. (6) ¶ Tribus Manassem medietas,[660] que citra Iordanem, [s]accepit sortem ab ipso Iordanis flumine[s] usque ad mare magnum [t]ubi sita est Dora, accepit longitudinem que est quindecim[t] leucarum, latitudinem uero usque Bethsam [u]que est[u] septem leucarum.[v]

105. (7) ¶ Tribus Isacar[661] Iordanem et Carmelum iuxta Magedo accepit[a] longitudinem que est octo leucarum, latitudinem uero usque de Bethsam usque ad montem [b]Thaburinum que quinque leucas[b] continebat. Haec terra pinguissima fuit et ideo[c] minus accepit. Vnde in benedictione eius dicit Iacob, Ysachar asinus fortis, et [d]sequitur. Vidit requiem quod esset bona et terram quod esset optima[d] etc. Tribus[e] similiter Benyamin breuissima fuit propter terre[f] fertilitatem. Ierusalem enim et Iericho tulerunt. (8) ¶ Tribus Zabulon[662] Carmelum prope Caymont usque Genesareth tantumdem [g]sortita est[g] longitudinem [h]per spatium[h] nouem leucarum, latitudinem uero a monte Thabor per conuallem que[i] Carmeleon dicitur per spatium quinque leucarum.[j] Haec similiter erat pinguis ualde. (9) ¶ Tribus Asser[663] totam terram a Carmelo maris usque ad Sidonem magnam accepit longitudinem [k]per spatium[k] uiginti leucarum, latitudinem uero[l] a mari magno contra orientem usque Naason et Cabul[m] per spatium nouem leucarum. Hec terra pro magna parte montuosa erat. [n]Ciuitas etiam Acre in eius parte fuit,[n] [o]que nunc acropolis[p] Ptholomeis appellatur.[o] (10) ¶ Tribus autem Neptalim[664] accepit partes ad orientem conuersas usque ad Damascum,

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[f–f] *om. LiZb* [g–g] in tribu Ida continetur *Lo* [h–h] uiginti *Lo* [i–i] latitudinem uero ab Ierusalem usque Bethel que non plene quinque leucas *Lo* [j] *om. LiZb* [k] *om. Lo* [l] Gadamer *Li* [m–m] *om. Lo* [n] *LiLoPZb*; latitudinem *BPb* [o–o] undeuiginti leucas *Lo*; *om. BPb* [p] longitudinem uero *BPb*; uero a Bethel *add. Lo* [q] magnum *add. BLoPb* [r] *LoPPb*; tredecim *BLiZb* [s–s] erat longitudinem *Lo* [t–t] iuxta Dotham duodecim *Lo* [u–u] *om. Lo* [v] de campo magno *add. Lo*

105 [a] *B+*; *om. P* [b–b] Thabor quinque leucarum *Lo* [c] *om. Li* [d–d] eius usque terra est optima *Lo* [e] *om. Lo* [f] *om. Lo* [g–g] accepit *Lo* [h–h] *om. Lo* [i] id est *Lo* [j] usque ad mare *add. Lo* [k–k] *om. Lo* [l] *om. BPb* [m] Zabulon *BPb* [n–n] *om. Lo*; erat *B* [o–o] que nunc accepit scilicet Ptolomaida appellatur *B*; Ptholomais in eius parte fuit *Lo* [p] id est *add. LiPbZb*

that part which is near Egypt and Mount Arabia, but I do not give the mileage of this part because it is contained in the tribal portion of Judah. (4) ¶ The Benjaminites[658] were allotted the land from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, in length 15 leagues, similar to Judah's breadth; but its breadth from Jerusalem to Bethel is no more than 4 leagues. (5) ¶ The tribe of Ephraim[659] was allotted the land from the Jordan river to Gederah, which is near Joppa, in length 16 leagues, in breadth, as far as the great plain where Galilee begins, almost 12 leagues. (6) ¶ The half tribe of Manasseh[660] on this side of the Jordan received the portion from the Jordan river to the Mediterranean at Dor; it received a length of 15 leagues, but a breadth as far as Beth-shean, which is 7 leagues.

105. (7) ¶ The tribe of Issachar[661] received the regions of Jordan and Carmel near Megiddo, in length 8 leagues; but in breadth from Beth-shean to Mount Tabor, which contained 5 leagues. This land was the richest, and so received less. Hence Jacob said in his blessing, 'Issachar shall be a strong ass', and the following. He saw the resting place, that it was good, and the land, that it was the best, etc. Similarly, the tribe of Benjamin was the smallest because of the fertility of the land. For Jerusalem and Jericho took it. (8) ¶ The tribe of Zebulun[662] was allotted from Carmel by Caymont to Gennesaret, in length 9 leagues, but in breadth from Mount Tabor across the valley called Carmelion, a space of 5 leagues. This is similarly very rich. (9) ¶ The tribe of Asher[663] received the whole land from Carmel by the sea to Great Sidon, an area 20 leagues in length, in breadth 9 leagues from the Mediterranean eastwards to Naason and Kabul. This land is mostly mountainous. The city of Acre also was in its part; this acropolis is now called Ptolemais. (10) ¶ The tribe of Naphtali[664] received the parts turned eastward as far

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[658] Josephus similarly noted Benjamin's territory as stretching from the Jordan westward towards the sea, and in breadth (Greek, *to platos*) from Jerusalem to Bethel.

[659] Josephus gave Ephraim's borders as the Jordan in the east and Gezer (Gazara (142140)) in the west; Gazara has become in Burchard's text Gadera, which may be Gederah (Josh. 15: 36) in the Shephelah region (see *ABD*, ii. 925).

[660] Josephus located the western half tribe of Manasseh between the Jordan and the city of Dora on the Mediterranean coast.

[661] Josephus sets Issachar between Mount Carmel and the Jordan, 'and mount Itabyrion [i.e. Tabor] as limit of its breadth', without reference to Beth-she'an.

[662] Burchard adds reference to Mounts Cain and Tabor to his description of Zebulun, these being places of importance to Christian pilgrims.

[663] Burchard omits Josephus' reference to the city of Arke in Asher's territory on the coast between Mount Carmel and Tyre. Josephus (*Antiquities*, v. 85) identifies Arke here as Ecdippa, i.e. Achzib, Josh. 19: 29; but elsewhere in Josephus Arke is a town north-east of Tripoli, and is presumably to be identified with 'Arqa (see above, n. 77). Burchard's omission is correct.

[664] Naphtali: Burchard omits Josephus' references to the sources of the Jordan.

Galileam superiorem totam a mari Galilee usque ad montem Libani fontesque Iordanis quorum fluuius[q] de montibus est collectus. Que longitudo[r] uersus orientem extenditur per leucas decem; in latitudine uero contra aquilonem a mari Galile usque ad Libanum per septem[s] leucas. (11) ¶ Tribus Dan[665] loca conuallis iuxta mare magnum ad solis occasum accepit,[t] ab austro Azoto,[u] ab aquilone uero Dora determinata. Hec fuit longitudo eius. In latitudine uero Iamnia et Geth et Accaron iuxta mare usque Bethoron ad orientem ad pedem montis de quo tribus Iuda pendebat.[v] [w]Huius partis miliaria non pono quia de tribu Iuda[w] et Benyamin et Effraym secus mare sumpsit partes. De Iuda enim habuit Azotum et Accaron et Geth. De Benyamin uero Iamniam Ramatham usque Ioppen et [x]Liddam de Effraym Ioppe et[x] Saron et cetera loca maritima usque Doram.

106. (12) ¶ Secundum igitur[a] predictam[b] descriptionem tota terra sancta, que est citra Iordanem, nusquam uidetur excedere spatium sedecim[c] leucarum in latitudine, que est a Iordane usque ad mare magnum,[666] hoc est ab oriente in occidentem. In longitudine uero, que[d] ab aquilone in austrum porrigitur, hoc est a Dan que nunc Belenas dicitur siue Cessarea Phylippi usque Bersabee que nunc Giblin appellatur[e] non plene continet [f]centum uiginti[f] leucas ut uidetur. [g]Ecce, habes totam terram secundum longitudinem et latitudinem et omnem eius situm descriptam fideliter. Que descriptio, ut mihi uidetur, perutilis est pro libris historialibus et tota biblia, si intelligatur, et locis singulis notandis pariter et sciendis. ¶ Restat nunc ut de ritu, moribus et conuersatione et condicionibus habitantium in ea et porro de fructibus[h] qui in ea nascuntur ad eius commendationem aliqua inserantur.[i] [g]

[q] fluminis impetus *P* [r] *om. Lo* [s] octo *Li*; quattuordecim *Lo* [t] autem *add.* *B* [u] *PZb*; Azotum *BLiPb* [v] dependebat *LiZb* [w–w] *om.* *Lo* [x–x] *PZb*; *om. BLiPb*

106 [a] *om. BLoPb* [b] hanc *BPb* [c] triginta *Lo* [d] est a Iordane *add. Lo* [e] dicitur *Lo* [f–f] nonagenta *LiLoZb* [g–g] Verum est quod tribus Iuda adhuc ultra extenditur per desertum usque ad fluuium Egypti quod spatium est fere quindecim dietarum. Amen *Lo* [h] hiis *BPb* [i] interseramus *Li*

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[665] Burchard expands Josephus, noting that the lands of the tribe of Dan extended from Jamnia, Gath, and Ekron by the sea ‘as far as Bethoron to the east’. He notes that Dan had from Judah’s territory Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath, and from Benjamin’s territory Jabneh, Ramatha, and as far as Joppa and Sharon, with other coastal places as far as Dor.

as Damascus, all upper Galilee from the Sea of Galilee as far as Mount Lebanon and the springs of the Jordan, the flow of whose river is drawn from the mountains. The length extends eastwards for 10 leagues, but in breadth, north from the Sea of Galilee as far as Lebanon, it extends for 7 leagues. (11) ¶ The tribe of Dan[665] received the valley sites by the Mediterranean towards the west, bounded on the south by Ashdod but on the north by Dor. This was its length. But in its breadth, the Danites had Jamnia, Gath, and Ekron by the sea as far as Beth-horon to the east, at the foot of the mountain from which the tribe of Judah's territory began. I cannot give the breadth of this part in miles, because Dan had taken parts of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim beside the sea. For from Judah Dan held Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath. But from Benjamin Ephraim held Jamnia, Ramathaim as far as Joppa, and Lydda; from Ephraim Dan held Joppa and Sharon and other maritime places as far as Dor.

106. (12) ¶ Following the description above, then, the whole of the Holy Land this side of Jordan nowhere seems to exceed sixteen leagues in breadth from the Jordan to the Mediterranean,[666] that is from east to west. But in length, stretching from north to south, that is from Dan which is now called Banias or Caesarea Philippi, to Beersheba which is now called Giblin, it seems to measure not more than ninety leagues. See, you have the whole land by its length and breadth and its every site faithfully described. This description, I think, if understood, is of no small value for study of the historical books and for the whole Bible, and equally for noting and knowing the individual places. ¶ It now remains that in commendation of the land something be included about the religion, the customs, the behaviour, and the status of those living there, and, further, about the fruits that are grown in it.

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[666] From the Jordan's mouth in the Dead Sea to Ashdod on the coast is just over 50 miles (80 km), which is a little more than Burchard's 16 leagues (a league being the distance one can walk in an hour, or about two and a half to three miles, perhaps 4–5 kilometres, depending on stamina and terrain); the London manuscript gives 30 leagues, which is much more than 50 miles (80 km). It is harder to compare Burchard's length from north to south (90 leagues in the Lilienfeld (Codex 145, fo. 189^{va}) and London (BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 50^{ra}) manuscripts, or 120 leagues in the Paris manuscript n.a.l. 288 (fo. 35^{rb})) with a modern figure because of the uncertainty of the reading. Burchard says explicitly that the land extends from Dan (Banias, Caesarea Philippi) to Beersheba (identified as Bet Guvrin). This would give a distance from north to south of about 150 miles (240 km), which is well below 90 leagues, let alone 120. The distances between places given by Burchard need careful attention.

The abbreviated version omits the following section on the fruits and animals of the Holy Land.

DE FRVCTIBVS ET ANIMALIBVS TERRE SANCTE

107. (XII. 1) ¶ Sciendum [a]est itaque,[a] quod terra sancta fuit in rei[b] ueritate et est hodie egregia inter omnes terras, licet quibusdam, qui eam non diligenter considerauerunt, contrarium uideatur. Est enim fertilis ualde[c] in frumento, quod fere absque labore colitur in terra illa et crescit. Cum duobus enim bobus ut sepius uidi [d]in terra illa trahunt aratrum,[d] nec est necesse apponere equos propter facilitatem arandi, sed nec [e]stercorari agros ibi uidi. Herbas multas profert sponte humus;[e] feniculum, saluia, [f]ruta, rose passim[f] in campo crescunt. (2) Lana succida[667] crescit in quibusdam frutectis, que alta sunt usque[g] ad genua hominis uel parum plus[h] et annis[i] singulis seminantur, foliis uitis fere similibus, minoribus tamen. Et crescunt folliculi quidam, in quibus est lana[j] que colligitur circa festum sancti Michaelis. ¶ Canamellis[668] similiter crescunt ibi, que similes sunt cannis communibus, sed maiores.[k] Interius non sunt caue sed plene quadam porosa[l] substantia, que est disposita sicut illud, quod inuenitur in uirgis[m] sambuce. Et est humida substantia illa ualde. Iste canne collecte inciduntur ad longitudinem palme et dimidie, et sic exprimuntur in prelo. Aqua inde expressa coquitur in caldariis eneis, et inspissata colligitur in cophinis de subtilibus uiminibus contextis. Quod paulatim postea exsiccatur [n]et induratur,[n] et sic zuchara efficitur.[o] [p]Distillatur tamen inde purus[q] liquor quidam, qui mel sucare dicitur, delicatus ualde[p] et aptus ualde[r] cibariis condiendis. ¶ Iste insuper canne inciduntur in longitudine unius digiti fere, ita tamen, quod iste particule semper[s] in medio sui[t] nodum habeant, qui plures sunt in canna una.[u] Iste particule subterrantur tempore uerno in locis humidis [v]per aqueductus humectantibus[v] et de ipsis particulis crescunt noue canne, ita ut[w] de singulis duo crescant ex utraque parte nodi hinc[x] et sic plantantur.

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107 [a-a] igitur est *BPb* [b] *om. BPb* [c] *B+; om. P* [d-d] trahere aratrum ut solent colere in terra illa *Li* [e-e] stercorantur. Agros multos uidi qui herbas multas sponte proferunt *Li* [f-f] rose ruta palsami B [g] undique *LiZb* [h] ultra *Li* [i] angulis *Li* [j] *om. BPb* [k] maioribus *Li* [l] preciosa *BPb* [m] uirga *Li* [n-n] *om. BPPb* [o] efficiunt *Li* [p-p] quoddam distillat mel est nobilissimum *Lo* [q] de ipsis priusquam indurentur omnino *LiZb* [r] *om. Li* [s] *B+; om. P* [t] *B+; om. P* [u] *om. Li* [v-v] qui per aqueductus humectantur *Li* [w] quod *BPb* [x] add et inde *LiZb*

ABOUT THE FRUITS AND ANIMALS OF THE HOLY LAND

107. (XII. 1) ¶ It must be known also, that the Holy Land was in truth and is today the best among all lands, though to some who have not considered it carefully it seems the opposite. For it is fertile in corn, which in that land is tended and grows almost without human labour. For as I have often seen in that land they draw the plough with two oxen, and the ease of cultivation makes it unnecessary to apply horses; but nor have I seen them manure the fields there. The ground produces many herbs of its own accord: fennel, sage, rue, and roses grow everywhere in the field. (2) Cotton[667] grows on certain bushes, which are knee high or a little higher and are sown annually; they have leaves almost like the vine's, but smaller. Little pods grow on them, containing the cotton. The cotton is collected about the feast of St Michael. ¶ Similarly, sugar canes[668] grow there. They are like ordinary canes, but larger. They are not hollow inside, but full of a porous stuff arranged like that which is found in the branches of the elderflower. The stuff is very moist. The canes when collected are cut into one and a half palm lengths, and thus crushed in a press. The liquid so squeezed out is boiled in bronze caldrons, and when it thickens it is collected in baskets woven of slender withies. This later dries out and hardens, and thus sugar is made. However, a certain pure liquid oozes out, which is called sugar honey; it is particularly delicious and suitable for flavouring food. ¶ Further, those canes are cut into near finger-lengths, in such a way, however, that those small sections always have a knot in the middle, for there are many knots in one cane. These small sections are planted in spring in ground moistened through water-channels, and from these sections grow new canes, so that out of each single section grow two canes, one either side of the knot. This is how they are planted.

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[667] cotton: *lana succida*. The Latin word *lana* meant wool from the fleece; *suc(c)ida* meant 'fresh'. It seems to refer to freshly sheared wool with its natural oils, and was used for medical purposes (see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, entry *sucidus*(*succ*-)). Here, however, Burchard applies the term to cotton grown on bushes.

[668] Sugar was an important commodity and industry in Crusader Palestine (Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 81; *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 93–4).

108. (3) ¶ Sciendum etiam, quod in terra ista raro inueniuntur pira et poma[a] uel cerasa [b]uel nuces,[b] sicut in partibus transmarinis, nisi ualde raro. Sed de Damasco fructus aliqui adducuntur, qui tamen omnino molles sunt et diu durare non possunt propter nimiam in arboribus decoctionem et terre caliditatem. Sunt tamen ibi fructus quidam, qui per totum annum sepe[c] in arboribus conseruantur, et utuntur eis homines toto anno. Simul enim et semel sepe inueniuntur in arboribus et flores et fructus semimaturi[d] et maturi[e] et amplius, ut etiam interdum[f] quadruplices fructus eiusdem generis ibi simul et semel habeantur.[g] Et isti fructus sunt poma, que uocantur naranges et lemones et poma Ade[669] et plura alia similia, de quibus faciunt indigene salsamenta pro pullis assis et piscibus et carnibus et cibis aliis similibus et cibos commendabiles ualde reddunt. (4) ¶ Sunt etiam ibidem poma, que dicuntur citrine magna interdum,[h] de quibus in Accon faciunt electuraria bona ualde. (5) ¶ Item sunt quidam fructus alii, qui dicuntur poma paradisi,[670] admirabiles[i] fructus ualde. Ista[j] crescunt in modum[k] botri unius, habentia multa grana. Et est botrus ipse interdum [l]ad modum et[l] ad quantitatem cophini competentis, aliquando habens grana centum[m] uel amplius. Et sunt grana ista oblonga interdum ad latitudinem sex digitorum, spissa uero ad quantitatem oui galine, habent[n] folliculum spissum, sicut est folliculus fabarum, sed coloris crocei delicati ualde. Qui foliculus proicitur, et pomum, quod intus est, tollitur et commeditur, cuius color est albus recedens[o] tamen[p] ad crocitatem, et est sapor eius dulcis et delicatus ualde, quemadmodum delicatissimi butyri cum fauo mellis. Nec habent grana ista semen aliquod [q]in se,[q] sed penitus commeduntur. Fructus autem[r] iste uix uno anno[s] crescit. Arbor etiam breui tempore durat, ut[t] magis duobus annis, et statim arescit, sed cum arescere incipit, statim de radice eius arbor alia procedere incipit, et ista facit sicut prior et postea tertia et quarta et sic deinceps. Folia[u] arboris huius longa sunt ad staturam hominis unius, lata uero ita ut de duobus foliis posset aliquis cooperire totum corpus suum. Mirabiles ualde sunt conditiones huius arboris.

109. (6) ¶ Vinee multe sunt in terra sancta, et plures essent,[a] sed quia Saraceni, qui nunc terram tenent, non bibunt uinum nisi[b] furtiue

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108 [a] *om.* *Li* [b-b] *B+*; *om.* *P* [c] *om.* *LoLi* [d] seminaturi *P* [e] naturi *P* [f] *B+*; *om. P* [g] habeant *Li* [h] multum *Li* [i] *BPb*; admirabilis *P* [j] poma *add. BPb* [k] monte *B* [l-l] *om. BPPb* [m] *LiZb* sexaginta [n] *P*; habentque *BPbZb*; habentia *Li* [o] tendens *LiZb* [p] *om. P* [q-q] *om. Li* [r] tamen *BPb* [s] *om. Li* [t] ubi *LiZb* [u] autem *add. BPb*

109 [a] ibi *add. LiZb* [b] ualde *add. Li*

108. (3) ¶ It should also be known that in that land, pears, apples, cherries, or nuts are rarely found, as in overseas parts, except very rarely. But some fruits are brought from Damascus; however, they are generally soft fruits and cannot survive long because of the excessive heat in the trees and the warmth of the land. There are, however, certain fruits there which often survive the whole year long on the trees, and men use them throughout the year. For often the blossom, the half-ripe fruit, the ripe and over-ripe fruit are found on the trees at the same time together, so that sometimes they have the four stages of the same kind of fruit simultaneously. These fruits are the apple-like ones, called oranges and lemons and apples of Adam,[669] and many other similar ones, from which the local people make pickles for fowl, roasts, fish, and flesh and other similar food. They make the food very palatable. (4) ¶ There are there also the kind of apples, called citrines, sometimes large, from which in Acre excellent cordials are made. (5) ¶ There are also other fruits there called apples of paradise,[670] an admirable fruit indeed. They grow like a grape-cluster, with many units. The cluster is sometimes the shape and size of a decent basket, sometimes holding a hundred units or more. These units are oblong, sometimes six fingers in breadth, as thick as a hen's egg, and they have a thick skin, like the skin of beans, but of a delicate yellow colour. But the skin is thrown away, and the fruit which is inside it is taken out and eaten; its colour is white, turning to yellow, and its taste is sweet and very delicate, rather like the finest butter with honey from the comb. The units have no seed in them, but are fully eaten. The fruit takes hardly a year to grow. The tree also lasts but a short time, no more than two years, and then immediately dries up, but when it begins to dry up another tree immediately begins to develop from its root, and does as its predecessor did, and afterwards a third and a fourth, and so onwards. The leaves of this tree are long, to the height of a man, but broad enough that with two leaves one could cover one's whole body. The qualities of this tree are indeed amazing.

109. (6) ¶ There are many vineyards in the Holy Land, and would be more, but the Saracens, who now own the land, do not drink wine

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[669] Apples of Adam: *citrus medica*, the etrog, a species of citrus fruit, traditionally identified with the 'fruits of the fairest tree' (Lev. 23: 40, Vulg.) and used at the feast of Sukkoth.

[670] Bananas.

quidam ex eis, ideo uineas non colunt, sed destruunt, nisi forte pauci propinquiores Christianis, qui colunt eas propter questum, ut botros[c] et uinum Christianis uendant. Est autem uinum terrae sanctae ualde[d] bonum et[e] nobile, et maxime circa Bethleem in ualle Raphaim et deinceps usque in Neescol, unde tulerunt in uecte palmitem duo uiri sicut dicitur in libro Numerorum. Circa Syndonem etiam et deinceps per longitudinem Libani crescit uinum bonum, et in Anterado et Margatho et per totum littus illud maris[f] usque in Ciliciam[g] et Capadociam et per totam Greciam usque in Vngariam excelit ualde uinum. Et est mirabile[h] dictum quod[i] uidi in Anterando. Ibi enim, ut dixerunt mihi indigene, de una et eadem uite [j]ter fit uindemia[j] uno anno et per hunc modum. Tempore uerno obseruant [k]uinitores circa Anteradum et in terra Assissinorum,[l] quando[k] uitis producat[m] tot[n] botros in dispositione, quot secundum[o] cursum consueuit producere quelibet uitis uel etiam palmites,[p] et statim quidquid de palmite remanet super botros ipsos, totum abscidunt[q] et proiciunt. Illud fit in Martio. In Aprili de illo palmite [r]sic preciso[r] pullulat alius iterum cum nouis botris. Quo uiso iterum preciditur de palmite illo quidquid est supra illos botros. Et in Maio tertio producit truncus tertium palmitem cum uuis et botris suis. Et sic habentur tres ordines botrorum, qui omnes simul crescunt, sed illi, qui pululauerunt in Marcio, uindemiantur in Augusto, qui uero pululauerunt in Aprili uindemiantur [s]in Septembri, et qui in Maio creuerunt[t] uindemiantur[s] in Octobri. Et sic habentur[u] tres uindemie[v] uno anno, quod tamen non fieret ullo modo si sicut dictum est palmites non inciderentur.[w] Per istud autem modum fit ut unus palmes tantum fructificet quantum alii tres non incisi ut est dictum et[x] racemi[y] maturi in terra illa habentur in festo Pentecostes, et deinceps usque ad festum sancti Martini semper in foro inueniuntur.

110. (7) ¶ Ficus [a]etiam et[a] malagranata, mel et oleum et diuersa genera leguminum, ut sunt pepones et cucumeres, melones,[b] citruli, cucumeres[c] babylonici,[d] et multi alii fructus similes[e] ibidem habundant. Frumentum ualde bonum est ibi et fit inde panis sapidus ualde et maxime in Ierusalem qui est optimus ita quod non[f] comedi meliorem.[g]

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[c] B+; botrum *P* [d] *om. BPb* [e] delicatum et *add. BPb* [f] Iordanis *BPb* [g] Seleuciam *Li*; Siciliam *Pb* [h] de uite *add. B* [i] etiam *add. B* [j-j] tres sunt uindemie *B* [k-k] *om. Li* [l] Assiriorum *BPb* [m] produxit *B*; primo educat *LiZb* [n] totos *B* [o] commune *add. B* [p] palmas *BPb* [q] incidunt *P* [r-r] *om. LiZb* [s-s] *om. Pb* [t] crescunt *B+* [u] habent *B* [v] uindemias *B* [w] prociderentur *B* [x] sic *add. BPb* [y] botri *B*

110 [a-a] *om. BPb* [b] *om. LiZb* [c] *om. BLiZb* [d] *om. LiZb* [e] *om. Li* [f] uidi nec *add. P* [g] alibi *add. BPb*

(except some of them, secretly) and so do not cultivate vineyards but destroy them, except for a few Saracens who happen to live nearer the Christians and cultivate them for profit to sell grapes and wine to the Christians. The Holy Land's wine is a very good, noble wine, especially round Bethlehem in the valley of Rephaim and beyond as far as Eshcol, where two men carried away a branch on a pole, as is said in the book of Numbers. Good wine is grown also round Sidon and beyond through the length of Lebanon, and in Tartus, Margat, and along that whole sea-coast as far as Cilicia and Cappadocia, and throughout Greece as far as Hungary, the wine excels greatly. What I saw in Tartus was wonderful. For there, as the local people told me, from one and the same vine come three vintages in one year, in this way: in spring the vine-dressers around Tartus and in the land of the Assassins note when the vine produces as many bunches in its arrangement as each vine or even branch usually produces in the general course of things, and immediately cut off and throw away whatever remains of the branch beyond the bunches. That happens in March. In April from that branch thus cut, another bursts out again with new bunches. When that appears again they cut off from the branch whatever grows beyond the bunches. In May the trunk produces a third branch with its clusters and bunches. So there are three sets of grapes which grow together; but those sprouting in March are harvested in August, those sprouting in April are harvested in September, and those which grew in May are harvested in October. Thus they have three harvests in one year which could not happen in any other way if, as is said, the branches are not cut. By this means it happens that one branch will bear as much fruit as three other uncut branches, as is said, and ripe grapes are had in the land at Pentecost and then can always be found in the market up to the feast of St Martin.

110. (7) ¶ The fig also, pomegranates, honey, olive oil and various kinds of vegetables, like gourds and cucumbers, melons, watermelons, Babylonian cucumbers, and many other similar fruits abound there. The grain is very good there, and from it is made very tasty bread, especially in Jerusalem, which is so good that I have not tasted better.

(8) ¶ Porci siluestres, caprioli, lepores, dame, perdices et coturnices tantum habundant, quod stupor est uidere. Leonum multitudo est ibi et ursorum et bestie diuersorum generum. Item cameli infiniti sunt ibi. Ego uidi camelorum[h] pascentium gregem qui ut dicebant mihi indigene circa finem Libani iuxta Tripolim tria uel amplius milia continebat. Item dromedarii,[i] uri[671] et cerui,[i] et breuiter ibi habundant omnia bona mundi, et terra ista[j] fluit omnino [k]riuis lactis et mellis[k] sed cultores non dico fortissimos, sed pessimos. Et turpissimos habet peccatores, ita ut mirum sit, quod portat eos terra.

DE HABITATORIBVS TERRE SANCTE

111. [a] (XIII. 1) ¶ Sunt in ea habitatores ex omni natione, que sub celo est, et uiuit quilibet secundum ritum suum, et, ut ueritatem dicam, peiores sunt [b]nostri Latini[b] ceteris habitatoribus terre huius.[672] Et hec est ratio, ut mihi uidetur: Cum aliquis fuerit malefactor,[c] ut[d] homicida, latro, fur, incestuosus, fornicator, adulter, et ceteris uitiis uitiosus transfretat,[e] uel in penitentia, uel quia timet pelli sue et ideo in terra sua timet stare; et sic de [f]diuersis partibus,[f] ut de Theutonia, Ytalia, Francia, Anglia,[g] Yspania, Dacia, Polonia, Vngaria et de ceteris[h] mundi partibus illuc uadunt, sed uere celum,[i] non animum mutant[j] qui trans mare currunt.[673] Illic enim existentes, postquam[k] que[l] tulerunt,[m] expenderunt, noua[n] conquerere oportet, et sic iterum 'ad uomitum redeunt',[674] subiungentes[o] peiora peioribus. Recipiunt hospicio[675] peregrinos uenientes illuc de gente sua, qui sibi cauere nescientes credunt ipsis tamquam compatriotis suis[p] res et honorem suum sed fraudantur

[h] *B+*; *om. P* [i-i] ursi et cerui *Li*; unicorni *BPb* [j] *om. BPb* [k-k] lacte et mellis riuis *Li*; lacte et melle riuis *Zb*

111 [a] *heading om. P*; de uariis religionibus *B+* [b-b] *om. Li* [c] malefactorum *Li* [d] *om. Li* [e] mare *add. B* [f-f] aliis partibus mundi *B* [g] *om. BPb* [h] totius *Li* [i] *Li* locum [j] quam plures *add. P* [k] ea *add. BPb* [l] quidem secum *Li* [m] detulerunt *BPb* [n] eos *add. P* [o] committentes *B+* [p] *om. P*

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[671] For *uri* (wild oxen) the Lilienfeld manuscript (fo. 190^{rb}) reads *ursi* (bears). For details of animals evidenced in the Holy Land, see Firmage, *ABD*, vi. 1109–67, esp. pp. 1119–60.

The following section on the inhabitants of the Holy Land clearly corresponds to the abbreviator's final section, 'De terra Ierosolymitana' (**B68–74**), but the two versions seem not to be closely related; one is not a simple abbreviation of the other. The two versions describe the several Christian peoples—Latins, Greeks and others—very differently. The abbreviator's version is consistently more critical than Burchard's, and makes a point of noting the script of the various groups.

(8) ¶ Wild boars, goats, hares, deer, partridges, and quails are so plentiful that they are a wonder to see. A multitude of lions, bears, and beasts of different kinds lives there. There are also innumerable camels. I have seen a herd of browsing camels which, as local people around the border of Lebanon as far as Tripoli said to me, contained three or more thousand. Also, there are dromedaries, wild oxen,[671] and stags; in short, there abound all the world's good things, and the land flows everywhere with rivers of milk and honey. But I cannot call their farmers the bravest of men, but the worst. The land has such vile sinners that it is a wonder that it supports them.

ABOUT THE INHABITANTS OF THE HOLY LAND

111. (XIII. 1) ¶ There live in the Holy Land inhabitants from every nation under heaven, and each lives according to his own rule, and, to tell the truth, our own Latins[672] are worse than the other inhabitants of this land. The reason, I think, is this: when someone has been a malefactor, like a murderer, thief, robber, an incestuous person, a fornicator, an adulterer, or wicked with other vices, he goes abroad, either in penitence or because he fears for his skin, and so he fears to stay in his own land; and so they come here from various parts of the world, from Germany, Italy, Franconia, England, Spain, Dacia, Poland, Hungary, and other parts of the world; but really those many who run across the sea change their sky, not their minds.[673] For living there, when they have spent what they brought, they have to acquire new resources, and so again they 'return to their vomit',[674] adding bad crimes to worse. They receive with hospitality[675] visiting pilgrims of their own race, who, not knowing how to take care for themselves, trust their property and honour to their hosts as compatriots but are cheated and deceived.

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[672] Burchard is extremely critical of Latin (i.e. Catholic European) pilgrims and their behaviour; the abbreviator's version (B68) knows them as warlike men, bareheaded, using the Latin tongue, but passes no criticism. The Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 190$^{\mathrm{va}}$) removes the particular reference to *nostri Latini* and makes the sentence say that the immigrant inhabitants of the Holy Land are worse than the indigenous inhabitants.

[673] Burchard is quoting, accurately, from Horace, *Epistulae*, 1. xi. 27. For 'sky' (*caelum*) the Lilienfeld manuscript has the blander 'place' (*locum*).

[674] Drawing on Prov. 26: 11 or 2 Peter 2: 22, but using a different Latin verb, and so perhaps from memory.

[675] Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, lxxxiii, makes a similar complaint.

et decipiuntur. Isti ibidem generant filios paternorum criminum imitatores, et de malis parentibus sunt[q] peiores filii, et ex his nepotes pessimi et corrumpuntur et abominabiles efficiuntur nimis, calcantes loca sancta pedibus polutis et uita detestabili. Vnde[r] contingit, ut propter[s] peccata inhabitantium apud Deum terra ipsa cum loco sanctificationis ueniat in contemptum.

112. (2) ¶ Sunt autem preter Latinos in ea etiam gentes plures, ut Saraceni,[676] qui Machometum predicant, et legem eius seruant. Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum maximum prophetarum dicunt, et eum de Spiritu Sancto conceptum, de uirgine natum fatentur; [a]passum et mortuum non negant,[a] sed quando eis placuit dicunt eum ascendisse in celum, et ad dextram Patris[b] sedere, quia filum eum Dei confitentur.[677] Machometum uero sedere ad sinistram dei [c]et nuntium dei ad eos [d]tantum missum[d] dicunt.[c] Isti sunt immundi nimis. Tot uxores habent, quot pascere possunt. Peccant tamen nihilominus contra naturam, in singulis ciuitatibus habentes[e] effebias. Sunt tamen hospitales multum et curiales et benefici.[f] Multas curialitates in eis sum expertus et si eis in modico seruiatis[g] habundanter retribuunt.[h]

113. (3) ¶ Preter hos sunt ibi Syriani siue Syri.[678] Hii totam repleuerunt terram. Christiani quidem[a] sunt, sed Latinis nullam fidem seruant. Misere uestiuntur et induuntur, parci sunt, eleemosynam non dant. Ditissimus inter eos non melius uiuit nec delicatius quam pauper. Inter Saracenos habitant, et ut plurimum eorum officinis funguntur et[b] sunt procuratores terre. In habitu fere[c] concordant cum Saracenis, nisi [d]quod tantum[d] per cingulum laneum discernuntur.

114. (4) ¶ Greci[679] similiter Christiani sunt, sed schismatici, nisi quod pro magna parte in concilio generali [a]pro Christo[a] sub domino Gregorio

[q] pereantur *P* [r] *om. Li* [s] per *P*

112 [a-a] negant tamen passum et mortuum *B+* [b] eum *add. P* [c-c] *om. LiZb* [d-d] *BPb*; transmissum *P* [e] habent *BPb* [f] multum *add. Li* [g] seruiatur *LiZb* [h] tribuunt *LiZb*

113 [a] tamen *LiZb* [b] sed *Li* [c] *LiZb* uero [d-d] *om. BPb*

114 [a-a] *om. LiZb*

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[676] Burchard writes briefly about the Saracens, but Riccoldo da Monte Cruce, Burchard's younger contemporary Dominican, writes about them at much greater length (*Liber peregrinationis*, xxxi–xxxvi) (ed. Kappler, *Riccold de Monte Croce*, pp. 154–205).

[677] Compare 48, which presents John the Baptist, not Christ, as the greatest of the prophets.

[678] Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxv) condemns the Syrians at length as untrustworthy and schismatic Christians, 'cunning foxes even as the Greeks', whose liturgical usage they follow, betraying Christian secrets to the Saracens, whose language they speak. Burchard

There they produce children who imitate their fathers' crimes; from bad parents come worse children, and from them the grandchildren, the worst, are both corrupted and made particularly abominable, trampling on holy places with defiled feet and a detestable life. So it happens that, because of the sins of those living before God, the land itself with the place of redemption comes into contempt.

112. (2) ¶ There are many other peoples in the Holy Land beside the Latins—like the Saracens,[676] who proclaim Muhammad and observe his law. They say that the Lord Jesus Christ is the greatest of the prophets, and confess that he was conceived of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin. They do not deny, however, that he suffered and died, but, when it pleases them, they say that he ascended to heaven, and sits at the Father's right hand, because they confess that he is the Son of God.[677] But they say that Muhammad sits at God's left hand and that he is God's messenger sent only to them. They are unclean to a degree. They have as many wives as they can feed. Nevertheless, they sin against nature, with young men's clubs in each city. Yet they are very hospitable, courteous, and generous. I have experienced many kindnesses among them and if you serve them in a small way they repay abundantly.

113. (3) ¶ Beside these there are the Syrians, or Syri,[678] who have filled the whole land. They are indeed Christians, but keep no faith with the Latins. They are wretchedly clothed and covered, they are mean, and give no alms. The richest among them lives no better or more luxuriously than the pauper. They live among the Saracens, and are mostly employed in their workshops, and they have stewardship of the land. They almost agree with the Saracens in dress, except only that they are distinguished by a woollen girdle.

114. (4) ¶ The Greeks,[679] similarly, are Christians but schismatics, except that the majority returned to the Roman church's obedience at

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describes them as Christians, but not sharing the Latin faith, and living as poor servants of the Saracens. The abbreviator's version (B70) presents them as useless fighters, bearded like the Greeks, in religious practice half-way between Latins and Greeks, and using the Saracens' script. All three accounts agree in seeing the Syrians as part of the Saracens' world.

[679] The schism between the Greek and Latin churches had deep origins but is usually dated from 1054. Gregory X (pope 1271–6) summoned the Council of Lyons (1274–5), at which the Byzantine emperor Michael Palaeologus accepted the Roman obedience, but the wider Orthodox church did not follow him and the entente did not last long. Burchard notes the Greeks' devotion and respect for their prelates, and presents the patriarch's difficulty in submitting to the pope sympathetically. The abbreviator's version (B69) is less sympathetic, listing the Greeks' errors in the faith. The Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 190^{vb}) notes that the Greeks are entangled in 'two major errors' (other manuscripts 'multis erroribus') but that the Latins also were not free of error, 'for there was much stupidity among them'.

decimo[b] ad obedientiam romane ecclesie redierunt. Isti [c]sine dubio multis[c] erroribus dicuntur impliciti sed hoc de eis communiter dici non potest. Non nego tamen quin[d] errores plures sunt apud eos. Hoc enim et de Latinis dici potest quia et apud eos multe sunt stultitie. Apud Grecos prelati omnes sunt monachi, et multe abstinentie et conuersationis mirande. Deuoti sunt ualde. Communiter prelatos suos multum reuerentur et honorant. Audiui ego a patriarcha eorum,[680] quod[e] dixit me presente: 'Sub obedientia Romane ecclesie libenter esse uolumus[f] et eam reuereri et honorare, sed multum miror, quod compellimur inferioribus prelatis,[g] sicut archiepiscopis et episcopis, subesse. Volunt enim quidam archiepiscopi et episcopi me, qui sum patriarcha Constantinopolitanus et similiter Antiochenus, compellere[h] ad obsculandum pedes suos et eis facere obedientiam manualem,[681] ad quod me credo non teneri, cum tamen hoc libenter facerem[i] soli pape.'

115. (5) ¶ Item sunt ibi[a] Armenii,[682] Georgiani,[683] Nestoriani,[684] Nubiani,[b] Iabeni,[685] Chaldei, Medi, Perse, Ethiopes, Egypti, Maronite[686] et multe alie gentes, que sunt Christiani, quorum est infinita multitudo.

[b] fouente *add. B* [c–c] duobus magnis *Li* [d] quod non *B* [e] et *BPb*
[f] uellemus *Li* [g] *om. BPb* [h] *om. Li* [i] faciam *Pb*

115 [a] tamen in terram sanctam *add. B* [b] *om. BPb*

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[680] Burchard perhaps refers to Patriarch Gregory II, who succeeded Michael Palaeologus as Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in 1283.

[681] With reference to a formal gesture such as a handshake. The Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 190^{vb}) omits the statement that the Greeks would compel (*compellere*) the patriarch to submit to the Roman obedience by kissing feet and shaking hands.

[682] The Armenians were converted to Christianity in the early fourth century. Their theology was monophysite, and they were not in communion with Byzantium. They enjoyed independence from the end of the twelfth century to 1375, and in 1307 accepted union with Rome, but not papal authority. Burchard writes that he lived for ten weeks at the Armenian court (118), and gives a long and sympathetic account of the Armenian court and church in the late thirteenth century. Jacques de Vitry gives his own account of them (*Historia orientalis*, lxxix), focusing more on liturgical and ecclesiastical matters: they dislike the Greeks, read the Bible in their own language; celebrate Christmas at Epiphany; keep Lent strictly; have an unmixed chalice at the Sacrament (their worst failing, in de Vitry's book); and would not change their customs though they promised obedience to the pope and Roman church. For Burchard's personal account of them, see below (118–25).

[683] Like the Armenians (with whom Burchard associates them) the Georgians accepted Christianity in the fourth century. They were autocephalous from the eighth century, and developed their own Christian literature in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries. Burchard merely lists them among others, offering no description; Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxx) emphasizes their warlike character; notes that they revere St George as their patron, read the Scriptures in Greek, have round-tonsured clergy and square-tonsured laity, but wear their hair and beards long and go hatted. The abbreviator adds that they offer leavened bread, and imitate the Greeks in almost everything.

[684] Nestorians were named after Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople (died sometime after the Council of Chalcedon, 451). Nestorius objected to a single unity of divine and

the general council for Christ under the Lord Gregory X. They are said to be involved without doubt in many errors, but this cannot be said of them in general. I do not deny, however, that there are many errors among them. For this can be said also about the Latins, because even among them there are many follies. Among the Greeks all the prelates are monks, living lives of great abstinence and admirable behaviour. They are very devout. Generally they show great respect and honour to their prelates. I heard their patriarch[680] say in my presence: 'We would willingly live under the obedience of the Roman church and respect and honour it, but I am amazed that we are compelled to yield in rank to lesser prelates like archbishops and bishops. For certain archbishops and bishops would compel me, a patriarch of Constantinople and likewise of Antioch, to kiss their feet and offer personal obedience[681] to them, to which I do not believe I am bound; however, I would do this willingly for the Pope alone.'

115. (5) ¶ There live there also Armenians,[682] Georgians,[683] Nestorians,[684] Nubians, Jacobites,[685] Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Maronites,[686] and many other Christian peoples,

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human in Christ, as implied by the use of *theotokos* ('God-bearer') of the Virgin Mary, and by Apollinarius' view of the Logos as the focus of unity in Christ; Nestorius emphasized rather the divine and human aspects of Christ, united *kat' eudokoian* ('according to will'). He feared monophysite tendencies, and rejected Cyril of Alexandria's 'henosis kath' hypostasin' (union by hypostasis, i.e. union of the two natures in One Person). Nestorius was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431; subsequently the epithet and title 'Nestorian' was applied to Eastern churches following Antiochene Christology, which tended to stress the humanity of Christ. Burchard sees the Nestorians as heretics along with the Jacobites. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxvii) expresses himself with much more vigour against the 'detestable heresy' of the Nestorians. 'They do not believe that the Word of God and the flesh were one Christ; but they believe that, of two separate, distinct persons, the one was the Son of God, and the other the Son of man' (English translation, Stewart, *History of Jerusalem, AD 1100*, p. 77; text, Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. Donnadieu, p. 312). The abbreviator's version (B74) is less precise: 'they say that the blessed Mary is mother of a man only'.

[685] The Syrian Orthodox Christians were named Jacobites after Jacob Baradeus (*c.*500–78), bishop of Edessa (*c.*542). The church appeared as an independent Monophysite church under a Patriarch of Antioch in the sixth century. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxvi) condemns them at length for circumcising their children of both sexes, ignoring Paul's teaching on circumcision; for confessing sins to God in secret and not to priests; for cauterizing their children with a cross on their foreheads; and for erroneously affirming, after Eutyches, that Christ did not exist in two natures; and for using only one finger to cross themselves (Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. Donnadieu, pp. 304–11). The abbreviator's version (B74) notes their Chaldaean script, but condemns them as Nestorians.

[686] Maronites: Monothelite Christians (who reject the idea that in Christ there were two wills, one human, one divine) from Lebanon, in union with Rome since the twelfth century. They trace their origins to St Maro, a friend of St Chrysostom. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxviii) notes that they lived in large numbers on the Lebanese mountains near Byblos (see *ODCC*, pp. 1040–1).

Que singule habent patriarchas suos et eis obediunt. Eorum uero[c] prelati dicunt, se romane ecclesie libentissime obedire. Horum quidam sicut[d] Nestoriani et Iacobini[e] et similes a quibusdam hereticis, qui quondam eorum erant[f] capitanei, sic sunt dicti. [g]Isti tamen in rei ueritate omnes simplices sunt et nihil de ipsis heresibus faciunt uel sentiunt sed sunt homines deuote ualde continue ieiunantes. Viliter induti et tanti exempli quod inter religiosos ecclesie romane similia minime sum expertus. Nubiani etiam et Iabeni[h] qui a sancto Metheo susceperunt fidem et ab eo baptizantur[i] dicunt se modum baptizandi ab antiquis accepisse[j] quem adhuc seruant imitantes simpliciter[k] auctorem[l] euangelii sanctum Matheum, pro se dicentes ipse nos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto et igni.[687] Cum enim baptizantur[m] de calido ferro crucem[n] in fronte uel facie [o]auctoritati eius[o] inicientes[p] sic fieri oportere isti magis deuoti uidentur inter omnes orientales.[g]

116. (6) Sunt insuper in terra sancta Madianite, qui nunc Boduyni dicuntur, et Turcomani, dantes tantum operam alendis pecoribus et camelis, quibus etiam habundant supra[a] modum. Isti certam non habent mansionem, sed ubicunque comperiunt[b] esse pascua,[c] se transferunt cum tabernaculis suis que facta sunt de pellibus camelorum uel aliorum iumentorum, [d]cum uxoribus et filiis et tota supellectili sua, et consumptis pascuis in loco uno transeunt ad alium.[d] Isti cum sint pugnantes ualde, non utuntur nisi gladiis et lanceis in bello. Sagittis non utuntur, [e]dicentes esse turpe nimis homini sagitta uitam furari. In bello non induuntur[e] nisi forte pelliceo rubeo et desuper camisia [f]linea magna et[f] ampla caput tantum panno tegentes ut mulieres [g]citra mare.[g] Isti repleuerunt totam Syriam, ut plurimum tamen habitant circa fluenta Iordanis, a Libano usque ad desertum Pharan, quia ibi sunt montes pro capris et ouibus, campi pro bobus et camelis, et aquarum copia hominibus et iumentis. Oues magne sunt in partibus illis et precipue arietes, et habent caudes tam magnas, ut una cauda tribus uel quattuor uiribus sufficeret ad edendum.

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[c] *om. Li* [d] *BPb*; sunt *P*; *om. LZb* [e] *LiZbP*; Iacobite *BPb* [f] *om. P*
[g-g] *om. LiZb.* [h] *PPb*; Iacobini *B* [i] baptizati sunt *BPb* [j] recepisse *B*
[k] *om. B*; similiter *Pb* [l] auctoritati *BPb* [m] baptizant *B* [n] faciunt *add. BPb*
[o-o] auctori eidem *P* [p] inmittentes *BPb*

116 [a] ultra *P* [b] reperiunt *Pb* [c] ibi *add. Li*; illuc *P* [d-d] *om. LiZb*
[e-e] nec armis aliis *BPb*; non induuntur *om. LiZb* [f-f] magna et utuntur *Li*; magna et *Zb*
[g-g] citramarine *BPb*

of which there is an infinite multitude. These groups each have their own patriarch and obey them. Their prelates say in fact that they most willingly obey the Roman church. Of these some like the Nestorians and Jacobites and similar people are named after certain heretics who were once their leaders. However, in truth they are all simple people and neither do nor think anything heretical, but are very devoted people, continually fasting. They are meanly clothed, and of a standard such as I have barely experienced among the religious of the Roman church. Nubians and Jacobites who received the faith from St Matthew and were baptized accordingly say that they took from the early Christians their method of baptizing, which they preserve to this day, simply copying the evangelist St Matthew, saying on their behalf, 'He will baptize us with the Holy Spirit and with fire'.[687] For when they are baptized, impressing a cross from a hot iron onto their brow or face by his authority, they thus appear among all the eastern Christians to be necessarily more devoted.

116. (6) There are also in the Holy Land Midianites, now called Bedouin, and Turcomans, who give their labour only to rearing sheep and camels, which they have in superabundance. They have no fixed dwelling, but wherever they find there to be pasture they transfer themselves there with their tents, which are made from the skins of camels or other herds, and with their wives and children and all their possessions under skins; and when the pastures have been fully grazed in one place they migrate to another. Though they are formidable fighters, they use only swords and lances in war. They do not use arrows, saying that it is shameful to rob a man of his life by an arrow. In war they wear nothing except perhaps a red leather garment with a large and full linen shirt over it, covering their head only with a cloth, as do women this side of the sea. They have occupied all Syria, but they mostly live round the streams of the Jordan, from Lebanon as far as the desert of Paran, because there are hills for the goats and the sheep, and plains for the cattle and camels, and a water supply for people and herds. Sheep, especially the rams, in those parts are large and have tails so large that one tail would provide enough food for three or four men.

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[687] Matt. 3: 11. Burchard changes the Vulgate's 'ipse uos baptizabit' to 'ipse nos baptizabit'.

117. ¶ Nestoriani[a] habitant circa Beritum et Biblium montibus Libani circa[b] Ytuream. ¶ Maronite circa fontem ortorum in Libano contra Tripolim habitant in multitudine copiosa, qui habere dicuntur ad quattuor[c] milia pugnatorum. (7) ¶ Circa Arachas[688] castrum post Tripolim usque ad castrum Krach[689] habitant Saraceni, qui dicuntur Vannini.[d][690] ¶ Illis coniunguntur quidam Sarraceni, qui dicuntur Assisini,[691] usque ultra[e] Antaradum prope castrum Margad habitantes in montanis. Castella[f] plurima habentes et ciuitates et fertilem terram ualde. Isti dicuntur[g] habere quadraginta millia pugnatorum. Capitaneum unum habent, [h]non ex hereditaria successione,[h] sed prerogatiue meritorum, qui senex de montanis dicitur non pro etatis sed[i] ingenii maturitate. De Perside dicuntur isti duxisse originem. Ego transiui pro parte terram eorum. Obedientes sunt usque ad mortem, ex mandato superioris quemlibet interficiunt, et in hoc paradisum se mereri dicunt, etiamsi, antequam obedientiam impleant, occidantur. Ante annos paucos[j] ad obedientiam romane ecclesie uenire uolebant, et nuntium pro eodem negotio in Acon miserant, qui negotio [k]ad uotum[k] peracto cum rediret,[l] a quibusdam [m]de templo,[m] qui ipsum deducere debuerant, ante terre sue introitum est occisus in iacturam totius ecclesie, quia alii, uidentes non esse fidem in Christianis, statim ab incepto opere[n] retraxerunt pedem. Terra istorum a terra Christianorum per quosdam lapides discernitur. In quibus lapidibus in parte Christianorum signum[o] crucis, in parte Assissinorum[p] cultelli[q] est insculptum. Istos nullus Soldanorum adhuc potuit subiugare, sed ipsi sibi et leges et iura condunt et ut libet hiis utuntur. Formidabiles omnibus circumiacentibus[r] nationibus sunt propter nimiam ferocitatem.[s]

117 [a] insuper *add. Li*; autem *B* [b] contra *BPb* [c] quadraginta *LiZb* [d] Vani *BP* [e] castrum *add. BPb* [f] *B+*; castra *P* [g] similiter *add. BPb* [h–h] *om. Li* [i] pro *add. BPb* [j] aliquos *B*; *om. Pb* [k–k] *om. Zb* [l] redirent *Li* [m–m] *om. LiZb* [n] *add. Li* [o] erat *add. B* [p] Assyriorum *B* [q] *LiZbP*; signum cuboli *BPb* [r] *LiZb*; circumadiacentibus *P*; circumstantibus *BPb* [s] suam *add. B*

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[688] See above, n. 77.

[689] Krak des Chevaliers, north-east of Tripoli. See above, n. 80.

[690] A people unknown to Laurent; Pringle suggests Alawites (Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 90, n. 652; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 316, n. 483).

[691] Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, lxxxii; Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. Donnadieu, p. 326) connected the Assassins with the Jewish Essenes. Burchard is much more accurate, on the basis of personal experience of the Assassins' country. He rightly notes their

117. ¶ The Nestorians live around Beirut and Byblos in the mountains of Lebanon, around Ituraea. ¶ The Maronites live in large number about the spring of the gardens in Lebanon, over against Tripoli; they are said to have up to four thousand men at arms. (7) ¶ Around the castle of 'Arqa,[688] past Tripoli and up to the castle of Krak,[689] live the Saracens called Vannini.[690] ¶ Next to them are the Saracens called Assassins,[691] who live in the mountains beyond Tartus near the castle of Margat. They have many castles and cities, and fertile land. They are said to have a fighting force of forty thousand. They have one leader, appointed not by hereditary succession but by the prerogative of his merits; he is called the Old Man of the Mountains not for the maturity of his age but of his intelligence. The Assassins are said to originate from Persia. I have crossed part of their land. They are obedient even to the point of death and kill anyone whatever at their superior's command, saying that this makes them worthy of paradise even if they are killed before they fulfil their obedience. A few years ago they wanted to enter the obedience of the Roman church and for this business sent an ambassador to Acre. He completed the business as desired, but on his return, before he could enter his own land, he was killed by certain Templars whose duty it was to bring him home. This was to the loss of the whole church, because the others, when they saw that Christians were untrustworthy, immediately withdrew from the mission. Their land is marked off from Christian territory by certain stones, on which on the Christian side is carved the sign of the cross, on the Assassin side the sign of a knife. To date no sultan has been able to subjugate them, but they make for themselves their own laws and customs and use them as they will. Their excessive ferocity makes them formidable to all nations around them.

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origin in Persia; they were founded *c.*1080 by the Ismaili Hasan-i-Sabbah (d. 1124) as a political organization, with their headquarters at Alamut in Iran. The order had a hierarchy, headed by a Grand Headmaster; the lowest-ranking members were the *Fida'i*, the trained assassins. Their name and their activities were soon, but probably inaccurately, associated with the drug hashish. In the twelfth century the Assassins extended their activities into Syria, and in 1173 discussed conversion to Christianity with Amalric I, king of Jerusalem (this may be the purpose of the embassy to Acre mentioned by William of Tyre (*Chronicon*, xx. 29–30) and here by Burchard), but this came to nothing. Alamut was captured by the Mongols in 1256 and the Assassins' Syrian strongholds by Baybars a decade later. The reputation lingered on; Burchard appears to speak of them as still active and powerful. (On the Assassins, see Lewis, *Assassins*.)

DE DESCRIPTIONE EGYPTI ET MORIBVS HABITATORVM

118. (8) ¶ Notandum autem in rei ueritate, licet quidam contrarium sentiant, qui ea uolunt asserere, que non uiderunt, quod oriens totus ultra mare usque in Indiam et Ethyopiam omnino[a] nomen Christi [b]confitetur et predicat et ueneratur,[b] preter solos Saracenos et quosdam de Turchis siue[c] Torchomanis, qui in Capadocia sedem habent, ita quod pro certo assero, sicut per memet ipsum uidi et ab aliis, quibus note erant omnes regiones transmarine,[d] audiui, quod semper in omni loco et regno preterquam in Egypto et Arabia, ubi plurimum habitant Saraceni et alii Machometum sequentes, pro uno Saraceno triginta uel amplius inuenies Christianos. [e]In Egypto tamen dixerunt mihi Christiani et Saraceni cum essem quod in sola Egypto sunt amplius quam trecenta milia Christianorum preter mulieres et paruulos et omnes infinite. In Babylonia uero fuerunt ecclesie triginta quinque et claustra plurima quorum multa uidi.[e] Verum tamen, quod Christiani omnes ultramarine[f] Syri, Armeni, Capadoces, Greci, Caldei, Medi, Perse, Parthi, Indi, Nubiani, Iabeni, Asiani, Georgiani et nationes orientales, licet sint Christiani,[g] non sunt homines armorum; statim cum impugnantur a Saracenis, uel Tartaris[692] uel aliis quibuscunque, subiciuntur eis et tributis pacem et quietem[h] emunt, et Saraceni uel alii, qui[i] eis dominantur, bauilos suos et exactore in terris illis ponunt. Et inde contingit, quod regnum tale uel tale dicitur esse Saracenorum, cum tamen in rei ueritate sint omnes Christiani preter ipsos bauilos et exactores et aliquos de familia ipsorum, sicut oculis meis uidi in Cilicia[j] et Armenia minori, que est subdita domino Tartarorum. Fui enim[k] apud regem Armenie et Cilicie[l] decem[m] ebdomadibus, et erant apud ipsum[n] quidam Tartari, pauci quidem ut quattuor uel quinque qui erant ueri[o] Tartari. Alii uero omnes qui erant de familia ipsorum Christiani erant numero circiter ducenti. Istos uidi confluere [p]ad ecclesias,[p] audire missas, flectere genua et deuote ualde orare. Preterea[q] ubicunque eis[r] occurri

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118 [a] *om.* *Zb* [b–b] confitantur et predicant et uenerantur *Li* [c] et *P*
[d] trans mare *LiZb* [e–e] *add.* *P*; *om.* *B+* [f] et transmarini ut *BPb* [g] quia *add.* *LiPbZb* [h] querunt siue *add.* *LiZb* [i] pro *BPb* [j] Sycilia *Zb*
[k] *om.* *Li* [l] Seleucia *Li*; Sycilia *Zb* [m] tribus *LiZb* [n] ipsos *BPb*
[o] uiri *P* [p–p] *om.* *BPb* [q] *om.* *BPb* [r] etiam ipsis *BPb*

ABOUT THE DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT AND THE CUSTOMS OF ITS INHABITANTS

118. (8) ¶ Now the fact must be noted that, though some who want to dogmatize about what they have not seen think the contrary, the whole east beyond the sea as far as India and Ethiopia fully confesses the name of Christ, and preaches and venerates it, except only the Saracens and some Turks and Turcomans who have their home in Cappadocia. So I can say for certain, on the basis of what I myself have seen and have heard from others familiar with all the regions across the sea, that always in every place and kingdom, except in Egypt and Arabia whose inhabitants are mainly Saracens and other followers of Muhammad, for every single Saracen you will find thirty or more Christians. When I was in Egypt, however, Christians and Saracens told me that in Egypt alone there were more than three hundred thousand Christians in addition to women and children, and in all without number. In Babylon, in fact, there were thirty-five churches and more monasteries, of which I saw many. It is true, however, that no Christians beyond the sea—Syrians, Armenians, Cappadocians, Greeks, Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians, Parthians, Indians, Nubians, Jacobites, Asians, Georgians, or other eastern nations (so far as they are Christians) are men of arms; immediately when they are attacked by Saracens, Tartars,[692] or anyone else they submit to them and by paying tribute buy peace and quiet, and the Saracens or others who rule for them put their bailiffs and tax collectors in those lands. As a result, such or such a kingdom is said to belong to the Saracens, though in fact they are all Christians except for those bailiffs and tax collectors and others of their families, as I saw with my own eyes in Cilicia and Lesser Armenia, which is subject to the ruler of the Tartars. For I lived for ten weeks at the court of the king of Armenia and Cilicia, and there were at his court some Tartars, few indeed, four or five who were true Tartars. All others of their household were Christians, in number about two hundred. I saw them gather at the churches, hear mass, bend the knee, and pray with great devotion.

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[692] Tartars: Burchard refers to the Mongols, who had made vassals of the Armenians in 1253, and had taken Damascus by 1260, but were pushed out of Syria by the Mamluks at the battle of Ain Jalud. In 1266 Baybars, the Sultan of Egypt, defeated the Armenian allies of the Mongols; in 1281 Baybars's successor Qalā'ūn defeated the Mongols at Homs; the Mongols retreated east of the Euphrates. Many Christians in the Holy Land had looked to the Armenians and Mongols as allies against Baybars and the Saracens (see Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, iii. 237–423).

cum socio meo uel in uico uel in domo regis, multum nos honorabant capellos suos detrahentes et deuote nobis inclinantes et nos salutantes et nobis transeuntibus assurgentes. Multos preterea terret, [s]quod dicitur,[s] quod in partibus transmarinis[t] habitent Nestoriani, Iacobite, Maronite, Georgiani et similes,[u] qui a quibusdam hereticis, quos ecclesia dampnat, uocabula traxerunt, et propter hoc isti creduntur esse heretici et sequi errores illorum hereticorum,[v] a quibus sic sunt dicti. Hoc omnino non est uerum (aduertat deus!), sed sunt homines simplices super modum et simpliciter uiuentes et deuote se habentes. Attamen non nego, quin inter eos aliqui stulti sunt, quia nec romana ecclesia omnino caret stultis.

119. ¶ [a]Sunt etiam multe abstinentie in [b]qua diagesima[b] nec pisces nec oleum comedunt. In officio diuino deuoti ualde sunt[c] et audiunt auidissime uerbum Dei. Vidi ego in[d] ramis palmarum tempore uespertino multitudinem magnam[e] cum multis uexillis exeuntes de ciuitate ad audiendum uerbum Dei in locis illis ubi a nostris uix creduntur esse aliqui Christiani.[a] Omnes autem nationes supradicte et plures alie, quas scribere longum esset quarum etiam nomina nescio sicut ab aliis quibus erant nota didici archiepiscopos, [f]episcopos abbates et[f] [g]alios prelatos[g] habent, sicut et nos, et eisdem nominibus appellantur, preter Nestorianos, quorum summus prelatus[h] Iaselich appellatur, et est apud eos loco pape, et intellexi pro certo, quod eius iurisdictio in oriente multo latius extenditur, quam se extendat tota ecclesia occidentalis. Alii tamen prelati [i]gentis eiusdem qui Iaselicho sunt inferiores archiepiscopi et episcopi sicut et nostri appellantur, et ceteri prelati inferiores[i] sunt sicut nostri.

120. (9) ¶ Armeniorum[693] etiam summus prelatus et Georgianorum Catholicus appellatur. Et fui apud eum diebus quattuordecim, et habebat secum archiepiscopos et episcopos, abbates et prelatos alios plures. Et erat in uictu et uestitu et omni conuersatione sua tanti exempli, quod similem non uidi nec in persona religiosa nec in seculari, et pro certo dico[a] meo iudicio uestes omnes,[b] quibus induebatur, nullo modo ualebant quinque solidos sterlingorum, cum tamen haberet castra fortissima et redditus maximos, et esset quasi infinitarum diuitiarum.

[s–s] *B+; om. P* [t] ultramarinis *P* [u] plures *B* [v] *om. BPb*

119 [a–a] *om. LiZb* [b–b] quadraginta *BPb* [c] existunt *P* [d] die *add. P* [e] maximam *P* [f–f] et omnes *Li* [g–g] *om. Zb* [h] *om. Li* [i–i] *B+; om. P*

120 [a] quod *add. LiZb* [b] *om. Li*

Further, whenever my companion and I met them, whether in the street or the palace, they showed us much respect, removing their hats, bowing respectfully to us, greeting us, and standing up for us as we passed. Further, it frightens many that reportedly in regions overseas live Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites, Georgians, and others like them, who have taken their vocabulary from certain heretics whom the church condemns, and so they are believed to be heretics and to follow the errors of those after whom they are called. This is not at all true (God forbid!); they are rather men more than usually simple who live simply and behave with devotion. But I do not deny that there may be some foolish ones among them, because not even the Roman church is completely without fools.

119. ¶ There are also many periods of abstinence in which season—the forty days—they eat neither fish nor olive oil. In divine office they are particularly devout, and hear eagerly the word of God. At Palm Festival in the evening I saw a great crowd leaving the city with many banners to hear the word of God in those places where we scarcely believe there to be any Christians. All the nations listed above and many others, which would take long to list (whose names also I do not know but have learned from others who knew them), have archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates as we do, called by the same titles, except for the Nestorians, whose highest prelate is called Iaselich. He is the equivalent of Pope to them, and I have learned for certain that his jurisdiction extends much more widely in the east than that of the whole Western church. However, the other prelates below the Iaselich of that people are called archbishops and bishops like our own, and the other lower clergy are like our own.

120. (9) ¶ The highest prelate of the Armenians[693] and the Georgians is called the Catholicus. I stayed with him for two weeks, and he had with him archbishops, bishops, abbots, and many other prelates. In diet and dress and all social intercourse he set an example whose like I have not seen in either a religious or secular person, and I can say for certain that in my estimate all the clothing he stood up in was not worth 5 sterling shillings, though he had the strongest of castles and the largest

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[693] Burchard presents his own experience of the Armenian clergy and royalty, matter of factly and without criticism. The king of Armenia and Cilicia is probably Leon III (1270–89; see Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 186). Burchard was on the whole favourably impressed, particularly by their religious and liturgical observance. The abbreviator's version (B71) shows no personal contact, noting in particular their lack of training in arms, their calendric failings, their hatred of the Greeks, their Armenian script, and their relationships with Rome.

Vtebatur pellicio arietino grosso, rubeo et penitus sordido et immundo cum manicis amplis [c]et sordidis,[c] et sub eo tunica coloris grisei ueteri ualde et quasi consumpta. Desuper uero habebat scapulare nigrum[d] et pallium similiter nigrum[e] subtille quidem sed uille et asperum ualde quasi cilicium. ¶ Regem Armenie et Cilicie uidi cum omnibus optimatibus suis sedentem ualde humiliter et cum magna reuerentia ante pedes eius pluries cum filio suo primogenito, et cum magna deuotione audientem [f]ab eo[f] uerbum Dei. Iste[g] cum omnibus suis prelatis [h]archiepiscopis et episcopis et ceteris[h] per totam quadrigesimam in pane et aqua abstinebant,[i] et rex idem similiter [j]et omnes optimates sui,[j] nisi in festo annunciationis, et tunc me presente idem Catholicus [k]cum ipso[k] dispensauit, ut pisces comederet et biberet uinum. Illo die interfui misse coram eodem Catholico et rege et regina. Et habent officium deuotum ualde. Induuntur autem sacerdotes eorum[l] et episcopi [m]in missis,[m] sicut nostri. De azimo[n] conficiunt, et iisdem uerbis epistolas easdem et euangelia et prefationes 'Pater noster' 'Sanctus' 'Agnus Dei' cantant in missa, sicut et nos, sed in suo idiomate et scriptura; habent enim literam specialem et linguam similiter.

121. Catholicus ipse et omnes alii prelati monachi sunt, [a]nec potest[a] in omni oriente in quacunque natione aliquo modo aliquis esse[b] prelatus, qui non sit monachus. Et[c] sunt omnes monachi in toto oriente in maxima reuerentia et honore. Clerici uero seculares et sacerdotes nullius sunt auctoritatis, nec apud laicos aliquid reputantur, [d]nullum uero[d] habent officium aliud,[e] nisi quod diuina celebrant. Ad omnes horas signum faciunt cum tabula uel ligno alio, sicut apud nos [f]fit, in cena domini et diebus festialibus,[f] quia campanas non habent. Facto autem signo nocte ad matutinas uadunt, per uicos clamando, ut omnes conueniant ad matutinas.[g] Post matutinas[h] non dormiunt, sed in ecclesia sedentes docent populum usque ad auroram, et tunc dicunt primam et missam, uel circa horam tertiam, si est festum. Nullius alterius[i] sunt auctoritatis, nisi quantum eis [j]permittunt uerthipite,[694] id est monachi.[j]

122. ¶ Sacerdotes omnes[a] sunt uxorati, nec permittitur aliquis exsequi officium sacerdotis, [b]qui non habeat[b] uxorem.[c] Die lune et deinceps[d] usque ad diem Veneris inclusiue[e] nunquam missas celebant, quantumcumque

[c–c] *om. Li* [d] *om. BPb* [e] magnum *B* [f–f] *om. Li* [g] catholicus *add. B* [h–h] *om. LiZb* [i] abstinebat *Li* [j–j] cum omnibus optimatibus suis *BPb* [k–k] cum ipso rege *BPb*; secum *Li* [l] *om. BPb* [m–m] *om. B* [n] azimis *LiZb*

121 [a–a] non nec *Li* [b] est *Li* [c] sed *Li* [d–d] nec *LiZb* [e] *om. B*; aliquod *LiZb* [f–f] in paraskeue *BPb*; et diebus festialibus *om. LiZb* [g] matutinum *BPb* [h] matutinum *BPb* [i] alias *BPb* [j–j] permittitur. Dicuntur autem monachi uertepete *BPb*

122 [a] autem *BPb* [b–b] nisi qui habeant *B* [c] uxores *B* [d] *om. B* [e] *B*+; *om. P*

of revenues and was infinitely wealthy. He wore a rough sheepskin, dyed red, deeply dirty and grubby, with wide and dirty sleeves, and under it a very old grey tunic, almost worn out. Above that he had a black scapular and a mantle similarly black, fine indeed but cheap and rough like a hair shirt. ¶ I saw the king of Armenia and Cilicia with all his nobles sitting very humbly and with great reverence before the feet of the Catholicus, frequently with his first-born son, listening with great devotion to the word of God from him. The Catholicus with all his prelates, archbishops, bishops, and others, fasted the whole forty days of Lent with bread and water, and the same king and all his nobles similarly, apart from the Feast of Annunciation, and then in my presence the same Catholicus gave himself a dispensation that he might eat fish and drink wine. That day I attended mass before the same Catholicus and the king and queen. They take their liturgical duty very seriously. Their priests and bishops are vested at mass as ours are. They use unleavened bread, and they chant the same epistles and gospels and prefaces, the Pater Noster, the Sanctus, the Agnus Dei, at mass in the same words as we use, but in their own dialect and writing, for they have their own special script and similarly language.

121. The Catholicus himself and all the other prelates are monks, and in the east, in any nation, in no way can any but monks be prelates. All monks throughout the east are held in the greatest respect and honour. But secular clerks and priests have no authority and are not of any account among the laity, nor do they have any responsibility apart from celebrating the divine office. They make the signal for all the hours with a board or other piece of wood, just as happens with us, at the Lord's Supper and on festal days, for they have no bells. When the sign is given at night, they go to matins, shouting through the streets that folk should come to matins. After matins they do not sleep, but seated in the church they teach the people until dawn (or the third hour if it is a feast), and then say prime and mass. They have no other authority, except what is allowed them by the 'verthabite'[694] (that is, the monks).

122. ¶ All priests are married, and no one is allowed to officiate as a priest unless he has a wife. From Monday to Friday they never celebrate mass, whatever great feast day there might be, but they are free

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[694] An Armenian word meaning 'teacher', referring to unmarried doctors of the church, one of two classes of Armenian priests (see *ODCC*, p. 106).

etiam[f] magnum festum sit, sed[g] uacant amplexibus his quinque diebus; sabbato uero et Die Dominica multum[h] solempniter[i] dicunt[j] missas. Mortua uxore sacerdos[k] continebit, nec aliam ducet uxorem. Si fornicatus fuerit uel adulteratus, officium et ecclesiam sine spe aliqua perdet,[l] nec cum ipso potest dispensari. Si uxor eius adulterata fuerit, sacerdos aut continebit, aut ecclesiam aut officium perdet ut supra.[m] Vxor uero [n]que adulterium commissit[n] nasum perdet, et uir, qui cum ea concubuerit, castrabitur, quamuis etiam fuerit uxoratus. Istud factum fuit me presente. Mortuo sacerdote uxor continebit. Si contraxerit, igni comburitur; si meretrix facta fuerit, nihil mali[o] pacietur. Istud sepe contingit, et est nouum constitutum[p] apud eos: omnes sacerdotes uirginem ducunt[q] uxorem secundum apostolum. Sacerdotes Armenorum et Georgianorum discernuntur a uulgo per pannum album lineum,[r] quem circumdant schapulis suis et collo. Grecorum[s] uero sacerdotes et Nestorianorum per almutiam albam laneam[t] quam superponunt capiti suo.

123. (10) ¶ Fures qui minora furta committunt, ita ut non sint digni suspendio, uel malefactores alii committentes crimina minora castrantur, ne filios generent qui patrum crimina imittentur. Et hoc uidetur michi esse una causa, quare tot meretrices sunt in terris illis. Vxores enim talium continere nolentes [a]uel non ualentes[a] meretrices efficiuntur. Multi etiam sunt eunuchi in terris[b] istis, et omnes sunt famuli nobilium mulierum, et credo, quod regina Armenie plusquam quadraginta[c] eunuchos habuit, quando eram apud eam. Nec ullus ad eam ingreditur masculus, nisi de regis licentia speciali. Qui etiam eunuchum aliquem ex nomine assignet, qui ingredientem conducat et reducat. Similiter fit de omnibus mulieribus nobilibus, et uiduis et maritatis.

124. (11) ¶ Reges[a] et principes et omnes nobiles audiunt libentissime uerbum Dei. Vnde cotidie ad horam tertiam uerthapate [b]siue monachi[b] curiam regis uel [c]principis adeunt alicuius[c] [d]ad quos[d] statim accedunt principes ipsi[e] uel domini cum filiis suis et potentibus de curia sua, et apponitur liber aliquis [f]de sacra scriptura,[f] et legitur coram eis in uulgari,

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[f] *om.* *BPb* [g] et *Li* [h] *om.* *B* [i] deuote *Li* [j] celebrant *Li* [k] sacerdotis *BPbP* [l] *om. P* [m] dictum est *add. P* [n–n] *om. LiZb* [o] *om.* *BPb* [p] statutum *B* [q] ducent *LiZb*; *Pb* educent [r] *om.* *BPb* [s] Georgianorum *LiZb* [t] *om. LiZb*

123 [a–a] *om. Li* [b] *B*+; partibus *P* [c] sexaginta *PPb*

124 [a] etiam *add.* *Li* [b–b] *om.* *Pb* [c–c] principum aliquorum adherent *Li* [d–d] statim *om. B* [e] *om. B* [f–f] sacre scripture *PZb*

for their wives' embraces on these days; but on the sabbath and the Lord's Day they say mass with much solemnity. If his wife dies, the priest will remain single and will not take another wife. If he commits fornication or adultery, he will lose both church and office, without any hope and without possibility of dispensation. If his wife shall have committed adultery, the priest will either remain single or lose his church and office, as noted above. The wife who commits adultery will lose her nose and the man who shall have slept with her, although he may also be a married man, will be castrated. That happened in my presence. When a priest dies, the wife will continue single. If she contracts marriage, she will be burned; if she becomes a prostitute, she will suffer no harm. That often happens, and they have a new rule, that all priests, following the apostle, should take a virgin to wife. The Armenian and Georgian priests are distinguished from the people by a white linen cloth which they put round their shoulders and necks. But the Greek and Nestorian priests are distinguished by a white linen amice which they put on their heads.

123. (10) ¶ Thieves who commit minor thefts, such that they are not worthy of hanging, or other evildoers committing lesser crimes, are castrated, lest they produce children to copy their fathers' crimes. This seems to me to be one reason why there are so many prostitutes in those lands. For the wives of such men, unwilling or too weak to remain single, become prostitutes. There are also many eunuchs in those lands, and all are in the households of noble women. I believe that the Armenian queen had forty eunuchs when I was at her court. Nor does any male approach her except by the king's special permission. The king nominates some eunuch to introduce and escort out the visitor. The same thing is done with all noblewomen, both widowed and married.

124. (11) ¶ The kings, the princes, and all the nobles hear the word of God most willingly. For this reason daily at the third hour the verthabite or monks visit the court of king or a prince; the princes themselves or the lords with their children and officials of their court come to them at once. Some book of sacred scripture is brought and read before them in the common tongue, because they know no other, but

quia linguam aliam nesciunt sed linguis et literis propriis utuntur, et exponitur eis textus a monachis illis, et ubicumque dubitant seculares et questiones mouent, a monachis instruuntur et questiones soluuntur secundum[g] dicta sanctorum. Ego[h] quesiui ab [i]ipso catholicos,[i] quos doctores maxime sequerentur[j] in scripture sacre expositione et dixit,[k] quod inter precipuos sunt isti[l]: Iohannes Chrisostomus,[695] Gregorius Nazancenus,[696] Cyrillus Alexandrinus[m] [697] quem Kyrillum uocant quia C[n] litteram non habent, et Effrem.[o] ¶ Multum deuoti sunt in ecclesia et clerici et laici, et nihil ibi faciunt nisi[p] aut orant[q] aut cantant[r] aut cetera faciunt,[s] que de iure fieri debent ibi. Nunquam uidebimus[t] aliquem in ecclesia ridere uel dissolutum,[u] nec clericum nec laicum siue sit Grecus siue alterius cuiusque[v] nationis.

125. Officium misse deuotum est apud eos. Calix ad sinistram altaris in muro in loco ad hoc facto ponitur, quem ad offertorium[a] diaconus cum panno serico precioso ualde reuerenter leuat[b] super caput suum, precedente eum subdiacono cum turribulo et duobus acolutis cum cereis incedentibus[c] retrorsum; girant retro altare ad dextram altaris,[d] et tunc eum suscipit episcopus reuerenter et offert[e] eum sicut et nostri faciunt sacerdotes. Infra canonem uero retro sacerdotem duo stant cum cereis accensis[f] et iuxta eos duo cum[g] turribolis induti albis. Duo uero diaconi stant in lateribus altaris a dextris et sinistris, complosis[h] manibus deuote adorantes, uersis uultibus ad corpus Christi quasi duo cherubim respicientes uersis[i] uultibus in propitiatorium[j] et cantant melodiam quandam ualde[k] deuotam et dulcem sibi altrinsecus respondentes. Istud absque dubio uidere deuotissimum est et[l] audire. Multa alia uidi in terra illa tam in laicis, quam in clericis et monachis commendabilia ualde, que uix in terra nostra fieri crederentur.[m]

126. (12) ¶ Transiui totam illam terram usque ad Cappadociam[698] et usque[a] Seleuciam maritimam,[699] et inde nauigaui Cyprum, et ueni in[b]

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[g] adds secundum *Li*; per *BPb* [h] ego *add. BPb* [i–i] ipsis monachis *LiZb* [j] sequuntur *BPb* [k] dixerunt *LiZb* [l] Iohannes Damascenus *add. B*; Iohannes Damasci *add. Pb* [m] *om. BPb* [n] aliam *LiZb* [o] expositionem aliam *Li*; expositionem *Zb* [p] quod *add. P* [q] orare *BPb* [r] cantare *BPb* [s] *om. BPb* [t] uidebis *BPb*; uides *LiZb* [u] esse *add. B* [v] condicionis uel *add. B*

125 [a] offerendum *B* [b] *om. Li* [c] incedentes *P* [d] alterius *Li* [e] offerunt *Li* [f] retro sacerdotem infra canonem *add. LiZb* [g] *om. B* [h] complexis *P*; complesis *Pb* [i] *om. Li* [j] propitiatoribus *B* [k] *B+*; *om. P* [l] etiam *Li* [m] sic creduntur *BPb*

126 [a] ad *add. BPb* [b] *om. BPb*

use their own languages and script. The text is expounded to them by the monks, and whenever the lay people have doubts and raise questions, they are taught by the monks and questions answered in accordance with the sayings of the saints. I enquired from the catholicus himself which doctors of the church they followed in particular in expounding sacred scripture. He said that among the important ones were these: John Chrysostom,[695] Gregory Nazianzus,[696] and Cyril of Alexandria,[697] whom they call Kyril, because they have no letter C, and Ephraem. ¶ Both clergy and laity are very devout in church, and never do anything there but pray or sing or whatever else by law ought to be done. We shall never see anyone in church laugh or behave improperly, whether cleric or lay, of the Greek or any other nation.

125. The office of mass is devoutly performed among them. The chalice is placed on the left of the altar in the wall in a place made for the purpose. At the offertory the deacon, with a precious silk cloth, lifts it very reverently above his head, the subdeacon going before him with the thurible and two acolytes with wax candles walking behind; they circle behind the altar to its right. The bishop then takes it reverently and offers it just as our priests do. Below the canon behind the priest stand two with candles lit, and next to them two with thuribles, wearing albs. But two deacons stand beside the altar on the right and the left, praying devoutly with clasped hands, their faces turned to the body of Christ, like two cherubim looking back with turned faces towards the ark, chanting a very devout and sweet melody in antiphonal response to each other. That without doubt is the holiest of things to see and to hear. I have seen in that land many other highly commendable things, among lay people as much as among clergy and monks, things which would scarcely be believed in our own land.

126. (12) ¶ I passed through that whole land as far as Cappadocia[698] and coastal Seleucia;[699] from there I took ship to Cyprus and came to

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[695] John Chrysostom (347–407): a doctor of the church, a famed preacher, from 398 to 403 Patriarch of Constantinople.

[696] Gregory Nazianzus (329/30–389/90): a theologian, Bishop of Nazianzus in Cappadocia; in 381 briefly bishop of Constantinople.

[697] Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444): Bishop of Alexandria from 412, and an active opponent of Nestorius. He was later seen from the Antiochene side as a Monophysite; he spoke of *mia phusis tou logou sesarkomenou* ('one nature of the enfleshed Logos') in Christ, where *phusis* (nature) almost equates with *hypostasis* (person).

[698] In Roman times, Cappadocia lay north of the Taurus range, between the Taurus and the coast lay Lycia; north of Cappadocia lay Armenia. By Burchard's time, Cappadocia and Lycia were under Armenian influence and control (see Boase, *Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, pp. 1–33).

[699] Seleucia maritima (formerly Seleucia Pieria) was founded by the Seleucid king Seleucus I in 300 BC, on the coast of Turkey, at the mouth of the Orontes river.

Salaminam,[700] et perambulaui pro magna parte regionem. Inde nauigaui in Syriam et ueni Tyrum, et post dies aliquot inde nauigans per litus Palestine siue Philistiim pertransiui Caypham, montem Carmeli, Doram, Cesaream Palestine, Antipatridam, Ioppen, Iamniam, Accaron, Azotum, Ascalonem, Gazam, desertum totum[c] arenosum[d] usque ad hostia Nili fluminis[e] [701] ubi sita est ciuitas Pharamia,[702] murata[f] quidem et bene hedificata; sed non est in ea aliquis habitator, quia serpentes eam penitus possederunt. ¶ Inde, scilicet de Pharamia usque in Taphnim[703] sunt uiginti leuce; hec est Taphnis de qua dicitur in Psalmo: 'Qui fecit prodigia[g] [h]sua in campo Thaneos'.[704] Et in hac Moyses et[h] Aaron et filii Israel fuerunt commorati, et est in terra Yessem[705] [i]de qua dixit Ioseph fratribus suis et patri, Dicetis Pharaoni: 'Pastores ouium sumus et nos et patres nostri.' Hoc autem dicetis ut habitare possitis in terra Yessem.[i] [706]

127. (XIV. 1) ¶ De Taphnis usque Memphys, que nunc Damaiata[707] dicitur, [a]centum uiginti quinque[a] leuce sunt, que distat a mari per duas leucas; Pharamia uero est[b] in mediate supra mare. ¶ Taphnis fuit antiquitus ciuitas ualde munita, et bono et firmo loco sita, sed hodie omnino[c] est destructa, et pauci boduini propter ubertatem terre et pascua ibi habitant in ruinis eius, et habundant piscibus et auibus[d] supra modum. (2) ¶ Damiatha insuper antiqua funditus[e] est destructa,[708] sed fecerunt iuxta eam Saraceni aliud casale, longum quidem sed uille[f] et immunitum[g] ad naues collocandas et mercedes colligendas,[h] et habundat

[c] *om. BPb* [d] perueni denique in terram Egypti id est; *add. Pb*; perueni denique *add. B* [e] *From this point the descriptions of Egypt in the BnF MS n.a.l. 288 and the British Library Add. MS 18929 agree closely; see above, pp. cxlviii–cxlix. LiZb continue* ubi fuit (*Zb* sita est) Thanis ciuitas Egypti de qua dicitur in psalmo 'sicut posuit in Egypto signa sua et prodigia sua in campo Thaneos'. Inde ueni Chamiata (*Zb* Damiata) que antiquitus Memphis dicebatur. Hec est terre Yessen in qua olim filii Israel morabantur Pharaoni in luto et latere seruientes. In hac etiam postea lapidatus est Ieremias. (De Thaphnis uenit in Memphis et inde per. Non plus inueni. *add. Zb*) [f] munita *BPb* [g] mirabilia *BLoPb* [h–h] in terra Egypti in terra Cham et in qua *Lo* [i–i] *om. Lo*

127 [a–a] uiginti quinque *Lo*; quindecim *BPb* [b] ciuitas *add. BPb* [c] penitus *Lo* [d] ouibus *BPb* [e] penitus *Lo* [f] *om. Lo* [g] munitum *Pb* [h] *om. Lo*

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[700] Salamis on the eastern end of Cyprus, cf. Acts 13: 5; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, xiii. 284–7.

[701] The Lilienfeld manuscript (Codex 145, fo. 192^{rb}) and the Zwettl manuscript (Codex 315, fo. 154^{rb}), continue (for Latin text see *apparatus criticus*) 'where is located Tanis, a city of Egypt, of which it is said in the Psalms (Ps. 77 (78): 43), "just as he set his signs in Egypt, and his wonders in the plain of Tanis". Thence I came to Chamiata (Damiata), which in antiquity was called Memphis. This is the land of Jesse [i.e. Goshen], in which the children of Israel stayed for a time, serving Pharaoh with mud and brick. Here also later Jeremiah was stoned.

Salamis,[700] and walked through most of that region. From there I took ship to Syria and came to Tyre, and after some days sailing along the shore of Palestine or the Philistines I passed by Haifa, Mount Carmel, Dor, Caesarea of Palestine, Antipatris, Joppa, Jamnia, Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, and the whole sandy desert as far as the mouth of the river Nile[701] where is located the city of Pharamia,[702] a walled and well-built city, but without any inhabitant, because snakes have taken full possession of it. ¶ From there, that is, from Pelusium, to Tanis[703] is 20 leagues; this is the Tanis of which it is said in the Psalm: 'Who did his wonders in the field of Tanis'.[704] In this place, Moses, Aaron, and the children of Israel dwelt, and it is in the land of Geshem,[705] of which Joseph said to his brothers and his father: 'You shall answer to Pharaoh, "We thy servants are shepherds, both we and our fathers." And this you shall say, that you may dwell in the land of Gessen.'[706]

127. (XIV. 1) ¶ From Tanis to Memphis, now called Damiata,[707] is 125 leagues. It is 2 leagues from the sea; Pelusium, however, is half way, above the sea. ¶ Tanis was in antiquity a well-defended city, set in a good and strong place, but today it is completely destroyed; a few Bedouin live there in its ruins on account of the richness of the land and its pasture. It abounds above measure in fish and birds. (2) ¶ Moreover, ancient Damiata is totally destroyed,[708] but the Saracens built by it another village, of some length indeed but poor and without defence for harbouring ships and collecting revenues. It is rich in fruit,

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(The Zwettl manuscript adds: 'From Taphnis he came to Memphis, and thence p . . .) I found no more.' The Lilienfeld's *Descriptio* ends here. For discussion of Burchard's visit to Egypt and possible further travels, see pp. xxxiii–xxxvii above.

[702] Ancient Pelusium, now Tall Farama, where the easternmost branch of the Nile emerges into the Mediterranean, east of the modern Suez Canal; cf. Ezek. 30: 15–16.

[703] The biblical Zoan (Num. 13: 22; Isa. 19: 11, 13; cf. Ps. 77 (78), 12, 43; Judith 1: 10), at San al-Hagar, on the Tanaitic branch of the Nile, some 30 miles (48 km) south of the Mediterranean coast.

[704] The scribe is drawing on the Vulgate's version of Ps. 77 (78): 12, 43, taking 'fecit' from verse 12 and 'prodigia sua in campo Taneos' from verse 43. (The English versions refer to the field of Zoan.) Compare Jer. 32: 20, 'qui posuisti signa et portenta in terra Aegypti'.

[705] For the 'land of Jesse' see Judith 1. 9; the Greek version reads 'Goshen'.

[706] For Joseph's words, see Gen. 46: 34, which Burchard paraphrases. See also Gen. 47: 1–6.

[707] Memphis, frequently mentioned by the biblical prophets (Isa. 19: 13; Jer. 2: 16; 44: 1; 46: 14, 19; Ezek. 30: 13; Hos. 9: 6), was an ancient and important Egyptian city, identified with Mitrahineh, 13 miles (21 km) south of Cairo. The identification of Memphis with Damiata, near one of the major mouths of the Nile, is strange, and the distances given by the Parisian text (125 leagues) and the London text (25 leagues) between Tanis and Damiata are far too great; the Berlin text's 15 leagues (30–45 miles, about 50–75 km) is much closer to the mark.

[708] In Burchard's day, Damiata, on a new site east of the river, was recovering from its experiences during the crusade of Louis IX (1249–50), after which the town was destroyed and a new village built across the river.

fructibus et frumento et piscibus et [i]bonis omnibus[i] que ad cibum pertinent, sicut Thaphnis. Et separatur[j] in occidentali eius parte inter eam et ueterem Damiatham riuus unus[709] de uero alueo Nili, et procedit contra aquilonem in Thapnis, et inde per fretum quoddam, quod Biuera[k] dicitur, usque Pharamiam,[710] et ingreditur ibi mare; et iste est primus[l] portus Egypti uersus[m] terram sanctam. Ipse uero maior riuus Nili ad duas leucas de Damiata intrat mare, et iste est portus[n] secundus. ¶ Tertius uero[o] portus est in Alexandria, ubi ingreditur mare[p] magna[q] pars Nili, qui locus distat de Pharamia ubi primum riuus[r] ingreditur mare[s] per ducenta et triginta miliaria. [t]Et hec est longitudo Egipti iuxta mare. De Alexandria usque in Babiloniam sunt similiter ducenta triginta miliaria[t] per fluuium Nilum ascendendo; ¶ de Pharamia uero[u] per Thaphnim et Damiatam usque in Babiloniam[v] ducenta triginta[w] tantum miliaria per fluuium Nili similiter ascendendo.[x]

128. (3) De Babilonia uero[a] usque ad ciuitatem Syenem,[711] que est ultima pars Egypti contra austrum et Ethyopiam, sunt miliaria ducenta quadraginta. Ista Ethyopia dicitur proprie Nubia[712] et est tota Christiana, in qua beatus Matheus predicauit.[713] Regem huius Ethyopie in Babilonia captum[b] uidi. [c]Ascendens[714] autem[c] de Damiata per Nilum

[i–i] aliis *Lo* [j] separate *B* [k] Bayara *B*; Bayera *LoPb* [l] *LoP*; unus *BPb* [m] usque in *B* [n] *om. Lo* [o] *om. Lo* [p] mare *add. LoPb* [q] maior *Lo*; *om. BPb* [r] *B+*; *om. P* [s] *B+*; *om. P* [t–t] *BLoPb*; *om. P* [u] *LoP*; *om. BPb* [v] sunt *add. BLo* [w] *BPb*; ducenta *LoP* [x] *PLo*; descendendo *BPb*

128 [a] *om. B* [b] *B+*; *om. P* [c–c] *om. Lo*

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[709] Burchard here describes a branch from the main river which separates off and goes north (in fact east) towards Tanis and thence through a certain channel ('fretum', which is not the sea, which is 'mare') named Biyara towards Pharamia, where it enters the Mediterranean. The major stream of the Nile enters the sea 2 leagues from Damiata.

[710] Pharamia (Pelusium) is described as the first port of Egypt towards (i.e. nearest to) the Holy Land. Damiata is the second nearest, where the main stream of the Nile enters the sea, and Alexandria the third, where a great part of the Nile enters the sea. The distances from Alexandria to Pharamia, Alexandria to Babylon (Cairo), and Pharamia to Cairo (via Tanis and Damiata), are given as 230 miles (370 km), which is reasonably accurate.

[711] Babylon was the Greek name for an early Arab fortress lying a little north-east of modern Cairo. According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii. 315) it was founded by the Persian Cambyses (*c.*525 BC). Under Augustus in the first century AD it became the headquarters of the Roman legions controlling Egypt. In the mid-seventh century it was replaced by a city called al-Fustat ('the tent'), which in turn was replaced in AD 969 by by a new city a little to the south, al-Kahīra, Cairo (see Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 3, 17, 30–1, 103). Burchard knows of Babylon, but names and describes the new city of Cairo clearly (see 130, and n. 717 below). Syene, known to Burchard from Ezek. 29: 10; 30: 6, is modern Aswan.

[712] This region lay from Aswan southwards to Khartoum and beyond; 'Aithiopia' was the Greek name; the Hebrews called it Cush, and the Romans Nubia. Burchard would have known of Ethiopia from many biblical references, especially Acts 8: 27 ('vir aethiops eunuchus potens Candacis reginae Aethiopum'). The Ethiopian church, with origins in the fourth

grain, fish and all good things pertaining to food, as is Tanis. In its western part, between it and old Damiata, a river[709] separates off from the true channel of the Nile and proceeds north to Tanis, and from there through a certain channel called Bivera to Pelusium,[710] where it enters the sea; this is the first harbour of Egypt towards the Holy Land. But the main river Nile enters the sea 2 leagues from Damiata, which is the second port. ¶ The third port, however, is in Alexandria, where a great part of the Nile enters the sea. This place is 230 miles from Pelusium (where the Nile first enters the sea). This is the seaboard length of Egypt. From Alexandria to Babylon is similarly also 230 as one goes up the Nile; ¶ from Pelusium, however, through Tanis and Damiatha to Cairo is only 200 miles as one similarly goes up the river.

128. (3) From Cairo to the city of Aswan,[711] which is the furthest part of Egypt towards the south and Ethiopia, is 240 miles. This Ethiopia is properly called Nubia,[712] and is totally Christian; here St Matthew preached.[713] I saw the king of Ethiopia captive in Cairo. Ascending[714] from Damietta by the Nile towards Cairo, I came to Abdella, and from

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century, had suffered under the rise of Islam, but in Burchard's own day experienced a revival (*ODCC*, p. 565). Egypt, however, attempted to annex Nubia, and in 1275 defeated the Christian king Dāwūd (this may be the captured king to whom Burchard refers; see Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 271).

[713] This association appears in the Roman Martyrology, whose origins seem to lie in the ninth century (*ODCC*, pp. 1047, 1410, 1672).

[714] Burchard now describes six streams of the Nile: see Map 4, p. xvii.

(1) From Damiata to Babylonia (Cairo), via Abdela and Mansora.

(2) From Mansora, a lesser stream, to the channel beside Pharamia, where it joins the flow that enters the sea, like the branch from Tanis above.

(3) From Semenuth, flowing north (Paris n.a.l. 288 and London manuscript BL Add. MS 18929; others 'south') to enter the sea at a village called Phatures (Vulgate, Fatures, Jer. 44: 1, 15; Ezek. 29: 14; Isa. 11: 11, Fetros (English versions, Pathros); cf. Gen. 10: 14, Phetrusim). Pathros, however, usually refers not to a village but to the Egyptian southland, up the Nile between Cairo and Aswan, and this may have caused the scribal confusion. Burchard refers to this stretch as unnavigable, which would be surprising if he had meant the Nile southward from Semenuth to Cairo and beyond.

(4) Upstream from Semenuth, before reaching Phyton and Ramesses (names which must derive from Pithom and Raamses of Exod. 1: 11), a fourth stream splits off, similarly flowing north (London BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 43^{ra}), entering the sea at a village called Styrion.

(5) Thirty miles south of this (presumably where the fourth stream splits off) is the place called 'Delta', where the Nile divides, the main stream ('maior rivus') flowing towards Alexandria, and the other (no. 1 above) to Damiata.

(6) From Heliopolis (3 miles, 5 km, from Delta) to Pelusium/Pharamia, the easternmost branch of the Nile into the Mediterranean.

In sum, Burchard knows the main stream of the Nile ('maior riuus') reaching the Mediterranean at Alexandria (the Canopic branch); a second ('alter') important stream flowing from Cairo via Semenuth, Mansora, Abdela (perhaps Bedâleh, a little north-east of Mansourah) to Damiata; a third stream (the easternmost, Pelusiac branch) flowing from Heliopolis to Pelusium (Pharamia). He further describes a waterway, a 'minor riuus', flowing from Mansora to the channel by Pharamia, whence it exits to the sea.

[d]fluuium uersus Babiloniam[d] ueni in Abdela et inde Mansoram, in quo loco diuiditur Nilus et uadit minor riuus, sicut[e] superior, ad fretum quod est iuxta Pharamiam, et iungitur illi quod ibi intrat mare, sicut dictum est supra. (4) Inde iuxta uillam quondam bonam[f] ualde, que dicitur Semenuth, separatur iterum alius riuus, et iste est tertius, et uadit contra aquilonem,[g] intrans mare iuxta uillam que dicitur Phatures, sed non est nauigabilis riuus iste. Item inde ascendendo, antequam perueniatur in Phyton et Ramesses, separatur quartus riuus et uadit similiter ad[h] aquilonem,[i] intrans mare iuxta uillam que Sturion appellatur. Inde hoc est de riuo ipso usque Phyton et Ramesse, sunt quinque leuce, et sunt iste due uille [j]supra riuum,[j] hinc inde site, bone ualde. (5) Inde ad triginta[k] miliaria est locus qui uocatur Delta, grece, quia ibi Nilus diuiditur et in diuersa fluens totam Egyptum facit insulam in modum delte litere triangule;[l] et procedit maior riuus contra Alexandriam, alter in[m] Damiatam, ut dictum est supra. Ecce habes quinque riuos.[n]

129. ¶ De Delta usque in Eliopolim sunt tria miliaria, et ibi recedit sextus riuus, qui procedit contra aquilonem[a] ad ciuitatem plebis, que quondam Pelusium dicebatur. Et inde uadit per desertum uersus terram sanctam et intrat mare iuxta[b] ciuitatem Laris, a qua mare illud gulfus Larisse nuncupatur. (6) Inde [c]est una dieta[c] usque[d] Gazam et Bersabee. Iste riuus uocatur in Scriptura proprie riuus Egypti,[715] et in ipso erat terminus sortis Iude, sicut dicitur in libro Numerorum; dicitur autem[e] Rinocorula, a quibusdam uero Syor fluuius Egypti; non potest autem nauigari. (7) ¶ Eliopolis[716] est uilla multum bona et diues, sed non est munita, sicut nec aliqua uilla in tota Egypto, preter Alexandriam et Babiloniam, sed abundant fructibus et omnibus deliciis[f] mundi; cassia fistula in magna quantitate crescit ibidem.

[d-d] ascendendo *Lo* [e] ibi *add. P* [f] *om. Pb* [g] *Lo*; austrum *P+* [h] contra *BPb* [i] *Lo*; austrum *others* [j-j] *B+*; *om. P* [k] uiginti *B* [l] triangulam *BLo*; triangula *Pb* [m] Damascum uel *add. B* [n] Nili *add. BPb*

129 [a] usque *add. BPb* [b] uersus *BPb* [c-c] sunt fere due diete *BPb* [d] in *add. BPb* [e] a quibusdam *add. Lo* [f] bonis *B*

This leaves us with Burchard's slightly puzzling streams (3) and (4) in the list. In the case of (3), it seems unlikely that Burchard was really referring to the main stream of the Nile flowing south from Semenuth. He says this stretch was unnavigable, and that it flowed out to the sea, which usually means for Burchard the Mediterranean. The London manuscript (BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 43^{ra}) may be right to read 'north' ('aquilonem'), and Burchard may be thinking of the Sebennitic stream flowing north from Semenuth to enter the Mediterranean on the extreme northern shore of the Delta. The name from the Vulgate, Phatures, may in the medieval mind have been associated with the Delta region, as was Tanis, just as Memphis appears to have been, at least by the scholar or scribe who identified it with Damiata. In the case of (4), we do not know where Burchard located biblical Pithom and Raamses (but

there to Mansoura, where the Nile is divided, and a lesser stream goes, like the greater one, to the channel which is by Pelusium, and it joins that which there enters the sea, as has been said above. (4) From there near a very fine village called Semenuth again another stream splits off, and that is the third; it goes north, entering the sea by a village called Phatures, but this stream is not navigable. Again, going upstream from there, before one reaches Phyton and Qantir, a fourth stream splits off and goes north similarly, entering the sea near a village called Sturion. From there, that is from the stream itself, there are 5 leagues to Phyton and Qantir, and they are two villages situated above the river, one on this side, one on that. (5) Thirty miles from there is a place which is called in Greek Delta, because there the Nile divides and, flowing in different directions, makes the whole of Egypt an island in the triangular shape of the letter delta. The larger stream proceeds to Alexandria, the other to Damiatha, as said above. See, you have five streams.

129. ¶ From Delta to Heliopolis is 3 miles, and there the sixth stream separates off; this proceeds north to a city of the people which was once called Pelusium. From there it goes through the desert towards the Holy Land and enters the seas near the city of el-'Arish, from which that sea is called the Gulf of Larissa. (6) From there it is one day's journey to Gaza and Beersheba. In scripture that stream is called properly the river of Egypt,[715] and in it was the boundary of the land allotted to Judah, as it says in the book of Numbers. The river of Egypt is called Rhinocorura, but by some Sior, but it is unnavigable. (7) ¶ Heliopolis[716] is a very good and rich village, but like other villages throughout Egypt (except Alexandria and Cairo) it is not fortified, but it abounds in fruits and all the delights of the world; the golden shower tree (*cassia fistula*) grows there in great quantity.

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evidently not at Qantir on the Pelusiac branch), and we do not know where Styrion, where this fourth stream meets the sea, might be located. But the reference to the sea suggests that Burchard is thinking of a branch of the Nile reaching the Mediterranean through the Delta.

[715] River of Egypt (*riuus Aegypti*): see 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 8: 65; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24: 7; cf. 'torrens Aegypti', Num. 34: 5; Josh. 15: 4, 47; Isa. 27: 12; usually translated as 'the brook of Egypt', and identified with the Wadi al-'Arish. For the reference to Sior (English versions Shihor), see 1 Chr. 13: 5.

[716] In the Septuagint Heliopolis, in the Hebrew Beth Shemesh ('city of the sun'), in the Vulgate 'house of the sun' (Jer. 43: 13 (Septuagint 50: 13)), modern Arabic 'Ayn Shams. Ezek. 30: 16–17 (Vulgate) refers to Eliupolis alongside Pelusium, Alexandria, and Memphis. See Strabo, *Geography*, xvii. 1. 27–9. The site, now a north-eastern suburb of Cairo, was an important cultic centre from earliest times through the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms of Egypt into Hellenistic and Roman times. In July 640 the Muslims defeated the Byzantines in battle at Heliopolis, opening the way to the Islamic conquest of Babylon (Old Cairo) and Egypt.

130. (8) Inde per septem leucas est ciuitas Babilonia,[717] magis ualde et bene munita, sita supra Nilum fluuium in littore[a] eius orientali;[b] transit tamen riuus unus de eodem fluuio per medium eius et per ciuitatem Kayrum competenter magnus et reuertitur ad riuum principalem in Kayro. ¶ De Babilonia ad quinque leucas sunt quedam piramides triangule multum alte, qui dicuntur horrea Iosep[718] fuisse, et iuxta illas sunt ruine ciuitatis Thebe.[719] Ad duas leucas de ista fuit legio Thebeorum, cui adiacet [c]desertum Thebaidos, in quo fuit antiquitus[c] multitudo[d] monachorum. (9) Supra Babiloniam fluuius Nilus habet unum riuum tantum usque in Syenem per miliaria ducenta quadraginta,[e] et inde usque Meroem[f] ciuitatem[g] sunt miliaria ducenta quadraginta.[720] Syene sub ipso tropico estiuo sita est, unde et ibi assumitur umbra in primo gradu Cancri et tunc Meroe proicit umbram contra austrum. ¶ Ortus uero Nili sciri non potest ultra, nisi usque ad montes que sunt a sinistro Nubie, per quos descendit, et est ultra locus immeabilis, ut mihi dixerunt Nubiani.

131. (10) ¶ Terra Egypti fere inaccessibilis est. Ab aquilone[a] enim habet mare magnum, ubi non est accessus, nisi per naues; contra Affricum est desertum Libye et Philenorum,[721] quod habet in latitudine[b] et longitudine dietas plures.[c] Ab austro est desertum Ethiopie per quindecim[d] dietas et plus usque in Nubiam; ab oriente desertum Thebaydos usque ad mare rubrum per tres dietas ad locum qui Beronice[722] dicitur, et est portus Egypti in littore maris rubri uolenti[e] uersus Indiam nauigare. Contra uulturnum[f] et septentrionem est

130 [a] latere *P* [b] *Lo*; aquilonari *P*+ [c–c] *om. BPb* [d] magna *add. Lo* [e] sexaginta *Lo* [f] *P*; Merhoen *BPb*; Syene *Lo* [g] *om. BPb*

131 [a] *Lo*; occidente *P* [b] *LoP*; altitudine *BPb* [c] scilicet quadraginta *add. Lo* [d] *BPb* uiginti quinque *Lo* [e] *B*+; uoluenti *P* [f] uero *add. LoP*

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[717] Babylon: see n. 711 above. After its capture by the Fatimids in 968, the city became Cairo (el-Kahira, the triumphant one, after the rising of the planet Mars, al-Kahir). Saladin established the citadel (completed in 1184). Cairo remained the capital under the Mamluks, who took control of Egypt in 1250. Burchard notes the split course of the Nile through the city.

[718] Burchard identifies the pyramids with Joseph's barns (RSV 'warehouses') (cf. Gen. 41: 56), as do the medieval Sawley map (*c.*1190), the Ebstorf map (*c.*1300), and the Hereford map (*c.*1300) (Harvey, *Hereford World Map*, p. 245).

[719] The ancient city of Thebes lay at Luxor, some 500 miles (800 km) south of the Mediterranean, and could hardly be said to be close (*iuxta*) to the pyramids. The region of the Thebaid lay in the south between Abydos and Aswan, and west of the port Berenice, as Burchard indicates below, and from the third century 'was the cradle of Christian monasticism' (*ODCC*, art. 'Thebaid, the', p. 1597).

130. (8) Seven leagues from there is the city of Cairo,[717] extremely well fortified, set above the Nile on its northern bank. One fairly large stream, however, from that same river Nile crosses through the middle of Cairo and through its city, and reverts to the main river in Cairo. ¶ Five leagues from Cairo are certain very high triangular pyramids, said to have been Joseph's storehouses,[718] and near them are the ruins of the city of Thebes.[719] Two leagues from that was the Legio of the Thebans, adjoining the desert of Thebes, in which there was in antiquity a great number of monks. (9) Above Cairo the river Nile had one stream only for 240 miles up to Aswan. It is 240 miles from there to the city of Meroe.[720] Aswan is located under the summer tropic; from there, and there, the shadow is taken up in the first step of Cancer [i.e. north of the equator], and then Meroe projects a shadow to the south. ¶ However, the source of the Nile cannot be known beyond that, unless it is as far as the mountains which are on the north of Nubia, through which the Nile descends; beyond that, as the Nubians told me, the place is impassable.

131. (10) ¶ The land of Egypt is almost inaccessible. For from the west it has the Mediterranean Sea, where there is no access except by ship; towards Africa is the desert of Libya and Phileni,[721] which extends several days' journey in latitude and longitude. From the south is the desert of Ethiopia, which extends for fifteen days' journey or more into Nubia; from the east the desert of Thebes extends for three days' journey to the Red Sea, to the place called Berenice;[722] it is the Egyptian port on the shore of the Red Sea for one intending to sail towards India. To the south-east indeed and the north there is a large desert as

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[720] Meroë lay in ancient Kush, Roman Nubia and modern Sudan, on the east bank of the Nile north of its junction with the Atbarah, some 125 miles (200 km) north-north-east of Khartoum. It was known by hearsay to Herodotus, became better known to Greeks of the Hellenistic period and to Rome (e.g. Strabo, *Geography*, xvi. 4. 8, Loeb, vol. vii, pp. 320–1; xvii. 1, 2, Loeb, vol. viii. pp. 2–3), but lost its importance in the first millennium AD (see *OCD*, 'Merope', p. 935; Shinnie, *Meroe: A Civilization of Sudan*; Török, *The Kingdom of Kush*).

[721] 'The altars of the Phileni' marked, according to Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, xix, the Carthaginian boundary towards Egypt (Talbert, ed., *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, map 37, 'Syrtica' D2; identified with Graret Gsere et-Trab (see Goodchild, *Libyan Studies*, pp. 155–72); *Salluste, Catilina, Jugurtha*, ed. Ernout, pp. 154–5).

[722] A port on the Red Sea, founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 275 BC (now Medinet al-Haras, about 155 miles (250 km) east of Aswan). (See Strabo, *Geography*, xvii. 1. 45, Loeb, vol. vii, pp. 118–19.). Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, map 80, inset, identifies it with Medinet al-Haras (see Meredith, 'Berenica troglodytica').

desertum magnum usque ad terram sanctam, in quo filii Israel recedentes de Egypto morati sunt quadraginta annis.[723] (11) Et dixerunt mihi Saraceni et Christiani qui sunt in Egypto, et idem fatebantur presentibus Saracenis, quod amplius quam trecenta milia Christianorum sunt in Egypto,[724] et ecclesie et claustra multa. In Babilonia uero et in Kairo sunt ecclesie quadraginta et amplius;[g] et in aliis ciuitatibus Egypti et uillis sunt ecclesie plures, quas etiam causa orationis intraui cum essem ibi. Sunt etiam in Egypto casalia infinita[h] et populus multus ualde, qui [i]etiam pre multitudine[i] [j]non potest extimari. Sunt ibidem tamen boduini, qui multitudine[j] ceteros habitatores terre uincunt; Saraceni tamen dominantur in terra, sed timent plurimum boduinos. Turci uero, siue Turchomani,[725] sunt superiores Saracenis pro eo quod Soldani[726] iam per longa tempora fuerunt de gente illa, [k]et melior militia que sit in Egypto est de gente illa.[k]

132. (12) ¶ Egyptus fere triangula[a] est, duobus lateribus equalibus, tertio breuiore; et sunt in tribus cornibus huius trianguli site ciuitates iste, scilicet Laris, Babilonia et Alexandria.[727] Voluit autem Egyptus in giro de Laris per Babiloniam usque Alexandriam; et inde[b] iterum in Laris nonaginta et quinquaginta miliaria; de Babilonia uero usque in Syenem et inde usque Meroem, licet sit longitudo magna, latitudo fere[c] nulla[d] est, quia uia illa procedit per ascensum Nili, qui habet montes altos hinc inde, et terram omnino desertam,[e] nisi super ipsum fluuium; sed et illa loca barbare sunt habitationis. (13) ¶ In Eliopoli et in Babilonia ostenduntur loca in quibus beata uirgo mansit cum puero Ihesu, quando a facie Herodis fugerat in Egyptum et casus idolorum et templorum, secundum prophetam Ysaie.[728] (14) Sana terra est ualde terra Egypti, et aer bonus[f] et cibi[g] conuenientes; et est terra multum temperata, immo[h] temperatior Syria et Palestina, cum tamen secundum situm locorum deberet merito contrarium inueniri.

[g] *B*+; *om. P*   [h] multa *Lo*   [i-i] *om. Lo*   [j-j] *om. BPb*   [k-k] *om. BPb*
132   [a] triangularis *Pb*   [b] *om. B*   [c] uero *B*   [d] nihil *BPb*
[e] destructam *BPb*   [f] sanus *Lo*   [g] boni et *add. BPb*   [h] *om. B*

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[723] See Deut. 2: 7; 8: 2.

[724] See Wilfong, 'The non-Muslim communities: Christian communities'; Timm, 'Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit'.

[725] See above 116, where Burchard associates the Turcomans with Midianites and Bedouin; see also Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, xi, xii (Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale*, ed. Donnadieu, pp. 146–8, 483–4; see also Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination*, ed. Kappler, pp. 76–9).

far as the Holy Land; in this desert the Israelites on leaving Egypt spent forty years.[723] (11) Both Saracens and Christians in Egypt have said to me—and said the same with Saracens present—that there are more than three hundred thousand Christians in Egypt,[724] and many churches and monasteries. Indeed, in Cairo and its locality there are over forty churches, and in other Egyptian cities and villages there are more churches, which I entered when I was there for the sake of speech with them. There are also in Egypt numberless villages and a huge population, which also for multitude cannot be counted. There are also, however, Bedouin there, who in number exceed the other inhabitants of the land. The Saracens, however, hold rule in the land, but they greatly fear the Bedouin. The Turks, indeed, or the Turcomans,[725] are above the Saracens because for a long time the Sultans[726] have been of that people, and that people has a better military force than exists in Egypt.

132. (12) ¶ Egypt is almost triangular, with two equal sides, and a third shorter side; and set in the three corners of this triangle are these cities, namely, el-‘Arish, Cairo, and Alexandria.[727] Egypt revolves from el-‘Arish through Cairo to Alexandria; and from there again to el-‘Arish is 90 and 50 miles. From Cairo indeed to Aswan and from there to Meroe, though the length is great, the breadth is almost nothing, because the route goes by ascent of the Nile, which has high mountains on both sides, and complete desert, except above the river itself; but those places are the habitation of wild natives. (13) ¶ In Heliopolis and Cairo are shown the places in which the blessed Virgin stayed with the child Jesus, when she had fled to Egypt from the face of Herod. Collapsed idols and temples (as predicted by the prophet Isaiah)[728] are also shown. (14) The land of Egypt is a very healthy land, its air good and its foods agreeable. It is a very temperate land, more temperate than Syria and Palestine, though to judge from the position of these places the opposite ought to be found.

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[726] In Burchard's time, the sultan was al-Mansur Sayfal-Din Qalā'ūn, one of Baybars's generals, a Turk by origin. For a description of his rule, see Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, pp. 276–84; for the duties of the sultan, ibid., pp. 246–50.

[727] Laris, the ancient Gulf of Larissa, now Al-‘Arish. Babylonia is modern Cairo (see n. 711 above); thus the three places mark the extreme points of the triangle of the Nile Delta.

[728] See Isa. 19: 1; cf. Jer. 43: 13.

133. (15) ¶ Inter[a] Eliopolim et Babiloniam medio loco fere est ortus balsami, de quo dictum est supra;[b] et habet [c]in longitudine duas archatas, in latitudine lapidis iactum et[c] terram fere albam. Erat autem eo tempore cum essem ibi[d] in festo sancti Michaelis, lignum balsami[729] satis humile, scilicet palme et dimidie in altitudine,[e] habens folia modica sicut ruta, sed modico[f] albiora, et tuli de ligno ipso in bona quantitate mecum. Modum autem colligendi balsamum cultores ostenderunt mihi; discerpebant enim unum[g] folium de ipso stipite, quia folia stipiti adherent[h] et unum tantum stipitem habet, licet plures in uno[i] stent cespite, interdum sex uel septem, uel etiam plures. Descerpto[j] autem folio[k] contra radium solis, statim de ruptura ipsa egreditur gutta lucidissima odoriffera ualde; et iste est liquor balsami, qui colligitur in fyallis uitreis[l] modo debito et balsamum efficitur. Et si folium istud discerperetur alibi quam contra radium solis, nihil distilaret. Rigatur autem ortus iste de quodam fonte paruo sed ubere effluente, in quo beata Virgo[730] dicitur puerum Ihesum pluries baptizasse[m] et pannos eius lauisse,[n] cum esset in Egypto; et est ibidem lapis in quo dicitur eos[o] siccasse.[p] Et hec omnia uenerationi habentur a Christianis et Saracenis. Et quia fons iste modicus est admodum,[q] ita quod non[r] sufficeret irrigare[s] ortum totum, Saraceni fecerunt alium profundum[t] iuxta illum, de quo quattuor[u] boues per rotam quandam[v] aquam trahunt, [w]sperantes quod, propter uicinitatem aque illius, sortiretur uirtutem ampliorem. Sed deceptos se uidentes, fecerunt canalem de suo fonte ad fontem Christi, et per ipsum canale fecerunt transire aquas fontis sui super aquas fontis Christi, immo per ipsum fontem,[w] sperantes quod ex commixtione cum aqua fontis Christi accipiat[x] uirtutem ortum balsami fecundandi. [y]Nec eos fefellit opinio,[y] nunc per istas aquas fecundatur ortus, quod non fieret alias ullo modo.[z]

134. (16) ¶ Est preterea aliud[a] mirabile, attestans ueritati[b] fidei Christiane, sicut dictum est supra, quod, a meridie sabati usque ad ortum solis in die lune, boues qui trahunt aquam ipsam[731] cessant a

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133 [a] in *P* [b] prius *Lo* [c–c] *om. Lo* [d] hoc est *add. B*; scilicet *add. Lo* [e] *LoP*; latitudine *BPb* [f] modicum *B*; paruum *Lo* [g] *om. Lo* [h] sicut in ysopo *add. Lo* [i] similiter *add. P* [j] *LoP*; discerpendo *BPb* [k] folium *BPb* [l] et preparatur *add. LoP* [m] lauasse *B* [n] etiam *B* [o] panniculos ipsos *BPb* [p] excsiccasse *BPb* [q] *om. Lo* [r] *om. B* [s] ad rigandum *B*; ad irrigandum *Pb* [t] fontem *add. Lo* [u] *om. Lo* [v] *om. Lo* [w–w] quam Sarraceni per canalem currere faciunt ad fontem Christi *Lo* [x] aqua fontis sui haberet *BPb* [y–y] *om. B*; nec spe sua fraudantur *Lo* [z] de his bubus quomodo feriam seruant in dominica dixi supra *add. Lo*

134 [a] istud *BPb* [b] *om. BPb*

133. (15) ¶ About half way between Heliopolis and Babylon is a garden of balsam, mentioned above; it has the length of two vaults, and the width of a stone's throw, and it has soil almost white. There was at that time, when I was there on the feast of St Michael, balsam wood[729] low enough, perhaps a palm and a half in height, with small leaves like rue, but a little whiter, and I took a good quantity of that wood away with me. The farmers showed me the method of collecting balsam; for they were plucking off one leaf from the stem itself, because the leaves adhere to the stem and it has only one stem, though many stems, sometimes six or seven or even more, might stand in one plot. With the leaf torn off towards the sunlight, immediately from the rupture itself emerges a most translucent, strongly smelling drop of gum; this is the liquid balsam, which is collected in glass bottles in due manner and is made into balm. If that leaf is torn in another direction than towards the sun's rays, there will be no distillation. That garden is watered from a certain small but abundantly flowing fountain, in which the blessed Virgin[730] is said to have frequently bathed the boy Jesus and to have washed his clothes when she was in Egypt. There is there a stone on which it is said that she dried them. All these things are venerated by Christians and Saracens. And because that fountain is so small that it would be inadequate to water the whole garden, the Saracens made another deep fountain nearby, from which four oxen draw water by a wheel. They hoped that on account of the proximity of that water it would gain fuller strength. But seeing themselves mistaken, they made a channel from that fountain to Christ's fountain, and through that channel they made the waters of their fountain cross over, indeed, through the waters of Christ's fountain, hoping that the mingling with the water of Christ's fountain might have the power of fertilizing the garden of balsam. Their idea did not fail them; now the garden is fertilized by those waters, which could not have happened in any other way.

134. (16) ¶ In addition, there is another wonderful thing, attesting the truth of the Christian faith, as said above, that from noon on the Sabbath until sunrise on Monday, the oxen who draw the water[731] cease from

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[729] A similar passage appears in the twelfth-century Burchard of Strasbourg, *De statu Egypti uel Babylonie*, ch. ii (*IHC*, ii. 400–1; cf. the *Narratio de statu terrae sanctae*, ibid., iii. 378–81), and in Thietmar, ch. xii (ibid., iii. 270–3; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 118). This story has appeared already at 61.

[730] This story accompanies the account of balsam mentioned in the previous note. The version of Thietmar in Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, p. 118, mentions the spring, but not the story about Mary and the boy Jesus.

[731] The London manuscript (BL Add. MS 18929, fo. 44^{va}) adds at the end of this paragraph, 'de his bubus quomodo feriam seruant in dominica dixi supra' ('I have already spoken about how these oxen keep the feast on the Lord's Day'), i.e. 61 above.

labore, et nullo modo uolunt aquam amplius[c] trahere, etiam si in frustra conciderentur. Istud oculis meis uidi, cum tamen haberem ad idem testimonium Christianorum [d]et Saracenorum.[d] In fonte isto ego laui totum corpus meum; similiter faciunt Christiani et Saraceni. Saraceni etiam quemdam fetorem habent teterrimum, quem [e]nullo modo[e] possent abolere, nisi baptizarentur et maxime in fonte ipso; unde pueros suos[f] et interdum se ipsos baptizant, non ut effectum baptismi sacramentalis consequantur, sed ut fetorem istum ualeant abolere. (17) ¶ Est etiam aliud miraculum[732] in Babilonia memoria dignum. Est enim ibidem quoddam monasterium[733] in honore beati Iohanis[g] factum, et [h]habetur ibi scrineum quoddam non magnum, in quo sunt incluse reliquie eiusdem sancti.[h] Consuetudo autem est non solum Christianis sed etiam Saracenis in festo eius frequentare locum istum; Saraceni enim multum honorant[i] Iohannem Baptistam. Vnde simul cum Christianis tollunt scrineum istud cum reliquiis istis, deportantes illud per quinque leucas, per descensum fluminis Nilli, ad aliam ecclesiam monachorum similiter in honore eius factam. Et postquam ibi fuerit missa dicta, portant[j] scrineum in fluuium,[k] probare uolentes utrum beatus Iohannes uelit reliquias suas ibi manere,[l] uel ad locum suum[m] redducere priorem. Sed mox in oculis omnium[n] contra impetum Nilli, qui utique ualde est uiolentus, tanta uelocitate sursum currit et redit ad locum suum, quod nec hii, qui in equis currunt, illuc ualeant citius peruenire; istud retulerunt mihi omnes Egyptii, et Christiani et Saraceni bona fide. Explicit presens opus. Deo gratias. Amen.[o]

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[c] B+; *om. P*

[d–d] *om. BPb*

[e–e] non *B*

[f] *om. B*; ibi *add. BPb*

[g] baptiste *add. BPb*

[h–h] ubi sunt reliquie eiusdem sancti incluse in quodam scrineo non magno *BPb*

[i] sanctum *add. B*; beatum *Pb*

[j] ponunt *BPb*

[k] flumine *BPb*

[l] permanere *BPb*

[m] eas *BPb*

[n] scrineum *add. BPb*

[o] Explicit liber de descriptione terre sancte editus a fratre Borcado theotonico ordinis fratrum predicatorum [sub anno domini .mcclxxxiiii. *add. Pb*]; Deo gratias *add. B*; Amen *add. BPb*

work, and completely refuse to draw water, even if they were beaten severely, to no effect. I saw that with my own eyes, though I had the witness of both Christians and Saracens to the same thing. In that fountain I washed my whole body; Christians and Saracens do similarly. The Saracens also have the most frightful odour, which they cannot remove in any way unless they are baptized, and especially in that fountain; from which they baptize their children, and sometimes themselves, not that they might win the effect of sacramental baptism, but that they might have the power to remove the odour. (17) ¶ There is also another miracle[732] in Babylon worth remembering. For there is there a certain monastery[733] built in honour of the blessed John. It has there a certain reliquary, not a large one, in which are enclosed the relics of the same saint. But it is the custom of both Christians and Saracens at the feast of St John to visit that place (for the Saracens greatly honour John the Baptist). And so, together with the Christians, they lift that reliquary together with its relics, carrying it away 5 leagues, by a descent of the river Nile, to another church of the monks, similarly built in John the Baptist's honour. And after mass has been said, they carry the reliquary into the river, wanting to test whether blessed John wished his relics to stay there, or wished to return them to their former place. But soon, in the sight of everyone, against the strong flow of the Nile, which everywhere is extremely violent, it ran back and returned to its place with such speed that not even they who ride on horses had the power to arrive there faster. That was reported to me by all the Egyptians, both Christian and Saracen, in good faith. Thanks be to God. Amen.

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[732] This miracle story appears later in the London manuscript (BL Add. MS 18929, fos. 44^{vb}–45^{ra}). See Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*', pp. 176, 184.

[733] The text perhaps refers to the monastery (founded *c.* AD 360) of St Macarius the Great in Wadi Natrun, which is traditionally associated with John the Baptist.

DESCRIPTIO TERRAE SANCTAE (SHORTER VERSION)

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka,
MS IV. F. 191, fos. 142ra–150^{vb}

DESCRIPTIO TERRAE SANCTAE

B1. Dilectissimo[a] in Christo Iesu patri[b] fratri[c] Burchardo lectori fratrum ordinis praedicatorum in Magdeburch, frater Burchardus de monte Syon cum omni deuotione orationes in Domino Iesu Christo.[1] Quid uobis scribam, pater[d] carissime, non inuenio, deficit stylus, languet ingenium, os enarrare non sufficit, quae bona dedit[e] michi Dominus, qui in omnibus meum desiderium adimpleuit. Ecce omnia loca sancta terram sanctam, quam uniuerse ecclesie nocte dieque sonare[f] non sufficiunt nec desinunt, pedibus circumire,[g] oculis uidere, [h]manibus attrectare[h] michi concessit ad libitum bonus ille Iesus, qui eam inhabitando et uerbo doctrine illuminando, illuminatam suo sacratissimo[i] sanguine consecrauit. Certe delectabile est ad hanc terram aspirare, delectabilius est eam uisitare, [j]et super omne mel et fauum dulcius est in ea commorari,[j] et oculis corporeis intueri, et mentis intuitu reuoluere, quomodo in locis singulis in ea Dominus nostram salutem sit operatus.

B2. Venerabantur quondam Iudei sancta sanctorum, quia ibi esset archa testamenti, cherubim propitiatorium urna aurea continens[a] manna, et uirga Aaron.[b] Nonne uenerabilius est sepulchrum dulcis Iesu, quod quoties quis ingreditur, totiens inuolutum syndone[c] mentis oculis Iesum[d] paululum procumbens lapidem uidet reuolutum, et angelum in eo[e] sedentem et sudarium ostendentem? Quis ad hanc terram totis desideriis non anhelet?[f] Quis Christianus non relictis omnibus que habet cum parentibus et amicis [g]concito gradu[g] posteriorum oblitus, in anteriora se extendat ut Bethlehem ueniat, uidens ibi puerum Iesum in praesepio uagientem, Mariam in diuersorio sub rupe concaua parientem, angelos praesentibus pastoribus Deo gloriam, et pacem hominibus decantantes, et quod plurimum est mirandum, quomodo illi tres reges maiestate praeclari ante praesepe corruant, non habens tectum desuper, ut hodie cernitur, nisi rupem de monte pendentem: ueniat posthac in Ierusalem, et uideat Iesum[h] in templo

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B1 [a] sanctissimo *BeWb* [b] filioque *add. U* [c] *om. M* [d] frater *Wa*
[e] dicit *Be* [f] *BeLo+*; enarrare *W* [g] nec *add. UWaWb* [h–h] *om. M*
[i] sanctissimo *Wa* [j–j] *cf. Ps. 18 (19): 10*; *om. U*

B2 [a] in se *add. UWb*; una *add. BeM* [b] que floruit *add. W* [c] *om. U*
[d] conspicit et *add. M* [e] stantem *add. M* [f] adhibet *M* [g–g] *om. M*
[h] sedentem *add. Be*

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND

B1. For our most beloved father in Christ Jesus, Brother Burchard, teacher of the brothers of the Order of Preachers in Magdeburg, Brother Burchard of Mount Sion with all devotion [offers] prayers in the Lord Jesus Christ.[1] I cannot find the right words to write to you, beloved Father. My pen is wanting, my mind is weak, my mouth is inadequate to relate the good things given to me by the Lord, who in all things has satisfied my desire. See, the good Jesus has granted my heart's desire to tread with my feet, to see with my own eyes, to touch with my own hands all the holy places, the Holy Land, which the churches everywhere night and day do not suffice but also do not cease to celebrate;—Jesus, who, by living there and lighting it up with the word of his doctrine, consecrated it, once it had been lit up, with his own most sacred blood. It is surely delightful to have a desire for this land; it is more delightful to visit it, and it is sweeter than all honey and the honeycomb to stay in it and see it with one's bodily eyes, and to turn over in one's mind how in particular places in it the Lord has worked our salvation.

B2. The Jews once venerated the holy of holies, because there were the ark of the covenant, the cherubim, the mercy seat, the golden pot containing manna, and the rod of Aaron. Is not the tomb of sweet Jesus yet more venerable? Every time one enters, falling down a little before it, one sees in the mind's eye Jesus wrapped in his winding sheet, the stone rolled back, and the angel sitting in the tomb and showing the headband. Who does not pant with utter longing for this land? What Christian wouldn't leave all possessions with his parents and friends and with eager step, forgetting what lies behind, push ahead in order to come to Bethlehem, seeing there the child Jesus crying in the manger, Mary giving birth in the inn beneath a hollow rock, the angels in the presence of the shepherds singing glory to God and peace to mankind, and, most wonderful of all, how the three kings, bright with majesty, fall down together before the manger, with no roof above (as may be seen today) but the overhanging rock. Let the Christian come then to Jerusalem, and see Jesus preaching in the temple, teaching the crowds,

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[1] See Longer Version (LV), n. 1.

praedicantem, turbas docentem, in monte Olyueti sedentem, in monte Syon cenantem, discipulorem pedes lauantem, corpus [i]suum ipsis[i] tradentem, in Gethsemani orantem, et sudore sanguineo fluentem, traditorem osculantem, captum, illusum, consputum, iudicatum, crucem baiulantem, sub pondere crucis, ut hodie cernitur, [j]in porta ciuitatis[j] deficientem, Cyreneum succedentem, in Caluaria pro nobis passionis mysteria celebrantem? horum omnium locorum et singulorum adhuc ita plena est memoria, sicut illa die[k] constitit[l] quando principaliter[m] erant facta. Certe in hac urbe tot sunt loca passionis Domini et sancta[n] uenerabilia,[o] quod nullo modo dies sufficit ad peragrandum.

B3. Sunt praeterea quae deuotionem excitent ampliorem. Quis enim enarrare sufficiat quot[a] monachi et moniales, exceptis aliis Christianis, de Georgia, Armenia, Caldaea, India,[b] Nubia, Syria, Ethiopia nunc turmatim centeni, ducenteni [c]plus et minus[c] discurrentes per loca singula in spiritu uehementi, osculantur terram, amplectuntur loca in quibus dulcem Iesum uel stetisse, uel sedisse,[d] uel aliud quid egisse audiuerunt. Nunc tundunt pectus, nunc fletus, nunc gemitus, nunc suspiria emittentes, gestum[e] corporis et deuotionis quam foris ostendunt et absque dubio intus habent, in lachrymas plerumque prouocant etiam Saracenos. Eia Domine Deus, uideo secundum ueteres historias, Abraham, Chaldeam, Robeth, campum Sennaar[2] et dura[f] prouincie Babylonis relinquentem, domum patris egredientem, Carram[g] dimittentem, ad terram Chanaan[h] anhelantem,[i] inter Bethel et Hay, in Bersabee, in Geraris, in Ebron tabernacula figentem; uideo Ezechielem deserentem[j] flumina Babylonis, super que sedit in medio captiuorum, et ut ueniat in Sion, inter[k] caelum et terram capillo capitis subleuatum, et in Ierusalem transuolantem.[3]

B4. Quid dicam de Virgine gloriosa Maria? que postquam facta est ad eam angelica promissio, licet iam sciret uterum suum esse tabernaculum Dei, non est contenta campestribus Galileae, sed statim montana conscendit,[a] [4] uolens sanctioribus appropinquare. Quid de patriarchis, Iacob et Ioseph fratribusque eius dicam?[b] quia qui uiui in terra esse

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[i–i] pro nobis *U* [j–j] *om. Lo* [k] tempore *UWa* [l] exstitit *LoWaWb*; fuit *Be* [m] presentialiter *Lo* [n] sanctorum *BeM*; sanctis *Lo* [o] memoria mirabilia *Be*; mirabilia *M*

B3 [a] *Lo*; quod *W+* [b] Iudea *Be* [c–c] plurimum *Be* [d] audisse *W* [e] gustum *Be*; gestu *Lo* [f] duram W+; Uram *conj. Neumann* [g] *BeLoM*; natiuitatis sue *add. Wb*; terram *others* [h] *om. BeLoM*; hanc *U*; sanctam *Wb* [i] egredientem *Be* [j] descendentem *Be+* [k] super *W*

B4 [a] ascendit *M* [b] dicam *om. MVWb*

sitting on the Mount of Olives, dining on Mount Sion, washing the disciples' feet, handing his own body to them, praying in Gethsemane, and dripping with bloody sweat, kissing the betrayer, taken prisoner, mocked, spat on, judged, carrying a cross, fainting beneath the weight of the cross (as can be seen today) in the city gate, the Cyrenean taking his place, and Jesus on Calvary celebrating the mysteries of the passion for us. The memory of all these places and details is as full now as on that day when they mainly took place. Certainly in this city there are so many sites of the passion of the Lord and holy things to be venerated that there is no way they could be visited in a day.

B3. There are in addition some things which may arouse greater devotion. Who can adequately tell how monks and nuns, other Christians apart, from Georgia, Armenia, Chaldaea, India, Nubia, Syria, and Ethiopia, now in crowds—hundreds, two hundreds, more or less—running backwards and forwards through individual sites in frenzy, kiss the ground, embrace places in which they have heard that sweet Jesus either stood, or sat, or did anything at all. Now they beat the breast, now emit tears, now groans, now sighs, bodily acts of devotion which they display outwardly and doubtless feel within, frequently provoking even the Saracens to tears. Ah Lord God, I see, according to the old histories, Abraham leaving behind Chaldaea, Robeth, the plain of Shinar,[2] and the hated province of Babylonia, departing from his father's home, giving up Haran, eager for the land of Canaan, pitching tents between Bethel and Ai, in Beersheba, in Gerar, in Hebron; I see Ezekiel abandoning the waters of Babylon, above which he sat amidst the captives, and, to reach Sion, lifted by the hair of his head between heaven and earth and flying across to Jerusalem.[3]

B4. What am I to say of Mary, the glorious Virgin? After the angelic promise came to her, though knowing that her womb was the tabernacle of God, she was not content with the plains of Galilee, but immediately went up into the hill country,[4] wishing to approach the holier places. What am I to say of the patriarchs, Jacob, and Joseph and his brothers? For while living they could not be in the land, they chose in

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[2] Gen. 11: 2; RSV Shinar.

[3] Ezek. 8: 3.

[4] Luke 1: 39.

non potuerunt, elegerunt in ea mortui sepulturam.[5] Quid plura? tarditatem ingemisco Christianorum nostri temporis, qui tot exempla habentes, tardi sunt de manibus inimicorum eruere terram quam consecrauit [c]suo sanguine[c] Iesus Christus. Verum quia uideo[d] uos deuotionis affectu, ea saltem aliquantis per imaginationem desiderare, quae propter locorum distantiam non potestis corporaliter intueri, obediens[e] uestre iussioni et petitioni acquiescens,[6] ut uobis terram ipsam et situm eius describerem, licet sit difficile, tamen dilectionis uestre intuitu, aggredior quod mandastis, hoc omnino scientes, quod nichil in hac descriptione ponam, nisi quod presentialiter[f] existens in loco uidi, uel stans in montibus aliquibus, ubi opportunum[g] accessum habere non potui, a Saracenis et Surianis, et aliis terrae habitatoribus diligentissime interrogans, quod quaerebam innotuit. Totam illam[h] terram enim a Dan usque Bersabee uel pedibus perambulaui uel oculis diligentissime consideraui, aduertens autem studiose, quo modo[i] possem haec omnia utiliter conscribere,[j] ita ut a legentibus possent intelligi et imaginatione[k] facile comprehendi: cogitaui centrum[l] aliquod in ipsa terra collocare, et circa illud totam terram modo debito ordinare, et ad hoc elegi ciuitatem Acconensem, licet non sit uere[m] in medio terrae, et ab ea protraxi lineas ad quattuor[n] plagas mundi, et quamlibet partem[o] quartam diuisi in tria ut respondeant duodecim[p] uentis.

De ciuitate Acconensi

B5. Primo ergo descriptionis initium aggrediar a ciuitate Acconensi. Vnde scire debetis, quod haec ciuitas numquam fuit de terra sancta,[a] nec a filiis Israel possessa, licet tribui Asser in distributione terrae fuerit assignata, est autem sita in prouincia Phenicis.[7] Eadem[b] Acconensis ciuitas, quae materna lingua dicitur Akers et est ualde munita turribus et muris fortissimis, triangularem habens formam ut clypeus, cuius due partes a mari ambiuntur, tertia campum respicit, qui eam circumdat, habens latitudinis duas leucas et plus, in aliquibus partibus fertilis, tam in agris quam in pascuis, quam etiam in hortis et iardinis in quibus diuersi generis fructus reperiuntur, et est ciuitas illa multa militia munita et castris[c] fortissimis, scilicet castro Regis Ierusalem, Templariorum, Hospitaliorum, qui etiam, si Domino placeret, possent expugnare omnes Sarracenos.

[c–c] Dominus *M*; suo sancto sanguine *U* [d] *om. WaWb* [e] *B*+; obedientes *W*
[f] principaliter *Wb* [g] opportunus *Lo* [h] sanctam *Lo* [i] *om. U*
[j] describere *LoUWaWb* [k] magnificatione *Be* [l] claustrum *Be* [m] *om. M*
[n] decem *BeLoMUWaWb* [o] *om. LoMWaWb* [p] *W*; nouem *BeLo*+

B5 [a] obsessa *add. UWb* [b] *om. W* [c] regis *add. W*

death to have their tomb in it.[5] What more? I groan at the sloth of Christians of our time who, with so many examples before them, are slow to snatch from enemy hands the land which Jesus Christ consecrated with his own blood. But because I see that, from pure devotion, you have your mind's desire at least to some extent on those things which you cannot inspect in person on account of their distant location, obeying your command and agreeing to your request[6] that I would describe for you the land and its situation, however difficult it might be, out of respect for your love, I undertake your commission. You may be completely sure of this, that I shall put nothing in this description but what I saw actually existing in any place, or what, standing in some mountains with no possibility of convenient access, I learned from my most careful questioning of Saracens and Syrians and other inhabitants of the land. For either I walked the whole land from Dan to Beersheba on foot, or I inspected it most carefully by eye. I applied myself assiduously to finding how I might put all this together helpfully, so that readers could understand it and their minds easily comprehend it. I planned to locate a centre in the land and to arrange the whole land around that in due manner, and for this purpose I chose the city of Acre, though it is not in fact in the middle of the land. From there I drew lines to the four regions of the earth, and divided each quarter into three, so that the sections might correspond to the twelve winds.

About the city of Acre

B5. First, therefore, I shall start my description from the city of Acre. You should know that this city was never part of the Holy Land, nor was it possessed by the children of Israel, though it was assigned at the distribution of the land to the tribe of Asher, but it is situated in the province of Phoenicia.[7] The same city of Acre (called Akers in its own language) is strongly defended by towers and the strongest walls, and is shaped as a shield; two-thirds of it are surrounded by the sea, and one-third looks back over the surrounding plain, which is more than two leagues wide, fertile in some parts in both agricultural land and pasture as well as in gardens and orchards, in which various kinds of fruit are found. It is a city defended by much military might and the strongest castles, especially the castle of the king of Jerusalem, the Templars, and the Hospitallers, who also, if it pleased God, could overcome all the Saracens.

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[5] Gen. 49: 29–33; 50: 4–14.

[6] LV, n. 10.

[7] Josh. 19: 24–31; Judg. 1: 31–2.

De puteo aquarum uiuentium

B6. Procedentibus de Accon[a] contra[b] directam uiam Aquilonis, post sex[c] leucas [d]et duo milliaria,[d] cernitur ille mirabilis puteus aquarum uiuentium[8] iuxta uiam pergentibus Tyrum, admirabili opere constructus. Quamuis autem singulariter dicatur, puteus non est tamen unus, sed tres eiusdem structure et dispositionis, sed non eiusdem quantitatis. Vnus enim[e] qui principalis est, habet fere quadraginta cubitus in longitudine et latitudine, alii duo circa uiginti quinque,[f] quadratim[g] omnes, et muris fortissimis de lapidibus[h] maximis et durissimis[i] ad altitudinem unius hastae[j] circumdati, in quibus ita colligitur aqua et exaltatur,[k] quod ad omnem partem aqua[l] defluit ultra muros, et diuiditur per tracones et [m]aque ductus[m] per totam planitiem Tyri, et irrigantur de aqua ista iardini et horti, uinee, ficeta, oliueta et canne mellis, [n]id est canne in quibus zucarus crescat,[n] quae in tanta quantitate crescunt in partibus illis, quod dominus Tyri, ut dicitur, omni anno recipit semper[o] inde in redditibus centum milia serclos[p] Bysantiorum[q] aureorum: distant autem isti fontes a mari magno, modico amplius quam ad iactum arcus, et in modico isto spatio impellunt[r] quattuor rotas molendini ualde magnas,[9] et statim in mare fluunt nec posset de facili comprehendi, quantas commoditates praestent incolis fontes illi.

De ciuitate Tyrensi

B7. De fontibus istis ad unam leucam modicam est ciuitas[a] Tyrensis,[10] de Accon,[b] ut dictum est, directe contra aquilonem sita, de cuius praeconio parum[c] scribo: Quia et Ezechiel et prophete alii de ea quam plurimum conscripserunt. Est autem ualde capax et magno murorum ambitu in rupe durissima in corde maris sita, et undique [d]mari circumdata, nisi contra orientem, ubi[d] eam Nabuchodonosor primo, et postea Alexander fecerunt contiguam terre uix ad iactum lapidis, ubi tamen cincta est triplici muro fortissimo et amplissimo,[e] et ad triginta quinque[f] pedes spisso, qui etiam muri sunt muniti duodecim[g] turribus fortissimis, quibus in omnibus mundi partibus me non uidisse recolo firmiores. Quibus etiam turribus[h] continuatur arx ciuitatis munitissima, habens quinque turres fortissimas, quas expugnare non deberet merito totus mundus. Multae sunt in ea sanctorum reliquiae. Origenes[11] ibi sepultus est, et sunt ibi magnae columpne marmoree, et aliorum lapidum, quod stupor est uidere.

B6 [a] Akaron *U*, Ackaron *Be*, Accaron *M* [b] *LoWaWb*; *om. BeMW* [c] septem *UWb* [d–d] *om. UWb* [e] *BeLoWa*; autem *others* [f] xxx *U* [g] sunt *add. UWb* [h] *Be here has two folios in wrong order* [i] *om. Wb* [j] *om. Wb* [k] excollitur *M* [l] *om. U* [m–m] ista aqua ducitur *UWb* [n–n] *om. Wa*; das ist das ror da das zucker inne wechset *BeLoM*; hec est arundo ubi crescit zukarus *Wb* [o] *om. UWaWb* [p] *om. LoUWb* [q] *om. Be*; magnorum *M* [r] implent *BeM*

B7 [a] una *add. Wb* [b] Akaron *MU* [c] modicum *Wb* [d–d] *om. U* [e] altissimo *LoM* [f] triginta *Wb* [g] *om. M* [h] *om. U*

About the well of living waters

B6. To those travelling northwards from Acre, after 6 leagues and 2 miles appears the wonderful Well of Living Waters[8] by the side of the road taken by those going to Tyre. It is admirably constructed. But although it is spoken of in the singular, the well nevertheless is not one but three, of the same structure and arrangement but not of the same size. For the main well is almost 40 cubits in length and in breadth, the other two of about 25; they are all square. They are surrounded by very strong walls of the largest and hardest stones, the length of a spear in height. In them water is thus collected and raised; it flows down to every part beyond the walls and is distributed through pipes and water channels through the whole plain of Tyre. By this water are irrigated the orchards, gardens, vineyards, fig plantations, olive orchards, and sweet canes (i.e. canes in which sugar grows), which grow in such great quantity in those parts, which the lord of Tyre, it is said, every year always receives thence in return for a hundred thousand Byzantine gold coins. These springs are little more than a bowshot from the Mediterranean, and in that small space they turn four huge mill-wheels[9] and then flow into the sea. One could not easily grasp how great are the benefits which these springs offer to the inhabitants.

About the city of Tyre

B7. One small league from these springs is the city of Tyre,[10] sited directly north of Acre, as has been said. In its praise I write little, for both Ezekiel and other prophets have written most extensively about it. However, it is very broad, and set with a huge circuit of walls on an extremely hard rock in the heart of the sea, surrounded by the sea on every side except to the east, where King Nebuchadnezzar first and then Alexander the Great brought it scarcely a stone's throw from the land, where, however, it is surrounded by a triple wall, very strong and broad, and up to 35 feet (10.6 m) thick; the walls are also defended with twelve very strong towers. I do not recollect seeing anything stronger in any part of the world. These towers continue into the city's well-fortified citadel, which has five very strong towers, which, justifiably, the whole world should avoid besieging. There are many relics of the saints in the city. Origen[11] is buried there, and there are many great columns of marble and other stones, a wonder to see.

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[8] LV, n. 38.
[9] LV, n. 39.
[10] LV, n. 41.
[11] LV, n. 48.

De loco praedicationis Iesu ubi mulier extulit uocem dicens 'Beatus uenter', etc.

B8. Ante portam eiusdem ciuitatis Tyrensis [a]ad plagam[a] australem, ad iactum duarum sagittarum, ostenditur locus praedicationis Iesu Christi, ubi mulier extulit[b] uocem de turba dicens,[c] 'Beatus uenter...'[d] etc.[12] et lapis quo [e]tunc stetit: hic[e] locus numquam operitur arena, licet arena illa leuis sit et uolatilis,[f] sicut apud nos [g]niues motu uenti in hyeme solent moueri,[h] et cumulos magnos[g] facere. Iste enim locus in medio arenarum, semper uiridis remanet et estate et hyeme, quod est in terra sancta ualde rarum. Est tamen locus modicus ibidem magis uiridis et herbosus, ubi dicitur mulier[i] sedisse,[j] que extulit uocem de turba.[k]

De ciuitate Sarepta

B9. Inde ad quattuor leucas est Sarepta[13] Sidonie in littore maris, ante cuius portam ostenditur locus ubi Helyas uenit ad uiduam Sareptenam: deinde est quaedam capella edificata, ubi eius filium suscitauit, et ubi erat cenaculum in quo quieuit.

De ciuitate Sydon

B10. De Sarepta ad duas leucas est Sidon[a] [14]quondam magna, cuius ruine adhuc eius magnitudinem attestantur, quae etiam uix crederentur si scriberentur. Est tamen de ipsis ruinis[b] alia modica ciuitas edificata, munita[c] multum, [d]si haberet defensores, et est fere tota in corde maris sita, habens [e]hinc inde[e] duo castra[f] munita multum,[d] unum in colle contra campum, aliud in rupe quadam in corde maris, quod edificauerunt ibidem Teutonici peregrini,[15] et modo ista omnia cum terra adiacente sub dominio sunt militie templi, terra fertilis et amoena, habundans bonis omnibus, et aere suauissimo,[g] et non uidi locum in terra mihi magis placentem.

De ciuitate Antylybano

B11. Antilibanus[a] distat ab ista ciuitate per leucam et dimidiam, et ibi habetur uinum delicatissimum, de quo dicit Propheta: [b]*Memoriale tuum ut uinum Lybani.*[b][16]

B8 [a–a] *om. LoMWaWb* [b] *Lo*+; extollens *W* [c] *Lo*+; dixit *W* [d] qui te portauit *add. BeLoWb* [e–e] predicans stetit Ihesus *LoUWaWb*; stans et predicans *Be*; stans predicabat qui *M* [f] *Lo*+; utilis *Be*; mobilis *W* [g–g] *om. M* [h] uolare *LoUWaWb*; *om. Be* [i] illa *add. BeMUWa* [j] dicens, Beatus uenter etc *add. Wa* [k] de turba *om. U*

B10 [a] Sidonia *Wb*; ciuitas *add. BeUWaWb* [b] *om. M* [c] quidem *add. Lo* [d–d] *om. Be* [e–e] *M om.* [f] unum *add. Wb* [g] sanissimo *M*

B11 [a] Altilibanus *W*; Antilibana ciuitas *Wb* [b–b] *om. U*

About the site of Jesus' preaching, where a woman cried out, saying 'Blessed is the womb'. etc.

B8. Before the gate of the same city of Tyre, two arrows' flight towards the southern district, is shown the site of Jesus' preaching, where a woman raised her voice from the crowd saying, 'Blessed is the womb,...' etc.,[12] and the stone on which Jesus then stood; this spot is never hidden by sand, though that sand is light and mobile, just as with us snowflakes are accustomed to be moved by the wind in winter and make huge heaps. For that spot is in the middle of the sands, but it always remains green, both in summer and winter, a very rare thing in the Holy Land. In the same place there is, however, a small spot, greener and more grassy, where the woman who raised her voice from the crowd is said to have sat.

About the city of Sarepta

B9. Four leagues from there is Sarepta[13] of Sidon, on the seashore. Before its gate is shown the place where Elijah came to the widow of Sarepta; next to it a chapel has been built, where Elijah raised her son, and where there was a small room in which he rested.

About the city of Sidon

B10. Two leagues from Sarepta is Sidon,[14] once a great city whose ruins still attest its great size; if described, the description would scarcely be believed. However, from the ruins themselves another small city has been built, strongly defended (if it had defenders). It is set almost totally in the heart of the sea, having on one side and the other two castles, strongly defended, one in the hill over against the plain, and the other in a rock in the heart of the sea, built there by Teutonic pilgrims.[15] Now all that with the adjacent territory is under the rule of the Templars. The land is fertile and beautiful, abounding in all good things, with the most pleasant climate, and I have not seen any place on earth more pleasing to me.

About the Anti-Lebanon

B11. The Anti-Lebanon is a league and a half distant from that city [Sidon]; there is found there a most delightful wine, of which the Prophet says: 'Your memorial shall be as the wine of Libanus.'[16]

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[12] LV, n. 50.
[13] LV, n. 57.
[14] LV, n. 58.
[15] LV, nn. 59, 60.
[16] Hos. 14: 8; Vulgate, 'memoriale eius sicut uinum Libani'.

De loco et Capella eiusdem in quo dixit Dominus mulieri Chananee

B12. Ante portam Sidonis ostenditur una capella [a]in qua et celebraui,[a] in quo loco locutus est Dominus mulieri Chananee,[b] et sanauit filiam,[c] [17] in uia quae ducit Cesaream Philippi, et in Ytuream.

De ciuitate Berythus

B13. Vltra[a] Sidonem ad nouem[b] leucas est ciuitas ualde nobilis et antiqua, dicta Berythus,[18] ubi etiam dicitur Dominus praedicasse, ubi etiam Iudaei ymaginem eius de pasta[c] factam, quam ut dicitur, illudentes et crucifigentes. Sanguis[d] de ipsa in magna quantitate miraculose sudauit,[e] que etiam in magna ueneratione habetur per totum orbem. Hucusque contra partes Aquilonis processi, cetera loca usque in Leodiciam non uidi, sed ex relatione didici nobiles ibi esse ciuitates, quas Christiani incolunt, in littore maris sitas.

De ciuitate Gybeleth, et ciuitate Tripolis, etc.

B14. Et primo post Berytum ad nouem milliaria Gybeleth, que in Ezechiele ubi de Tyro[a] agitur Byblium[19] appellatur: ad nouem milliaria deinde Tripolis,[20] que est ciuitas nobilis et munitissima, sicut Tyrus, habundans tam in pomeriis et uineis, quam in aliis commoditatibus et omnibus bonis mundi.

De fonte hortorum, qui fluit impetu de Libano

B15. Iuxta hanc ciuitatem est fons hortorum fluens impetu de Libano,[21] qui amenitate sua commendat mirabiliter totam terram. Iuxta hunc etiam in ipso fundo maris, de [a]medio aquarum[a] eius, erumpit fons dulcis [b]et bonus ualde,[b] de quo hauriunt aquam ciues illi.

De ciuitate Leodicia

B16. Leodicia[22] est nobilissima et maxima ciuitas, quae communis est Christianis et Sarracenis. De eius ruinis et structuris mirabilia referuntur. [a]Post hanc sequitur[a] Celesyria, in qua est Antyochia.[b] Deinde Armenia minor, que etiam Cylicia siue Licia,[c] uel certe Lycaonia dicitur, in qua est metropolis Tharsis,[d] unde fuit Paulus. Hucusque contra lineam aquilonis[e] sufficiat processisse. Transeamus iam uersus orientem,[f] incipiamus de ciuitate Iotapatha,[g] quasi a centro.[h]

B12 [a–a] *om. UWb* [b] *om. U* [c] filium *MU*; eius *add. Lo*

B13 [a] circa *Be* [b] decem *Wb* [c] pasta *Wa margin*; pascha *P+* [d] sanguinem *BeUWaWb* [e] sudasse *BeUWaWb*

B14 [a] legitur et *add. W*

B15 [a–a] mediis aquis *LoBeWaWb* [b–b] *om. M*

B16 [a–a] *om. M* [b] Antiopia *Be*; Antippa *M* [c] Cylia *Be*; *om. M* [d] ciuitas *add. BeUWaWb* [e] directam *add. Lo* [f] et *add. WaWb* [g] *om. Lo+*; secunda *Be* [h] que dicitur Iotapata *add. Lo+*; que a centro dicitur *Be*

About the place and the chapel, in which the Lord addressed the Canaanite woman

B12. Before the gate of Sidon is shown a chapel in which I also celebrated mass. In this place the Lord spoke to the Canaanite woman and healed her daughter,[17] on the road which leads to Caesarea Philippi and to Ituraea.

About the city of Beirut

B13. Nine leagues beyond Sidon is a very noble and ancient city called Beirut,[18] where the Lord is also said to have preached. Here also the Jews make sport, as it is said, of his holy image, made of paste, and crucify it; blood in large quantity miraculously sweats from it. This blood is held in great veneration throughout the whole world. From here I went on towards northern parts; I did not see the other places towards Laodicea, but from hearsay I learned that there were fine cities there, inhabited by Christians, set on the seashore.

About Jebail and the city of Tripoli, etc.

B14. First after Beirut, at 9 miles' distance, comes Jebail, which in the Ezekiel passage treating Tyre is called Byblos.[19] Next, at 9 miles' distance, comes Tripoli,[20] which is a fine, well-defended city, like Tyre, abounding as much in walled gardens and vineyards as in other commodities and in all the world's good things.

About the fountain which flows in its course from Lebanon

B15. Near this city is 'the fountain of gardens which runs with a strong stream from Lebanon'[21] which by its beauty wonderfully commends the whole land. Near this also, in the very bottom of the sea, from the midst of its waters, bursts out a sweet and very strong spring, from which the local citizens draw their water.

About the city of Laodicea

B16. Laodicea[22] is a very fine and very great city, held in common by both Christians and Saracens. Of its ruins and buildings wonderful things are reported. After this follows Coele-syria, in which lies Antioch; next, Armenia Minor, also called Cilicia or Lycia or indeed Lycaonia, in which the metropolis is Tarsus, Paul's home city. Let this be sufficient for our northern reach. Let us turn to the east, and begin from the city of Jotapata, as if from the centre.

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[17] LV, n. 62.
[18] LV, n. 65.
[19] LV, n. 67.
[20] LV, n. 70.
[21] LV, n. 73.
[22] LV, n. 18.

De ciuitate Iotapata

B17. In hac distinctione orientali cum aliis quas obmitto, est Iotapata ciuitas,[23] quam Iosephus munierat contra Romanos, et in ea obsessus et captus [a]fuit, sicut ipse testatur.[a] Fuit munita[b] ualde,[c] et monstrantur[d] eius ruinae usque in praesentem diem. [e]Ista distat a Tyro per octo[f] leucas contra orientem sita.[e]

De ciuitate Balenas

B18. Deinde contra Damascum procedendo ad sex leucas occurrit Balenas[24] in pede Libani sita, que prius Lesem uocabatur, [a]que procul est[a] a Sidone[b] fere ad decem[c] leucas. [d]Et quia cum nemine quidquam societatis haberet,[d] sita in regione Roab,[25] ceperunt eam filii Dan, et appellauerunt eam Dan, nomine patris sui. Vnde sepe dicitur: 'Congregatus est omnis populus a Dan usque Bersabee.'[26] Postea Philippus Tetrarcha appellauit eam Cesaream Philippi, in memoriam sui et honorem Thyberii Cesaris, dicta est etiam Paneas, Graece.[27]

De duobus fontibus Ior et Dan

B19. [a]Dehac, hinc inde[a] in decliui[b] latere montis Lybani oriuntur duo fontes, Ior et Dan,[28] qui post modicum[c] confluentes efficiunt Iordanem, qui post longos circuitus mare Galileae ingreditur. [d]Medio tamen loco inter mare Galilee mare[d] et ciuitatem Balenas Iordanis fluuius quandam uallem ingreditur et in stagnum colligitur, quod dicitur[e] ad aquas Maron.[29] De hoc legitur in Iosue. Hec aqua tempore aestiuo prae magna parte[f] exsiccatur, et crescunt arbusta ibidem et herbae multum condense, et tunc latitat ibi multitudo leonum ursorum et aprorum, et sunt ibi uenationes regie.

De ciuitate Cedes

B20. Cedes[a] Neptalim[30] de qua fuit Barach, est ciuitas fugitiuorum,[b] nobilis ualde et habundans omnibus bonis; [c]in illa[c] autem adhuc magnae ruinae ostenduntur et sepulchra gloriosissima antiquorum.

B17 [a–a] *Be*+; *W om.* [b] communita *M* [c] multum *M* [d] demonstrant *Be* [e–e] *om. Wb* [f] nouem *M*

B18 [a–a] et distat hec *BeM*; et cum esset procul *LoUWaWb* [b] hoc est *add. LoUWaWb* [c] *BeLo*+; nouem *WWb* [d–d] *om. M*

B19 [a–a] deinde *UWaWb* [b] *Lo*+; decliuo *BeBeWb* [c] spatium *add. UWaWb* [d–d] *om. M* [e] uocatur *M* [f] *om. Be*

B20 [a] Sedes *M* [b] *om. Wb* [c–c] iuxta hanc *M*

About the city of Jotapata

B17. In this eastern division, along with others which I omit, is the city of Jotapata,[23] which Josephus had fortified against the Romans, and in which he was besieged and captured, as he himself witnesses. It was strongly defended, and the ruins are shown there to this day. It is at 8 leagues' distance east of Tyre.

About the city of Banias

B18. Travelling on towards Damascus, at about 6 leagues, one meets Banias,[24] set at the foot of Lebanon. It was formerly called Lesem and is almost 10 leagues from Sidon, and since, being set in the region of Rehob,[25] it had no treaty-relationship with anyone, the sons of Dan took it and called it Dan after their father. Hence it is often said: 'The whole people was gathered from Dan to Beersheba.'[26] Later Philip the Tetrarch called it Caesarea Philippi in memory of himself and in honour of Tiberius Caesar. In Greek it was also called Paneas.[27]

About the two springs Jor and Dan

B19. From here, on either side of the slope of Mount Lebanon, arise the two springs, Jor and Dan,[28] which, flowing together after a short distance, make up the Jordan, which after lengthy circuits enters the Sea of Galilee. In between the Sea of Galilee and the city of Banias, however, the River Jordan enters a valley and is collected into a pool called the Waters of Merom.[29] This is mentioned in the Book of Joshua. In the summer this water for the most part dries out, and there grow there shrubs and very dense vegetation, and then there hides there a large number of lions, bears, and boars, and royal hunts are held there.

About the city of Kedesh

B20. Kedesh Naphtali,[30] the home of Barak, is a city of refuge, a fine city abounding in all good things; but in it are shown great ruins and the most glorious graves of the ancients.

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[23] LV, n. 181.

[24] LV, n. 97.

[25] LV, n. 98.

[26] LV, n. 100; Vulgate reads 'congregetur ad te uniuersus Israhel a Dan usque Bersabee'.

[27] LV, n. 167.

[28] LV, n. 103.

[29] LV, n. 112.

[30] LV, n. 136.

De monte et de mensa

B21. De[a] Sephet[b] ad duas leucas contra orientem supra mare Galilee modico interuallo est mons [c]qui et mensa dicitur,[c] in quo pauit Dominus quinque millia hominum, et fecit sermonem ad discipulos et descendens tetigit[d] leprosum.[31]

De regione Traconitidis

B22. Regio que appellatur[a] Traconitidis[32] de eo est, quod terra illa omnino aquis fluuialibus[b] [c]careat, et indigene[c] de aquis pluuialibus collectis et berkilibus et cisternis per tracones aquas de loco ad locum oportunum ducant, ut se et pecora sua alant.

Sequitur de quarta orientali parte terre illius

B23. Huius principium, sicut omnium[a] aliorum, incipit in Accon,[b] et procedit directe contra ortum[c] solis et equinoctialem iuxta latus castri[d] Sephet australe, in pede montis qui uocatur mensa. In quo loco[e] apparuit Dominus septem[f] discipulis piscantibus post resurrectionem.[33] Procedendo igitur de Accon[g] per primam diuisionem quartae[h] orientalis ad quinque milliaria de Accon,[i] occurrit casale[j] quoddam, quod dicitur sanctus Georgius, ubi dicitur idem sanctus natus fuisse.[34]

De Naason et Dothaim

B24.[a] Inde ad austrum fere ad duas leucas Naason,[35] de qua legitur in Thobia. Et inde ad eandem plagam ad duas leucas[b] Dothaym[36] opidum ualde amenum sub monte Bethulie,[37] ubi Ioseph inuenit fratres suos, et Helysaeus circumdatus est a Syriis, et duxit[c] eos in medium ciuitatis Samariae.[38]

De Neptalim et Bethsaida ciuitatibus, et de castello Magdalo

B25. De Naason ad duas leucas contra orientem, et de Dothaym fere ad tres[a] est Neptalim[39] ciuitas Thobie, nunc casale ualde modicum. De Neptalim ad duas[b] leucas contra orientem supra mare Galilee est Bethsaida[40] ciuitas Andree et Petri et Philippi apostolorum. Inde ad

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B21 [a] monte *add. Be* [b] Cedes *UWb* [c–c] mensa *LoUWaWb*; et mensa *BeM* [d] *om. M*

B22 [a] dicitur *BeM* [b] fluentibus *M* [c–c] *om. Wb*

B23 [a] *om. U* [b] Accaron *Be*; Akaron *MU* [c] orientem *Wb* [d] Cedes siue *add. Wb* [e] *BeLo+*; *om. W.* [f] quinque *Wb*; *om. W* [g] Accon *LoWa*; Accaron/Akaron *BeMUWb* [h] partis *add. Wb* [i] Accon *LoWa*; Accaron/Akaron *BeMUWb* [j] *BeLo+*; castellum *W*

B24 [a] *Wb reverses this and the next paragraph* [b] *add. Be* [c] *BeLo+*; eduxit *W*

B25 [a] leucas *add. BeWaWb* [b] tres *Wb*

About the Mount and about the Table

B21. From Safad 2 leagues east beside the Sea of Galilee at a short distance is the Mount called the Table, on which the Lord fed five thousand men, and gave a sermon to the disciples, and, on descending, touched a leper.[31]

About the region of Trachonitis

B22. The region called Trachonitis[32] is so called because that land is totally lacking in flowing rivers, and its inhabitants bring water from rainwater collected in both water-troughs and cisterns through underground channels from one place to the required place, that they may nourish themselves and their herds.

The following is about the fourth, eastern, part of the land

B23. The beginning of this part, as of all the others, starts in Acre. It proceeds directly to the equinoctial rising of the sun by the southern side of the castle of Safad, at the foot of the mountain called 'The Table', where after the resurrection the Lord appeared to seven disciples as they fished.[33] As one moves, therefore, from Acre through the first division of the fourth, eastern, part to the fifth mile from Acre, one meets a village called St George, where the same saint is said to have been born.[34]

About Naason and Dothan

B24. Almost two leagues south is Naason,[35] mentioned in the story of Tobias, and thence two leagues towards the same district, is Dothan,[36] a very beautiful city under the mountain of Bethulia,[37] where Joseph found his brothers, and where Elisha was surrounded by the Syrians and led them into the middle of the city of Samaria.[38]

About the cities of Naphtali and Beth-saida and the castle of Magdala

B25. Two leagues east of Naason, and almost 3 leagues from Dothan, Naphtali,[39] the city of Tobias, is now a very small village; 2 leagues east of Naphtali beside the Sea of Galilee is Beth-saida,[40] the city of the

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[31] LV, nn. 137, 138, 141.
[32] LV, n. 23.
[33] John 21: 1–14.
[34] LV, nn. 164, 170.
[35] LV, n. 172.
[36] LV, n. 173.
[37] LV, n. 174.
[38] 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 6: 18–23.
[39] LV, n. 180.
[40] LV, n. 175.

duas leucas contra meridiem est Magdalum[c] [41]castellum supra mare Galilee, a quo Maria Magdalene dicitur oriunda, cuius[d] domum uidi et intraui ibidem.

De loco ubi stetit Iesus in littore maris, quando dixit septem discipulis piscantibus: 'Pueri! numquid pulmentarium habetis?'

B26. De Bethsaida [a]ad unam leucam[a] contra orientem[b] est locus, ubi stetit Iesus in littore maris, quando dixit discipulis septem: 'Pueri! numquid pulmentarium habetis?'[42] cuius adhuc[c] uestigia in lapide ostenduntur, et inde non ad mediatem iactus lapidis est locus ubi uiderunt prunas positas et piscem positum[d] et panem: Et est in pede montis, in quo pauit[e] quinque milia hominum, et sanauit leprosum, et fecit sermonem.

De ciuitate Caphernaum et Corrosaim ciuitate et monte Seir et Cedar ciuitate

B27. De loco isto ad[a] leucam et dimidiam[b] contra orientem est Capharnaum,[43] ciuitas quondam gloriosa, ut eius adhuc ruinae ostendunt, sed nunc ualde uilis, ita ut iam[c] fere impletum sit uerbum Iesu Christi: 'Et tu Capharnaum, si in celum ascenderis,[d] in infernum demergeris.'[e] De Capharnaum ad duas leucas contra orientem Iordanis fluuius intrat mare Galilee, [f]in cuius altiori[g] littore uidentur adhuc ruinae Corrosaim[44] in littore maris Galilee.[f] In hoc loco incipit ascensus montis Seyr, siue Idumee. De Corrosaim ad quattuor leucas contra orientem in monte Seir est sita ciuitas Cedar,[45] munitissima, et quondam gloriosa [h]ualde, in alto monte sita.[h]

De Cana Galilaeae

B28. In secunda diuisione huius quartae[a] orientalis primo post Accon[b] ad quattuor leucas occurrit Chana Galilee,[46] ubi Dominus aquas conuertit in uinum, et ostenditur hodie ibi locus ubi steterunt ydriae, et triclinium ubi erant mense. Sunt tamen hec loca, sicut omnia loca terre sancte ubi legitur Dominus aliqua [c]operatus esse,[c] sub terra,[d] descenditur ab ea interdum per multos gradus, ut locus annuntiationis, natiuitatis et iste[e] in Chana Galilee, et cetera[f] fere omnia[g] loca sancta,

[c] magnum *Wb* [d] eius *W*

B26 [a-a] duas leucas *Be* [b] et de Dothaim fere ad tres leucas *add. U* [c] ibidem *add. UWaWb* [d] suppositum *Wa*; super positum *BeM* [e] Dominus *add. U*

B27 [a] unam *add. MWb* [b] mediam *Be* [c] *om. BeLoM* [d] *BeLo+*; exaltaberis *W* [e] submergeris *Wb* [f-f] *om. U* [g] ulteriori *Lo* [h-h] *om. W*

B28 [a] partis *add. LoWb* [b] Akaron *MUWb* [c-c] fecisse *Wb* [d] et *add. LoM* [e] locus *add. Wb* [f] *om. Wb* [g] *om. Wb*

apostles Andrew, Peter, and Philip. From there 2 leagues to the south is Magdala,[41] a castle beside the Sea of Galilee. Mary Magdalene is said to have been born here; I saw and entered her house there.

About the place where Jesus stood on the seashore, when he said to his seven disciples as they were fishing: 'Children! Have you any food?'

B26. One league east of Beth-saida is the place where Jesus stood on the seashore when he said to his seven disciples: 'Children! Have you any food?'[42] His footprints are shown on a stone to this day, and not half a stone's throw away is the place where they saw the coals placed and the fish set on them and the bread: it lies at the foot of the mountain where he fed five thousand people, and cleansed the leper, and preached his sermon.

About the city of Capernaum, and Chorazin, and Mount Seir, and the city of Kedar

B27. From that place a league and a half to the east is Capernaum,[43] once a splendid city, as its ruins show to this day, but now extremely squalid, so that the word of Jesus Christ, 'And you Capernaum, if you ascend into heaven, you shall go down, even to hell', might already be nearly fulfilled. Two leagues to the east of Capernaum the River Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee, on whose further shore are seen to this day the ruins of Chorazin,[44] on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. Here begins the ascent to Mount Seir, or Idumaea; from Chorazin at 4 leagues to the east on Mount Seir is located the city of Kedar,[45] well fortified, once very splendid, set on a high mountain.

About Cana of Galilee

B28. In the second division of this fourth eastern section, in the first part, four leagues after Acre, one meets Cana of Galilee,[46] where the Lord turned the water into wine; there is shown there today the place where the water pots stood, and the triclinium where the tables were placed. However, these places, like all in the Holy Land where the Lord is said to have performed his works, are below ground; one sometimes descends below ground by many steps, as in the case of the place of the annunciation, the place of the nativity, and that place in Cana of

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[41] LV, n. 183.
[42] LV, nn. 146, 147.
[43] LV, nn. 150, 151.
[44] LV, n. 152.
[45] LV, nn. 111, 153, 162.
[46] LV, n. 228.

cuius non puto esse aliam causam, nisi[h] per frequentes destructiones ruine [i]que sint superius[i] sunt complanate, et nihilominus Christiani semper uera loca, in quibus hoc uel hoc accidit, inuestigare[j] nituntur, quantum possunt.

De monte Bethulie et ciuitate Thiberias

B29. Deinde uersus Thyberiadem supra Dothaim est mons Bethulie,[47] ubi Iudith occidit Holofernem, locus munitus ualde, sed penitus desertus, ubi[a] locum castrorum[b] Holofernis et uallem in qua se lauit Iudith, et quam[c] gyrauit in Bethuliam redeundo, diligentissime inuestigaui. Nam in Dothaim mansi una nocte. De Bethulia ad sex[d] leucas supra mare Galilee Thyberias ciuitas,[48] olim Generoth dicta, est. Vnde mare Galilee [e]aliquando mare[e] Generoth dicebatur, sed ab Herode Tetrarcha Thyberias est appellata: Est autem ciuitas magna ualde, et sunt ibi balnea medicinalia in littore maris, et est terra eius in circuitu fertilis supra modum.

De ciuitate Sephorum, Nazareth et monte Thabor

B30. De Cana Galilee ad duas leucas contra austrum est Sephorum ciuitas,[49] de qua narratur Ioachim, pater beatae[a] Virginis Mariae,[b] oriundus fuisse. Inde ad duas leucas fere contra austrum,[c] aliquantulum declinando ad orientem, sita est Nazareth[d] benedicta,[e] [50]ubi flos ille florum de radice Iesse pullulauit: distat autem ab Accon[f] per septem[g] leucas. De Nazareth ad tres leucas mons est Thabor,[51] in quo transfiguratus est Dominus, ubi hodie ostenditur locus [h]trium tabernaculorum. In pede eius,[h] ostenditur locus[i] ubi Melchisedech occurrit Abrahe a cede regum reuertenti.[52] In hoc monte sunt ruine maxime palatiorum et diuersorum edificiorum, in quibus latitant leones et multe alie bestie, et sunt ibi regales uenationes in bestiis et auibus. In descensu eiusdem montis contra occidentem est una capella, ubi dixit Dominus: 'Nemini dixeritis uisionem.'[53]

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[h] quia *add. Lo*; quod *M* [i–i] sicut superius *Be*; superius *LoWaWb*; *U* superius que; sicut supra *M* [j] ad ea inuestiganda *BeLoWa*; ea inuestiganda *MUWb*

B29 [a] uidi *Wa*; uidi etiam ibi *Wb* [b] *om. UWb* [c] intrauit *add. Wa*; intrauit et *UWb* [d] tres *M*; quinque *Lo* [e–e] *om. U*

B30 [a] inclute *Wa*; *om. Wb* [b] *om. BeUWa* [c] sed *add. BeLoWaWb* [d] ciuitas *add. Be*+; ciuitas sita in regione illa *add. M* [e] illa dilecta *LoMWaWb* [f] Akaron *MUWb* [g] quinque *Wb* [h–h] *om. BeM* [i] ostenditur locus *om. W*

Galilee, and almost all other local holy places, for which I do not think there is any other reason but that by frequent destructions the ruins above have been levelled. Nonetheless Christians always go to extreme lengths to investigate the true places in which this or that happened.

About the mountain of Bethulia and the city of Tiberias

B29. Next, towards Tiberias, beside Dothan, is the mountain of Bethulia,[47] where Judith killed Holofernes, a place strongly fortified, but completely deserted. Here I most carefully investigated the place of the camp of Holofernes and the valley in which Judith washed herself and which she compassed in returning to Bethulia. For I remained in Dothan one night. Six leagues from Bethulia by the Sea of Galilee is the city of Tiberias,[48] once called Chinnereth, from which the Sea of Galilee was once called the Sea of Chinnereth, but by Herod the Tetrarch the city was named Tiberias. It is a very great city; there are medicinal baths there on the seashore, and its territory round about is fertile beyond measure.

About the cities of Sepphoris, Nazareth, and about Mount Tabor

B30. From Cana of Galilee 2 leagues south is the city of Sepphoris,[49] where Joachim, the father of the blessed Virgin Mary, is said to have had his origin. From there almost 2 leagues a little east of south, is located blessed Nazareth,[50] where sprouted that flower of flowers from the root of Jesse. It is 7 leagues distant from Acre. Three leagues from Nazareth is Mount Tabor,[51] on which the Lord was transfigured, where today is shown the place of the three tabernacles. At the foot of the mountain is shown the place where Melchizedek met Abraham as he returned from the slaughter of the kings.[52] On this mountain are great ruins of palaces and various buildings, in which lions and many other beasts have their lairs, and royal hunts for beasts and birds are held there. At the descent of the same mountain to the west is a chapel, where the Lord said: 'Tell the vision to no man.'[53]

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[47] LV, nn. 174, 234.

[48] LV, n. 237.

[49] LV, nn. 230, 246. For Joachim, see the Protoevangelium of St James, in *Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. James, pp. 38–49.

[50] LV, n. 248.

[51] LV, n. 256.

[52] Gen. 14: 18–24.

[53] Matt. 17: 9; Luke 9: 37.

De torrente Cison et monte Hermon et ciuitate Naym

B31. In descensu eius orientali est torrens Cison,[54] ubi Barach pugnauit cum Zizara, ultra torrentem contra austrum, sed aliquantulum ad orientem, est mons Hermonim[a] modicus[55] ut[b] dicitur in Psalmo. In cuius latere super torrentem Cison est illa Endor,[56] ubi ad instantiam Saulis Phytonissa suscitauit Samuelem. Inde de Nazareth ad quattuor leucas, de monte Thabor [c]ad tres[c] est[d] alter[e] mons Hermon[57] in cuius latere aquilonari est ciuitas Naim,[58] ubi suscitauit Dominus filium uiduae, extra portam. Iste mons ab isto[f] loco extenditur [g]contra orientem uersus mare Galilee fere ad quinque leucas,[g] et terminatur non longe a loco ubi Iordanis ingreditur mare Galileae.

De monte Carmelo et monte Chaim et Mageddo

B32. In tertia diuisione huius quartae partis orientalis de Accon[a] ad quattuor leucas contra austrum est pars prima montis Carmeli, et locus ubi Helias occidit sacerdotes Baal in torrente Cison, in pede montis eiusdem.[59] Postea ad tres leucas bonas est mons[b] Chanum,[c] [60] ubi Lamech occidit Cayn. Postea Maggedo mons,[61] ubi mortuus est Ochozias rex Iuda, ubi etiam occisus est Iosias rex Iuda a rege Egypti. Huic loco adiacet campus magnus, [d]qui[e] Magedo dicebatur,[f] sed in Iudith dicitur campus magnus[d] Esdrelon.[62] Est autem in rei ueritate campus iste planities Galilaee, quae cingitur ab oriente mari Galilaee et Iordane, ab austro monte Effarim [g]et Samarie, ab occidente partim monte Effraym,[g] et partim monte Carmelo, ab aquilone montibus Phoenicie, qui planitiem[h] diuidunt et Galileam, et habet in longitudine plene quinque millaria Theutonica uel amplius, fertilis supra modum uini et frumenti, et omnium[i] bonorum, que gignere solet humus, et aere saluberrimo, si esset in manu Christianorum.[63]

B31 [a] Hermon *U* [b] unde *BeMUWb* [c-c] *om. Wb* [d] mons hic *add. U*
[e] altus *Lo*; *Be+* [f] illo *add. Wa*; eodem *UWb* [g-g] *om. Be*

B32 [a] Akaron *MUWb* [b] Borax uel *Wb* [c] Cayn *BeWa*; Chayn *Lo*; Kaym *Wb*; Kayp *U*; Chaym *M* [d-d] *om. M* [e] campus *add. LoWaWb* [f] uocabatur *U* [g-g] *om. BeWb*; parte monte Effraim *om. U* [h] Pheniciam *Lo* [i] aliorum *U*

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[54] LV, n. 260.
[55] LV, n. 263.
[56] LV, n. 262.

About the torrent of Kishon and Mount Hermon and the city of Nain

B31. On the eastern descent of Mount Tabor lies the torrent of Kishon,[54] where Barach fought against Sisera. Beyond the torrent to the south, but a little eastwards, is the little hill of Hermon,[55] as mentioned in the Psalm. On its flank, beside the torrent of Kishon, is that En-dor,[56] where at the instance of Saul the witch raised Samuel. Next, four leagues from Nazareth and three from Mount Tabor is the other Mount Hermon.[57] On its northern side is the city of Nain,[58] where the Lord raised the widow's son, outside the gate. From that spot the mountain extends eastwards towards the Sea of Galilee for almost 5 leagues, and ends not far from the place where the Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee.

About Mount Carmel and Mount Cain and Megiddo

B32. In the third division of this fourth eastern sector, four leagues south of Acre is the first part of Mount Carmel, and the place where Elijah killed the priests of Baal at the torrent of Kishon, at the foot of the same mountain.[59] Three good leagues after that is Caymont,[60] where Lamech killed Cain. After that comes the mountain of Megiddo,[61] where Ahaziah the king of Judah died, where also King Josiah of Judah was killed by the king of Egypt. Next to this place lies a great plain, called Megiddo; in Judith, however, this is called the great plain of Esdraelon.[62] But this plain is in fact the plain of Galilee, which is bounded on the east by the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, on the south by Mount Ephraim and Samaria, on the west partly by Mount Ephraim and partly by Mount Carmel, on the north by the mountains of Phoenicia, which divide the plain and Galilee; in length it is fully 5 German miles or more, and would be fertile beyond measure in wine and grain and all good things which the ground is accustomed to produce, and with a most healthy atmosphere, if it were in Christian hands.[63]

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[57] LV, n. 263. The 'other Mount Hermon' is clearly the hill of Moreh, with Nain on its northern side. Endor is on the slope of the 'little hill of Hermon' of Ps. 88 (89): 13 (12), which Burchard here seems to locate south-east of Mont Tabor and the Kishon.

[58] LV, 266.

[59] LV, nn. 267, 268.

[60] LV, n. 271.

[61] LV, nn. 273, 274.

[62] LV, nn. 279, 280.

[63] LV, n. 283.

De Ciuitatibus Sunam et Bethsan et fonte Iezrahel, et ciuitate quondam Regali Iezrahel nomine

B33. In latere montis[a] est ciuitas Sunam,[64] de qua fuit Sunamitis illa que suscepit Helisaeum, cuius filium etiam suscitauit: ubi Philistini castra metati sunt, quando Saul uenit in Gelboe, unde etiam[b] Sunamitis illa, que calefecit Dauid. Inter Iordanem et montem[c] Gelboe[d] est ciuitas antiqua Bethsan:[65] in cuius muris suspenderunt Philistei corpus Saul et filiorum eius, et est[e] deliciosus nimis. De Bethsan [f]quattuor leucis[f] in pede montis Gelboe fons est Ihezrael,[66] ad quem Philistini transtulerunt castra sua de Sunam ciuitate; de isto fonte ad dimidiam[g] leucam est Ihezrael ciuitas[67] quondam regalis, nunc uix habet uiginti domos in pede occidentali montis Gelboe sita, ubi adhuc uidi agrum Naboth Ihezrelite.

De montibus Gelboe et Hermon

B34. Mons Gelboe et Hermon[68] ita sunt dispositi, ut Hermon sit ab aquilone, et Gelboe ab austro, et in medio sit planities duarum[a] leucarum lata,[b] et quattuor leucarum longa, et protenditur longitudo eius ab occidente in orientem, et latitudo[c] ab aquilone ad austrum. In ista planitie sepe magni conflictus sunt habiti, ibi enim Gedeon superauit Madianites.[69] Item Saul superatus est a Philisteis,[70] et[d] alii etiam nostris temporibus. Tartari autem cum Sarracenis habuerunt ibidem[e] conflictum ualde[f] magnum.[71] Ista planities est principium uallis que dicitur illustris,[72] propter sui fertilitatem, et extenditur de fonte Ihezrahel usque ad planitiem Ihericho et finem Iordanis ad mare mortuum. Ihezrahel ciuitas sita est in pede occidentali montis Gelboe; Nec est uerum [g]quod dicitur[g] de monte Gelboe, quod in eo nec ros [h]nec pluuia[h] descendat; [i]quia cum in die sancti Martini[73] essem in ualle Ihezrahel sub monte[i] [j]uidi pluuiam maximam[j] supra in monte, cuius etiam aquae ad nos [k]de monte[k] descenderunt.[l] uerum est, quod [m]sterilis est et aridus et petrosus,[m] sicut pene omnes montes in Israel.

B33 [a] Hermon *add. UWaWb* [b] fuit *add. BeMWa* [c] *om. U* [d] deinde etiam *add. U* [e] locus *add. BeMWaWb* [f-f] ad decem leucas *M* [g] *Lo*+; mediam *BeW*

B34 [a] quadraginta *Wb* [b] *om. Lo* [c] altitudo *Be*; eius *add. UM* [d] plures *add. Lo* [e] B+; *om. W* [f] *om. M* [g-g] *Be*+; *om. W* [h-h] *om M.* [i-i] *om. U* [j-j] B+; pluuia maxima fuit *W*; uidi pluuiam magnam *M* [k-k] *om. Be* [l] fluxerunt *Wb* [m-m] steriles sunt et aridi et petrosi *Lo*

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[64] LV, n. 288.

[65] LV, n. 291.

[66] LV, nn. 292, 293, 294.

About the cities Shunem and Beth-shean, and the spring of Jezreel, and the once-royal city called Jezreel

B33. On the flank of the mountain is the city of Shunem,[64] the birthplace of the Shunammite woman who entertained Elisha and whose son he also raised. This was where the Philistines pitched their camp when Saul came to Gilboa, and was the home of that Shunammite woman who gave warmth to David. Between the Jordan and Mount Gilboa is the ancient city of Beth-shean,[65] on the walls of which the Philistines hanged the bodies of Saul and his sons. It is a place altogether too delightful. Four leagues from Beth-shean at the foot of Mount Gilboa is the fountain of Jezreel,[66] to which the Philistines transferred their camp from the city of Shunem. Half a league from that fountain lies Jezreel;[67] once a royal city, it now has scarcely twenty homes. It is set at the western foot of Mount Gilboa, where at the present day I have seen the field of Naboth the Jezreelite.

About Mount Gilboa and Mount Hermon

B34. Mount Gilboa and Mount Hermon[68] are so arranged that Hermon lies on the north and Gilboa on the south; between them is a plain 2 leagues wide and 4 leagues long; its length extends from west to east, and its breadth from north to south. Many great battles have been fought on that plain; for there Gideon defeated the Midianites,[69] Saul was defeated by the Philistines,[70] and there have been other battles also in our own times. The Tartars had a great battle in the same place with the Saracens.[71] That plain is the head of the valley called 'famous'[72] on account of its fertility, and it reaches from the fountain of Jezreel as far as the plain of Jericho and the end of the Jordan at the Dead Sea. The city of Jezreel is located at the western foot of Mount Gilboa. The story about Mount Gilboa, that neither dew nor rain descends upon it, is not true; for when on St Martin's Day[73] I was in the valley of Jezreel below the mountain, I saw a great amount of rain above upon the mountain, water which descended from the mountain upon us. It is true that it is sterile, dry, and rocky, as are almost all the mountains in Israel.

[67] LV 45, n. 295.
[68] LV, n. 263.
[69] Judg. 6: 33–8: 12.
[70] 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 1–13.
[71] LV, n. 302.
[72] LV, n. 304.
[73] LV, n. 309.

De Galilaea et ciuitates Samaria, dicta Sebaste

B35. Galilaea fere tota est campestris et[a] plana; sed Samaria est omnino[b] montuosa. Samaria ciuitas nunc Sebaste dicta,[74] quondam caput regni[c] Israel, nunc, peccatis exigentibus, nec unicam habet domum, [d]nisi tantum duas ecclesias,[75] in summitate montis unam,[d] ubi quondam [e]fuit palatium regis, in proximo ubi[e] decollatus[f] dicitur sanctus Ioannes Baptista ab incolis Grecis, demonstrantes ibidem carcerem, de quo eum decollatum dicunt, quod tamen falsum reputo, quia[g] Cronica et Iosephus dicunt eum decollatum[h] in castro Macheronta,[76] quod est ultra Iordanem in terra Galaad, scilicet duarum tribuum et dimidie, et nichil omnino potestatis habuit Herodes in Samaria, sed erat Iudea et Samaria in procuratione Pilati. Secunda[i] ecclesia etiam in honore sancti[j] Ioannis Baptiste, in qua sepultus fuit inter Heliseum et Abdiam,[77] et uidi sepulchrum eius, sed non intraui, quia Saraceni fecerunt sibi inde mameriam.[k] Tales autem ruinas non uidi in terra sancta, cum tamen multas et magnas uiderim, sicut[l] in Samaria, nec est ita disposita ciuitas, ut uidetur uelle Magister [m]in historia[m] super uerbo isto: 'Si suffecerit puluis Samarie pugillis omnis populi qui sequitur me.'[78] Videtur enim uelle, quod murus ciuitatis et superficies montis erat equalis, et desuper ciuitas edificata, quod non erat; imo murus ciuitatis erat [n]equalis, et desuper ciuitas[n] fere in pede montis, firma ualde turribus, et interius mons paulatim surgens[o] in altum et circumseptus aedificiis, quasi botrus uuae granis consitus, [p]et tendens[p] in altum.

B36. Regia[a] domus erat[b] supra in monte pulchra nimis, ubi uidentur[c] columne innumerabiles, que sustentabant pallatia et deambulatoria, et in circuitu montis infra domum regiam et mansiones militum, in loco ubi erat [d]rerum uenalium forum, adhuc fere per totum circuitum circumdant[de] columne marmoree montem[f] stantes hinc inde, que continebant testudines platearum. Breuiter, nescio quid magni non possit dici de ciuitate ista, que[g] ad tantam miseriam nunc deuenit,[h] ut nulla penitus sit in ea domus, sed sit tantum uinea et ortus holeorum;[79]

B35 [a] in Israhel *M* [b] tota *Wb* [c] *om. Wb* [d–d] *om. Be* [e–e] *om. U* [f] quondam decollatus *BeWaWb* [g] et *add. BeUWa* [h] esse *add. UWa*; fuisse *Wb* [i] *BeLoMV*; sed est *W* [j] beati *Be* [k] *LoUWaWb*; maneriem *BeMW* [l] uidi *add. Wb* [m–m] *om. BeMWb* [n–n] *om. LoUWaWb* [o] ascendens *M* [p–p] extendit *U*

B36 [a] regine *Be* [b] *Be+* [c] adhuc *add. UWb* [d–d] *om. U* [e] circumdant *Be+*; montis sunt *Wb* [f] *om. Wb* [g] quare *Be* [h] peruenit *M*

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[74] LV, n. 312.

[75] LV, nn. 312, 316.

About Galilee and the city of Samaria, called Sebaste

B35. Galilee is almost entirely a plain, and flat; but Samaria is mountainous throughout. The city of Samaria, now called Sebaste,[74] was once the capital of the kingdom of Israel; now, as its sins demand, it has not a single house, but only two churches,[75] one at the top of the mountain where once was the king's palace, next to where the Greek inhabitants say St John the Baptist was beheaded. They show there the prison from which they say he was beheaded, but I think that false, since the Chronicles and Josephus say he was beheaded in the castle of Machaerus,[76] which is beyond Jordan in the land of Gilead, the land of the two and a half tribes, and since Herod had no authority at all in Samaria; but Judaea and Samaria were in the procuratorship of Pilate. There is also a second church, in honour of Saint John the Baptist, in which he was buried between Elisha and Obadiah;[77] I saw his sepulchre but did not enter, because the Saracens have made for themselves a mosque of it. I have not seen such ruins in the Holy Land as in Samaria (though I have seen many and great ruins), and the city is not in the state that the Master in his History might have in mind, to judge from 'when he writes on that text, "If the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me"'.[78] For I think he means that the wall of the city and the top of the mountain were equal in height, and that the city was built below, which was not the case; the wall of the city was level with the bottom, and, below, the city was almost at the foot of the mountain, stiff with towers, the mountain inside rising gradually to the top and hedged about with buildings, like a grape-cluster set with seeds, and reaching upwards.

B36. The royal house is above on the mountain, exceptionally beautiful, where are seen innumerable columns which supported the palaces and colonnades. Encircling the mountain at the bottom, below the royal house and the lodgings of the knights, on the site of the marketplace, to this day almost round the whole circuit marble columns standing on either side surround the mountain; they used to uphold the vaulting of the streets. In brief, I do not know what great thing could not be told of this city, which has now come to such a state of wretchedness, that no house remains standing in it but only a vineyard and a garden of olives.[79]

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[76] LV, n. 320.
[77] LV, n. 314, 316.
[78] LV, n. 322; cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 20: 10.
[79] LV, n. 323.

et sicut uoluit facere rex[i] Achab iuxta pallatium suum [j]quod habuit[j] in Samaria, de uinea Naboth Ihezrahelitae,[k] sic iusto Dei iudicio factum est Samarie.[l] Situs[m] urbis erat pulcher ualde, inde enim erat prospectus usque ad mare Ioppes et usque ad Antipatridam[80] et Ramatam, per totum montem[n] Effraim usque ad Cesaream et Carmelum mare,[o] et habundabat fontibus et hortis et omnibus bonis, que requirit[p] mundus.

De ciuitate Thersa et montibus Bethel et Dan et ciuitate Sichem, &c.

B37. De Samaria ad tres leucas Thersa ciuitas[81] in monte sita est, in qua erat regnum priusquam in Samaria. De Sebaste contra austrum duabus leucis mons Bethel.[a] Inde ad dimidiam[b] leucam est mons Dan[82] supra ciuitatem Sichem ad sinistram. In quibus duobus montibus Iheroboam, filius Nabath, posuit duos uitulos aureos. Inter montes istos[83] sita est Sichem ciuitas, que[c] Neapolis dicitur,[84] omni amenitate habundans, ut uere locus delitiarum dici possit; sed munita non est, nec ullo modo potest muniri, nec aliud restat nisi quod hostibus ab aquilone intrantibus, ciues ad austrum fugiant,[d] si sint pauciores.

De puteo Iacob et monte Garizym et Galgala et monte Quarantena et fonte Helisei, et ciuitate Iericho, &c.

B38. Non longe a porta eius est puteus Iacob,[85] ubi Dominus sedit sitiens super fontem. Super[a] fontem illum ad dextram est mons[b] Garizim,[86] ubi est adhuc antiquum phanum Iouis, et est[c] hospitale, de quo dicitur secundo libro[d] Machabeorum,[87] quem etiam locum mulier intrasse[e] dicitur, cum dixit ad dominum: ‘Patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt.’[88] Ad sinistram autem fontis Iacob ostenditur[f] [g]predium et mansio Iacob[g] quod dedit Iacob[h] Iosep filio suo.[89] Galgala ubi castra metati sunt filii Israel, transito Iordane est sub monte Quarentene, ubi et circumcisi sunt, et multa alia facta sunt, pluribus nota.[90] [i]De Galgalis ad dimidiam[j] leucam est mons Quarentene,[91] ubi ieiunauit Dominus

[i] eius *add.* *BeUWaWb* [j–j] *Be*+; *om.* *W* [k] ortum holeorum *add.* *W* [l] *W*; *om.* *Be*+ [m] huius *add.* *LoUWa* [n] mundum *BeM* [o] maris *LoMWaWb* [p] querit *W*

B37 [a] *om.* *Lo* [b] *Lo*+; mediam *BeW* [c] nunc *add.* *Lo* [d] fugiendo exiant *Lo*

B38 [a] *BeLo* supra [b] *Lo*+; fons *Be* [c] ibi *add.* *Be*+ [d] *om.* *W* [e] nobis intimasse *M* [f] adhuc *add.* *UWb*; hec *BeLoWa* [g–g] mansio Jacob et predium *Be*+ [h] *om.* *Wb* [i–i] *om.* *U* [j] mediam *BeW*

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[80] LV, n. 324.
[81] LV, n. 325.
[82] LV, n. 327, 328.
[83] LV, n. 330.
[84] LV, n. 331.

As Ahab its king wanted to do with the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite which was near his palace in Samaria, so by the just judgement of God it was done to Samaria. The position of this city was indeed beautiful, for from it there was a view as far as the sea at Joppa and as far as Antipatris[80] and Ramathaim, through the whole of Mount Ephraim as far as Caesarea and Carmel by the sea, and it abounded in fountains and gardens and in all those good things which the world seeks.

About the cities of Tirzah and the mountains of Bethel and Dan and Shechem, &c.

B37. On a mountain 3 leagues from Samaria is set the city of Tirzah,[81] which was formerly the capital in Samaria. Two leagues south of Sebaste is the mountain of Bethel. Half a league from here is Mount Dan,[82] beside the city of Shechem to the left. In these two mountains Jeroboam the son of Naboth placed two golden calves. Between those mountains[83] is set the city of Shechem, which is called Neapolis;[84] it abounds in every amenity, so that it can truly be called a place of delights. But it is not defended, nor can it in any way be defended, nor when enemies invade from the north have the citizens, if fewer than the enemy, any option but to flee to the south.

About the well of Jacob and Mount Gerizim and Gilgal and Mount Quarantena and the fountain of Elisha, and the city of Jericho, &c.

B38. Not far from the gate of Shechem is Jacob's Well,[85] where the Lord sat thirsty at the head of the well. Above the well to the right is Mount Gerizim,[86] where there is to this day the ancient shrine of Jove. There is there a hospice, mentioned in the second book of the Maccabees.[87] This is also the place which the woman is said to have entered when she said to the Lord: 'Our fathers adored on this mountain.'[88] But on the left of the well of Jacob is shown the estate and house of Jacob which Jacob gave to his son Joseph.[89] Gilgal, where the children of Israel encamped after the passing of Jordan, is below Jebel Quruntul, where they were circumcised and where many other things were done, noted by many.[90] Half a league from Gilgal is Jebel Quruntul,[91]

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[85] LV, n. 332.

[86] LV, n. 333.

[87] LV, nn. 335, 336. The abbreviator, unlike Burchard, quotes 2 Maccabees (presumably 2 Macc. 6: 2) where the adjective 'hospitalis' is an epithet of the god Jupiter: 'to call it [the Jerusalem temple] the temple of Jupiter Olympius: and that in Gazarim of Jupiter Hospitalis'. The abbreviator's text appears to apply the adjective 'hospitale' to the shrine (*phanum*).

[88] John 4: 20.

[89] Gen. 48: 22.

[90] LV, n. 361.

[91] LV, n. 362.

quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, et tentatus est.[j] Sub ipso monte oritur et effluit fons Helisei, quem de sterili fertilem, de amaro [k]dulcem et[k] potabilem fecit.[l][92] De Galgalis ad unam leucam est Ericho,[93] ciuitas quondam nobilis, nunc ita humilis, ut nec uestigium sit,[m] quod fuerit ibi ciuitas.

De Iordane et mari mortuo

B39. De Ericho sunt duae leucae ad Iordanem contra orientem, ubi ostenditur capella [a]in honore[a] sancti Ioannis Baptiste,[94] ubi Christus creditur[b] baptizatus fuisse. [c]Putatur tamen a nonnullis Christus baptizatus fuisse[c] iuxta Helim[d] et Sallim,[95] non longe a monte[e] Gelboe, in Bethania, quae est supra Iordanem. Tribus leucis de Ericho, et duabus de capella sancti Ioannis[f] ad austrum ubi est mare mortuum. In huius litore orientali sita est Segor[96] in parte Arabie, ubi est statua salis,[97] in quam uersa fuit uxor Loth, ad quam uidendam[g] multum anhelabam; sed dixerunt mihi Saraceni in Ericho, quod distabat per [h]duas dietas,[h] et[i] erant loca per que transiturus essem nimis[j] periculosa[k] propter leones et uermes et bestias alias. Praeterea Budwyni[l] que sunt Medianite excubabant in locis illis, agentes custodias circa camelos et dromedarios et pecora sua, qui sunt homines omnino syluestres, numquam sub tecto, sed semper sub diuo[m] degentes, qui nulli parcunt sexui uel aetati, sed sunt latrones et fures crudelissimi, et omne quod eis occurrit, occidunt et expoliant.[n] Et dixit mihi Admiraldus de Ericho, quod uiginti Saraceni armati non possent transire loca illa. Sepe[o] etiam, ut dicebant, mare illud excrescit, ita ut operiat statuam illam totam. Sepe tamen uidetur usque ad pectus uel usque ad genua, loco medio stans inter ciuitatem Segor[p] et mare. Isti exterruerunt[q] me quod non processi.

B40. Mare illud habet in latitudine[a] sex leucas, [b]semper fumans[b] et est tenebrosum de uaporibus, quasi sit caminus inferni. Multa alia dicuntur de ipso, quae melius ipse noscitis,[c] et ideo[d] pertranseo, mitius[e] enim dicitur et scribitur de ipso quam sit in rei ueritate. Scire enim debetis pro certo, quia quod oculis uidi et plures alii mecum, secure possum dicere, quod de uapore huius maris tota conuallis, que dicebatur et

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[k–k] *om. LoWaWb* [l] Dominus *add. UWaWb* [m] appareat *Wb*

B39 [a–a] *om. UWaWb* [b] dicitur *W* [c–c] *om. Wb* [d] Elunim *BeLo*; Olim *M*; Ennon *U*; Elunim Eimon *Wa*; Ermon *Wb* [e] *om. Wb* [f] baptiste *add. UWWb* [g] *om. Be* [h–h] unam dietam *UWb* [i] de Ericho et *UWb* [j] multum *UWaWb* [k] *om. M* [l] Bruteni *Wb* [m] diis *M* [n] despoliant *Lo* [o] *Be+*; semper *W* [p] *Be+*; *om. W* [q] *W*; retraxerunt *Be+*

B40 [a] plene *add. LoWaWb*; fere plene *U* [b–b] *Be+*; *om. W* [c] noscis *BeLoUWa*; scitis *Wb* [d] nihilominus *add. M* [e] magis *UWaWb*

where the Lord fasted forty days and nights and was tempted. Under this mountain is the origin and outflow of the spring of Elisha, which he made fertile from being sterile, sweet and drinkable from being bitter.[92] From Gilgal it is one league to Jericho,[93] a city once noble but now so reduced that there is no sign that a city had been there.

About the Jordan and the Dead Sea

B39. From Jericho the Jordan lies 2 leagues to the east. Here is shown a chapel in honour of John the Baptist,[94] where Christ is believed to have been baptized. Some think, however, that Christ was baptized near Elim and Salim,[95] not far from Mount Gilboa, in Bethany which is beyond the Jordan. To the south, three leagues from Jericho and two from the chapel of Saint John is the Dead Sea. On its eastern shore, in part of Arabia, is located Zoar,[96] where there is the statue of salt[97] into which Lot's wife was turned, which I was very eager to see. But the Saracens in Jericho said to me that it was two days' journey distant, and that the areas through which I was to cross were too dangerous, on account of lions, snakes, and other wild beasts. Moreover, the Bedouin Midianites were vigilant in these regions, keeping watch over the camels, dromedaries, and herds; these men were completely wild, never living under a roof but always in the open air; they spared neither sex nor age, but were brigands and robbers of the cruellest type, killing and robbing everything that came their way. The Admiraldus of Jericho told me that twenty armed Saracens could not traverse those regions. Often also, it was said, the sea overflowed, so that it concealed that whole statue; often, however, standing between the city of Zoar and the sea, it was visible only as far as its knees or its chest. They held me back from going further.

B40. The sea is fully six leagues in width, is always smoking and dark with fumes, as if it were the chimney of hell. People say many other things of it, which you know better, and so I pass over them; for what is said and written about it is less than the reality. For you should know for a fact (because what I, and others with me, have seen with our eyes, I can tell without fear) that the whole valley, which was called and could

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[92] LV, n. 365.
[93] LV, n. 369.
[94] LV, n. 370.
[95] LV, nn. 306, 371.
[96] LV, n. 380.
[97] LV, n. 382.

uere poterat dici illustris,[f] a fine australi eiusdem maris, qui est in deserto Pharan usque ad terram Taphue, fere per decem dietas, ita est reddita inutilis, ut nec gramen proferat, nec germen[g] aliud omnino per totam longitudinem suam et latitudinem, que fere ubique est quinque uel sex leucarum, nisi tantum iuxta Iericho, ubi palme et calamelle[h] eriguntur[i] de fonte Helysei. O tremendum iudicium Dei qui ita peccatum persequitur Sodomorum, quod etiam terra ut ita dicam[j] poenas luat incolarum ultra quattuor millia annorum.[k] Nam a dextris nihilominus[l] et sinistris omnes montes steriles sunt ad quinque uel ad sex leucas. Praeterea ipse Iordanis aquas suas non[m] admiscet ipsi mari, sed absorbetur[98] a terra ad unam leucam priusquam illuc ueniat. Mare tamen inundare dicitur de pluuiis et niuibus montium circumiacentium, uel de terra Moab et Ammon et aliarum regionum. Crescunt etiam iuxta idem mare illud poma pulcherrima et magna,[n] que interius plena sunt de fauillis.

De ciuitatibus Bethel Luza et palma Debborae, et Anathoth, et Adomyn

B41. Bethel[99] est etiam ciuitas in tribu Beniamin, ubi Iacob uadens in Mesopotamiam dormiuit supra nudam humum, et lapidem supponens capiti,[a] uidit scalam tangentem celos[b] etc.[100] Errant autem[c] qui hoc[d] Ierosolimis factum dicunt,[e] quia eo tempore, [f]immo multo[f] prius, Ierusalem erat ciuitas gloriosa. Iuxta hanc est[g] Luza,[101] que est in tribu Effraim. De Bethel ad unam leucam est palma[h] Debbore.[102] Medio loco inter palmam Debborae et Ierusalem, Anathot[103] uiculus[i] sacerdotum in tribu Beniamin, unde fuit Ieremias. De Iericho ad quattuor[j] leucas contra occidentem, in uia que ducit Ierusalem, ad sinistram deserti Quarentene, Adomin castellum,[k] [104] ubi ille qui descendit ab Ierusalem in Iericho, incidit in latrones, quod etiam [l]tempore moderno[l] multis ibidem contingit. Locus idem[m] theutonice Rotenburch appellatur, propter multum sanguinem fusum[n] ibi, est enim locus ille horribilis et periculosus ualde.[o]

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[f] propter sui firmitatem *add. M* [g] herbam *M* [h] reperiuntur uel *add. M* [i] *Be+*; oriuntur *W* [j] *Be+*; *om. W* [k] gallica *Wb* [l] *Be+*; *om. W* [m] *Lo*; *om. W+* [n] maxima *BeW*

B41 [a] suo *add. BeM* [b] *om. BeM*; celum et terram *V* [c] *Be+*; *om. W* [d] *add. LoWa* [e] *om. M* [f-f] *om. Be* [g] ciuitas *add. Wb* [h] *om. Wb* [i] *om. U* [j] decem *M* [k] casale *BeLoMU* [l-l] hodierno die *Be* [m] hodie quidem *add. Lo* [n] effusum *Wb* [o] teterrimus *add. Wb*

truly be called 'famous', from the southern end of that sea, which lies in the Desert of Paran, as far as the land of Tappuah, almost ten days' journey, is rendered so useless by the fumes of that sea that it produces no grass or other seed throughout its whole length or breadth, which almost everywhere is 5 or 6 leagues, except only near Jericho, where palms and sugar canes grow up from the spring of Elisha. What a fearful judgement thus pursues the sin of the people of Sodom, that even the land, so to speak, should pay the penalties of the inhabitants for over four thousand years already. To the right, no less, and to the left all the mountains are bare for 5 or 6 leagues. Further, the Jordan itself does not mix its waters with the sea, but it is absorbed[98] by the land for one league before it reaches the sea. The sea, however, is said to be filled with water from the rain and snows from the surrounding mountains, such as the lands of Moab and Ammon and other regions. There grow also by the same sea fruits which are most beautiful and large, but inside are full of ashes.

About the cities of Bethel and Luz and the palm of Deborah, and Anathoth, and Adummim

B41. Bethel[99] is a city in the tribe of Benjamin. Here Jacob on his way to Mesopotamia slept on the bare ground, and, placing a stone below his head, he saw a ladder reaching heaven, etc.[100] Those who say that this happened at Jerusalem are wrong, because at that time, indeed much earlier, Jerusalem was a glorious city. Nearby is Luz,[101] which is in the tribe of Ephraim. One league from Bethel is the palm of Deborah.[102] Midway between the palm of Deborah and Jerusalem lies Anathoth,[103] a village of priests in the tribe of Benjamin, the birthplace of Jeremiah. Four leagues to the west, on the road leading to Jerusalem, to the left of the desert of Quarentena, is the castle of Adummim,[104] where the man who descended from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, as also happens to many at the same place in modern times. That place is called in German Rotenburch, on account of the great quantity of blood shed there; for it is a fearsome and very dangerous place.

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[98] LV, n. 385.
[99] LV, n. 393.
[100] Gen. 28: 11–22.
[101] LV, n. 394.
[102] LV, nn. 400, 406.
[103] LV, n. 407.
[104] LV, n. 415.

De Bethania Baurym et Bethphage et Silo et Bethoron

B42. Inde ad duas leucas contra occidentem Bahurim,[105] unde fuit Semei qui maledixit Dauid, in alto monte situm. [a]Inde ad mediam leucam usque in Ierusalem.[a] Bethphage[b] [106] est in medio [c]sita, et transit uia[c] in latere australi montis Oliueti habens[d] ad sinistram[e] montem[f] offensionis[g][107] et uallem Gehennom. De Ierusalem quattuor[h] leucas contra aquilonem est Silo,[108] ubi primitus fuit tabernaculum foederis[i] multis diebus. Inde ad unam leucam Bethoron superior[j] [109] ad dextram euntibus Ierusalem iuxta uiam.[k]

De ciuitate Ierusalem

B43. Ierusalem ciuitas Dei summi, [a]domina mundi, de qua[a] dicta sunt et dicuntur gloriosa, sita est in terra montuosa, habens undique[b] in circuitu terram fertilem et bonam, praeterquam contra orientem et Iordanem. Distat ab Accon[c] ciuitate triginta sex[d] leucis [e]que est ipsi contra aquilonem.[e] De Sebaste sedecim leucis, [f]de Sichem tredecim leucis, de Nazareth triginta sex[g] leucis;[f] hee omnes contra aquilonem. De Ioppe tredecim leucis, hec est ei[h] occidentalis, sed declinat ad aquilonem; de Iericho septem leucis, que[i] est orientalis. De Bethleem [j]tribus leucis;[j] de Thecurai quattuor leucis; de Hebron octo[k] leucis, hee sunt australes. Sed quia que in ea facta sunt, sonant uniuerse ecclesie Christi, non credo nisi quilibet Christianus haec recolat deuotius, omni die suo agens gratias redemptori, qui in ea est nostram salutem misericorditer operatus.

B44. Est autem[a] sita in decliuo latere montis[110] [b]dupliciter et ab austro uidelicet et ab occidente; ab austro quidem sita est in latere montis[b] Sion, ymmo in ipso monte [c]et super ipsum[c] et ita descendit eius longitudo de uertice montis Syon se extendens contra aquilonem; et ab occidente[d] habet montem Gyon,[e] et dependet ab ipso eius latitudo[f] contra orientem usque ad torrentem Cedron siue uallem Iosaphat. Est autem Ierusalem ciuitas ualde magna, et non est uerum[g] quod quidam

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B42 [a–a] Bethania de Ierusalem duodecim stadiis est *VWb* [b] sed Bethphage *BeLoMWa* [c–c] *om. Wb* [d] *om. U* [e] dextram *UWb* [f] montis *MWa* [g] defensionis *M* [h] decem *BeM* [i] *om. U* [j] superius *Be*+ [k] ipsius uallis *add. Wb*

B43 [a–a] *om. M* [b] *om. BeU* [c] Akaron *BeMUWb* [d] triginta et unum *M*; 26 *U* [e–e] *Be*+; *om. W* [f–f] *om. U* [g] triginta septem *BeLo*; septemdecim *Wb* [h] fere *Be*+ [i] hec *LoMU* [j–j] tres *LoMWa*; ad unum magnum miliarum teutonicale *UWb* [k] septem *Wb*

B44 [a] Ierusalem *add. Wb* [b–b] *Be*+; *om. W* [c–c] *Be*+; *om. W* [d] aquilone *Be* [e] *BeLoU*; Syon *W*+ [f] longitudo *Be* [g] *om. LoWaWb*

About Bethany, Bahurim, Beth-phage, Shiloh, and Beth-horon

B42. Two leagues to the west is Bahurim,[105] the birthplace of Semy who cursed David, set on a high mountain. From there it is half a league to Jerusalem. Beth-phage[106] is situated in between, and the road crosses the southern side of the Mount of Olivet with the Mount of Offence[107] and the valley of Gehenna on the left. Four leagues north of Jerusalem is Shiloh,[108] where the ark of the covenant first lay for many days. For there it is one league to Beth-horon Upper,[109] on the right for those going towards Jerusalem.

About the city of Jerusalem

B43. Jerusalem is the city of God Most High, the mistress of the world. Glorious things have been spoken and are spoken of her. Jerusalem is set in a mountainous region, and has everywhere around it fertile, good land, except towards the east and the Jordan. It is 36 leagues distant from Acre to the north, 16 leagues from Sebaste, 13 from Shechem, 36 from Nazareth—all these are to the north. It is 13 leagues from Joppa, which is roughly north-west; it is 7 leagues from Jericho to the east. From Bethlehem it is 3 leagues, from Tekoa 4 leagues, from Hebron 8—these lie to the south. But because all the churches of Christ give utterance to the things that were done here, I cannot but believe that every Christian reflects on these things with great devotion, daily giving thanks to the redeemer who in Jerusalem worked our salvation with great compassion.

B44. Jerusalem is set on the sloping flank of the mountain,[110] in two ways, on the south, clearly, and on the west; on the south it is set on the flank of Mount Sion, indeed on the mountain itself, and on top of it, and thus lengthwise it descends from the top of Mount Sion, and extends to the north. On the west it has Mount Sion. Breadthwise, it drops eastwards towards the Kidron valley or the valley of Jehoshaphat. But Jerusalem is a very great city. Some say, wrongly, that it was built

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[105] LV, n. 416.

[106] LV, n. 423.

[107] LV, n. 424.

[108] LV, n. 405.

[109] LV, n. 557.

[110] LV, nn. 427, 431.

dicunt, eam in loco alio [h]edificatam esse quam fuit tempore passionis,[i] argumentantes[h] quod Dominus extra[j] portam fuerit passus, et nunc[k] ipse locus sit intra moenia ciuitatis et ideo sit in alio loco.[h] Isti errant, nec sciunt quod loquuntur, ciuitas enim in latitudine[l] amplificata est, sed nihilominus ciuitas antiqua adhuc cum toto monte Sion est edificata, sed pauci[m] sunt eius magnitudinis habitatores [n]in tota ciuitate[n] pro tante ciuitatis capacitate; ubicunque enim sibi placuerit, quilibet eligit mansionem, eo quod plures domos uacant; uidetur autem mihi, et in hoc consenserunt,[o] qui mecum ibi fuerunt et utramque nouerunt, quod Ierusalem amplior multo sit et longior, quam antiqua ciuitas Magdeburgensis, quam includit murus circumiens de sancto Georgio usque ad nouam ciuitatem exclusiue.[111] [p]Dispositionem eius antiquam diligentissime inuestigaui.[p]

De monte Sion

B45. Erat[a] autem tunc mons Syon ab australi[b] parte ciuitatis capax ualde et longus, qui ab oriente per circuitum[c] austri usque ad occidentem, ubi erat turris Dauid, ubi[d] erat rupis praerupta, haec uocabatur Mello.[112] Ipsa uero turris Dauid[113] sita erat in quodam colle ipsius rupis satis eminenti, et uorago ipsa, que uenit ab austro montis eiusdem usque ad occidentem, descendit circa turrim ad partem eius aquilonarem, gyrans eam,[114] et ita turris ipse [e]in rupe et[e] in angulo quodam sita erat. Vorago autem,[f] que ipsam circumdabat [g]et cingebat,[g][115] descendebat usque ad partem australem montis Moria, ubi nunc est porta fontis siue aquarum, et ita[h] erat mons Sion per istam uoraginem [i]a ciuitate[i] separatus.

De ciuitate Dauid

B46. Haec erat ciuitas Dauid, uorago ista nunc repleta,[a] sicut eam deprehendit curiosus indagator. Ab ista uoragine longe infra turrim Dauid contra orientem edificatus erat alius murus ciuitatis,[116] qui incipiebat in pede montis Sion in parte aquilonis et protendebat[b] se contra aquilonem, cingens ciuitatem ex parte illa, et protendebatur[c] per portam Effraim et Beniamin, et[d] portam sterquilini, et portam

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[h–h] *om.* *M* [i] Christi *add.* *UWaWb* [j] iuxta *Be* [k] autem *add. Be* [l] amplitudine *M* [m] admodum *add. BeLoWaWb* [n–n] *Be*+; *om. W* [o] consentiunt *Wa* [p–p] *Be*+; *om. W*

B45 [a] *W* est [b] *W*; austro pro arce *Be*+ [c] circulum *M* [d] ibique *Wa*; ubique *LoWb*; ubicumque *BeM*; *om.* *U* [e–e] *om.* *M* [f] *Lo*+; *om.* *BeW* [g–g] *Be*+; *om. W* [h] *Be*+; *om. W* [i–i] *om. Wb*

B46 [a] impleta *M* [b] protendebatur *M* [c] protendebat *Wb*; contra aquilonem *add. BeM* [d] per *add. Wb*

in a different place from where it stood at the time of the passion, arguing that the Lord had suffered outside the gate and that now that same place lies within the city walls, and that therefore the city stood in a different place. They are wrong, not knowing what they say; for the city has increased in width, but nevertheless the ancient city was built as to this day with the whole of Mount Sion; but, given its great size, there are in the whole city few inhabitants in proportion to its huge capacity. For because many houses are vacant, one may choose a house wherever one pleases. It seems to me, and those who were with me and know both places agree, that Jerusalem is much wider and longer than the ancient city of Magdeburg, which is enclosed within a wall running round from St George's as far as the new city but not including it.[111] I researched its ancient layout most carefully.

About Mount Sion

B45. Mount Sion was then on the southern part of the city, very spacious and long; it extends from the east by a circuit of the south right round to the west where the Tower of David stood and where there was an overhanging rock; this was called Mello.[112] The Tower of David[113] itself was on a certain hill rising a little above this rock, and the deep valley itself, coming from the south of the mountain to the west, descends round the Tower on its northern side, encircling it,[114] and thus the Tower itself is set on a rock and in an angle. The deep valley, which surrounded and enclosed it,[115] descended to the southern part of Mount Moriah, where now lies the Gate of the Fountain or Waters, and thus Mount Sion was separated from the city by that valley.

About the City of David

B46. This was the City of David (that valley is now filled up), just as an enquiring explorer had traced it. Well away from that valley, below the Tower of David to the east, another city wall[116] had been built, which began at the foot of Mount Sion on the northern side, and extended north, surrounding the city on that side, and went further via the Gate of Ephraim and Benjamin, the Dung Gate, and the Valley

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[111] See Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, map 52.b.7 for a map of Magdeburg in the sixteenth century. The site of the Dom and the location of the New City are clearly shown, but the location of the medieval church of St George mentioned here is not known.

[112] LV, n. 433.

[113] LV, n. 434.

[114] LV, n. 435.

[115] LV, n. 436.

[116] LV, n. 445.

uallis, et cingebat aream[e] templi ab occidente, et continuabatur cum muro montis Sion in porta fontis siue aquarum. Situs autem[f] ciuitatis sic est dispositus sicut dictum est, quod ab austro, hoc est, a monte Sion [g]est eleuatus,[g] et similiter per totum latus[h] occidentis, et in parte orientis omnino est demissus, ita ut sordes ciuitatis tempore pluuie descendant per portam sterquilinii in torrentem Cedron.[i] [117]

De monte Moria

B47. Mons quoque Moria[118] in quo est Templum Domini et nunc palattium regis demissiora sunt, [a]quam ipsa porta sterquilinii.[a] Sed non fuit sic ab antiquo, quia depositus fuit mons per Romanos, et missus in torrentem Cedron cum omnibus ruinis Templi et atriorum, quod adhuc palam est uidere. Area[b] templi quadrata est,[119] et habet in longitudine et latitudine [c]plene iactum arcus.[d] Iuxta aream Templi ad aquilonem super murum ciuitatis adhuc[c] cernuntur uestigia turris Ananehel siue Nebulosa[e] [120] siue Ophel, et est adherens portae uallis.

De probatica piscina, et piscina interiori, et ualle Iosaphat, et de sepulchro beatae Virginis

B48. Intrantibus portam uallis[121] ad sinistram occurrit iuxta uiam probatica piscina,[122] ad dextram uero contra eam, uia tamen intermedia piscina[a] grandis ualde, quae dicebatur piscina interior,[123] hanc fecit Ezechias[124] hoc modo: obthurauit superiorem fontem aquarum Gion, quae fluebat[b] prius in piscinam superiorem,[c] sicut aquae Siloe, et auertit eum subter ad occidentem turris Dauid, incidens ferro petram, sicut dicitur in Ecclesiastico,[125] et induxit aquas eius per medium ciuitatis in piscinam interiorem,[d] ut in obsidione haberet aquam populus ad bibendum, nec possent eos Assyrii inpedire. Vallis Iosaphat licet adhuc sit ualde etiam profunda, multum tamen est impleta, quod palam est uidere. Sepulchrum enim[e] Virginis gloriosae,[f] [126] sicut creditur, tunc erat in superficie[g] uallis, nunc est sub terra longe, in tantum, quod ecclesia ipsa gloriosae[h] uirginis Mariae cum sit ualde alta et testudinata,

[e] scilicet *add.* *Wb* [f] etiam *VWaWb* [g-g] *om.* *Wb* [h] situm locum *Wb* [i] inde ad iactum lapidis… pyramus Iosaphat *M inserts here para.* **B50** *with opening line of para.* **B51***)*

B47 [a-a] *om.* *Wb* [b] archa *LoUWa* [c-c] *om.* *Wa* [d] unius lapidis *Wb* [e] *Be*+; Nebule *W*

B48 [a] *om.* *Be* [b] fluebant *LoWa* [c] *om.* *UWaWb* [d] ipsam *Lo*+ [e] sancte *M* [f] Marie *UWb* [g] ipsius *add.* *LoWaWb* [h] inclute *WaWb*

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[117] LV, n. 443.

Gate, and surrounded the temple area from the west, and continued with the wall of Mount Sion in the Fountain or Water Gate. The site of the city is thus arranged as said: on the south, that is, from Mount Sion, it is raised high, and similarly through the whole western side; on the eastern part it is everywhere low, so that the sewage of the city in time of rain descends through the Dung Gate into the Kidron valley.[117]

About Mount Moriah

B47. Mount Moriah[118] also, on which lies the Temple of the Lord, and now the royal palace are lower than the Dung Gate itself. But it was not so in ancient times, because that mountain was lowered by the Romans and dumped into the Kidron valley with all the ruins of the Temple and its courts, which to this day is plain to see. The Temple area is four-square,[119] and is a full bowshot in length and width. On the north side of the Temple area beyond the city wall today can be seen traces of the Tower of Hananel or Nebulosa[120] or Ophel, adjacent to the Valley Gate.

About the Sheep Pool, and the Inner Pool, and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the tomb of the Blessed Virgin

B48. Those entering the Valley Gate[121] will meet on the left by the road the Sheep Pool,[122] but on the right opposite it, by a connecting road, is a very large pool which is called the Inner Pool.[123] Hezekiah[124] made this in the following way: he stopped up the upper fountain of the waters of Gion, which formerly flowed into the upper pool, just as did also the waters of Siloam, and diverted it below to the west of the Tower of David, attacking the rock with iron tools, as it says in Ecclesiasticus,[125] and led its waters through the middle of the city into this Inner Pool, in order that the people might have drinking water in the time of siege, and that the Assyrians should not be able to impede them. The Valley of Jehoshaphat, though very deep to this day, is nevertheless much filled in, as can be clearly seen. For the tomb of the glorious Virgin,[126] which, as is believed, was then on the surface of the valley, is now deep underground; so much so that the Church of the glorious Virgin Mary, though

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[118] LV, n. 448.
[119] LV, n. 449.
[120] LV, n. 442.
[121] LV, n. 453.
[122] LV, n. 455.
[123] LV, n. 456.
[124] LV, n. 457.
[125] LV, n. 458.
[126] LV, n. 473.

[i]cum ipso sepulchro[i] penitus sit sub terra, et uallis desuper tota plena. In superficie tamen uallis est edificium modicum quasi unius capellae, quod[j] postquam quis intrauerit, oportet per gradus in ecclesiam descendere ad sepulchrum.

De Capella Gethsemani sic dicta

B49. Iuxta hanc capellam fere ad uiginti pedes est alia capella, quae uocatur Gethsemani,[127] in latere montis Olíueti adherens rupi, sub qua erant apostoli grauati[a] somno, et ostenduntur adhuc ibidem[b] eorem sessiones in lapide, et locus captiuitatis Iesu Christi, et impressio caluarie eius superius in rupe, et lineamenta uerticis et capillorum [c]habet, et[c] impressionem dicitur fecisse in lapidem apprehendendo eum, cum caperetur a ministris; et mirum ualde, quod de ipso lapide nec puluis, ut dica dicam, ullo malleo uel[d] instrumento depromi[e] potest, tamen in eo ita plane apparet impressio digitorum [f]dulcis illius Iesu,[f] ac si lapis ille butyreus fuisset.

De Agonia Iesu et sudore sanguineo

B50. Inde ad iactum lapidis contra austrum est locus ubi Iesus orauit, et fuit sudor eius[128] sicut guttae sanguinis,[a] ubi etiam similis lapis est habens impressiones genuum et lacertorum et manuum et digitorum, de quo similiter nichil[b] potest depromi[c] ullo instrumento [d]uel ingenio.[d] Inter hunc locum et Gethsemani ascendit uia que de Ierusalem ducit in montem Oliueti et Bethaniam et ad Iordanem.

De sepulchro Iosaphat et fonte Siloe, et Natatoriis Siloe, et fonte Gion, et Acaldamach

B51. De isto loco ad magnum iactum lapidis est pyramus[129] Iosaphat in pede montis Oliueti. In fundo[a] uallis est sepulchrum Iosaphat. Et contra eam in pede montis Sion est fons Siloe,[130] [b]de quo[b] colliguntur aquae in piscinam inferiorem, quae natatoria Syloe appellatur[131] [c]in pede montis Sion.[c] [d]Accedit tamen ad easdem piscinas[e] fons Gion inferior,[132] ministrans eis[f] aquas, situs [g]in pede montis[g] Sion[d] contra

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[i-i] *om. M* [j] *Be+; et W*

B49 [a] aggrauati *WaWb* [b] *om. Be* [c-c] *om. BeM*; et in lapide alio impressio digitorum eius quam *LoUWaWb* [d] alio *add. LoMWaWb* [e] deponi *BeU* [f-f] Iesu *Lo*; Domini *Be+*; *om. W*

B50 [a] decurrebat in terram *add. UWaWb*; decurrentis in terram *M* [b] omnino *add. Lo* [c] deponi *BeM*; imponi *Wa*; abscidi *Wb*; deponere *U* [d-d] *om. Wb*

B51 [a] mundo *Be*; medio *M* [b-b] ubi *BeM* [c-c] *om. UWb* [d-d] *om. M* [e] etiam *add. Lo* [f] *Be+*; ei *W* [g-g] *Be+*; pene in monte *W*

very high and vaulted, lies with the tomb deep below the ground, and the valley is totally full above it. On the surface of the valley, however, lies a small building as if of a single chapel, but on entry, one has to descend a stairway into the church to the tomb.

About the Chapel of Gethsemane so called

B49. Near this chapel, almost 20 paces away, stands another chapel, called Gethsemane,[127] attached to a rock on the side of the Mount of Olives. Under this the apostles were heavy with sleep, and in the same place are shown to this day their seats in the rock, the site of the arrest of Christ, the impression of his body in the rock above, and it has the lines of his head and hairs, and he is said to have made an impression on the rock by grasping it when he was seized by the attendants. It is truly remarkable that from that rock not even dust, if I may say so, could be removed by any hammer or any other tool, yet on it clearly appears the impression of the fingers of that sweet Jesus, as if the rock had been butter.

About the agony of Jesus and bloody sweat

B50. A stone's throw to the south is the place where Jesus prayed, and his sweat[128] was as drops of blood. Here too is a similar stone bearing the impressions of his knees and elbows, hands and fingers; likewise nothing of this can be removed by any tool or artifice. Between this place and Gethsemane ascends a road which leads from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives and Bethany, and to the Jordan.

About the tomb of Jehoshaphat and the spring of Siloam, and the Pools of Siloam, and the spring of Gihon, and Akeldama

B51. A long stone's throw from that place is the pyramid[129] of Jehoshaphat at the foot of the Mount of Olives. At the bottom of the valley is the tomb of Jehoshaphat. Opposite it at the foot of Mount Sion is the spring of Siloam,[130] from which the waters are collected into the lower pool, called the Pool of Siloam,[131] at the foot of Mount Sion. However, to these same pools, serving them with water, comes the lower Gion spring;[132] it is sited at the edge of Mount Sion opposite the Fuller's Field, where there is a

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[127] LV, n. 475.
[128] LV, n. 477.
[129] LV, n. 478.
[130] LV, n. 479.
[131] LV, n. 480.
[132] LV, n. 481.

agrum fullonis, ubi est aque ductus, sicut[h] legitur[i] Ysaie, [j]'ad extremum aque ductus piscine superioris'[j]. [133] Iuxta natatoria Syloe, contra austrum ad iactum lapidis ultra[k] uallem est Acheldemach, ubi est sepultura peregrinorum.[134] Infra uero natatoria Syloe et Acheldemach est torrens Cedron, qui colligitur de superioribus partibus ciuitatis uersus aquilonem, iuxta Rama et Anathot, et longe sub sepulchro [l]Dominae nostrae[l] sanctae Mariae[m] auditur eius murmuratio sub terra descendens iuxta natatoria Syloe sub monte offensionis in uallem Tophet siue Gehennon.

De lapide Zoeleth, et fonte Rogel, et Ecclesia sancti sepulchri, et spelunca ante hostium Sepulchri, et de Golgotha, et de loco ubi inuenta fuit crux

B52. In ualle Thophet[135] siue Gehennon est lapis Zoelet et fons Rogel,[136] ubi Adonias immolauit uictimas[a] uolens regnare, et sunt ibi loca et iardini amenissimi propter aquas quae illos irrigant. [b]Multa etiam sunt loca[b] et tot[c] deuotionis loca, quod [d]nullo modo[d] sufficit homo[e] ad peragrandum. Ecclesia sancti sepulchri rotunda est, sed Golgothana oblonga, et utraque tegitur uno tecto.[137] Spelunca sancti sepulchri habet octo pedes longitudinis et latitudinis. Similiter[f] spelunca ante hostium sepulchri tantundem [g]habet,[h] et in medio eius stat lapis, qui hostio monumenti aduolutus fuit.[g] Locus Golgotha [i]siue Caluarie[i] [138] distat ab isto loco per [j]centum et uiginti[j] pedes. Locus ubi fixa erat crux, distat a superficie terrae triginta octo pedibus, hoc est, a pauimento ecclesiae.[139] Locus ubi inuenta est crux distat a caluaria per decem pedes, et est inferior a pauimento ecclesiae [k]contra orientem uiginti pedibus.[k] [140]

Iuxta quam partem crucis stetit beata Virgo

B53. Beata[a] Virgo Maria non stetit[141] sub cruce [b]ad aquilonem,[b] ut quidam fabulantur, sed contra faciem filii ad occidentem, aliquantulum tamen declinans ad austrum. Monstratur enim usque hodie locus,

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[h] de quo *BeLoMU* [i] loquitur *M* [j-j] *Be+*; *om.* *W* [k] contra *M* [l-l] *om. Wb* [m] uirginis *add. Wb*

B52 [a] hostias *BeM* [b-b] multe ecclesie sunt in Ierusalem *LoUWaWb* [c] alia *WaWb* [d-d] nullus homo *U* [e] *om. U.*; in die *add. LoWaWb* [f] semper *Be* [g-g] *om. U* [h] *om. BeLoWaWb* [i-i] est *U* [j-j] centum et triginta *LoWa*; ccc *U*; xxx *Wb* [k-k] *Be+*; *om. W*; De caluaria contra orientem decem pedibus est altare sub quo est pars columpne ad quam Dominus flagellatus fuit de domo Pilati illuc translata. Etiam sub lapide altaris tecta. Vt tamen tangi uideri et osculari possint. De isto altari contra orientem ad duodecim pedes descenditur per gradus quadraginta octo ad locum ubi crux inuenta et est capella et duo altaria longe sub terra *add. Wa*

B53 [a] sancta *Be* [b-b] *om. M*

channel of water, as is said in Isaiah 'to the conduit of the upper pool'.[133] Beside the pools of Siloam, a stone's throw to the south, beyond the valley is Akeldama, where there is the foreigners' cemetery.[134] Below the pools of Siloam and Akeldama is the Kidron valley, whose waters are gathered from the upper parts of the city towards the north, near Ramah and Anathoth, and its murmur is heard far below the tomb of our Lady St Mary as it descends below ground near the pools of Siloam, below the Mount of Offence, into the valley of Topheth or Gehenna.

About the Serpent's Stone and the Spring of Rogel, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the cave before the door of the Sepulchre, and about Golgotha, and about the place where the cross was found

B52. In the valley of Topheth[135] or Gehenna lies the Serpent's Stone and the Spring of Rogel,[136] where Adonijah, wishing to become king, sacrificed victims. There are there places and gardens, extremely beautiful on account of the waters which irrigate them. There are also many places and so many devotional sites that in no way would a man be able to visit them all. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is round, but Golgotha is long, and both places are covered by the one roof.[137] The cave of the Lord's sepulchre is 8 feet (2.5 m) long and wide; in similar fashion the cave before the mouth of the sepulchre is just the same in size, and in the middle of it stands the stone, which had been rolled to the mouth of the monument. The site of Golgotha or Calvary[138] is 120 feet (36.5 m) distant from that place. The place where the cross was fixed is 38 feet (11.5 m) distant from the surface of the ground, that is, from the pavement of the church.[139] The place where the cross was found is 10 feet (3 m) distant from Calvary, and lies below the pavement of the church, 20 feet (6 m) to the east.[140]

Where the Virgin Mary stood in relation to the cross

B53. The Blessed Virgin Mary did not stand[141] below the cross to the north, as some tell the story, but facing her son, looking westwards, yet a little towards the south. For a place is shown to this day, and is venerated

[133] Isa. 7: 3.
[134] LV, nn. 483, 484.
[135] LV, n. 488.
[136] LV, n. 489.
[137] LV, n. 493.
[138] LV, n. 495.
[139] LV, n. 496.
[140] LV, n. 500, 501.
[141] LV, n. 503.

et a fidelibus ueneratur, ubi ipsa cum aliis mulieribus stetit. [c]Ego ab hora diei nona et per[d] noctem usque in horam[e] tertiam sequentis diei[f] adoraui in Golgotha, ita quod non recessi, et celebraui ibidem, ubi ille bonus Iesus seipsum obtulit in sacrificium Deo Patri, [g]et dixi[g] missam[h] de passione, et legi passionem secundum Ioannem, ubi passio fuit celebrata.[c]

De situ Ierusalem et monte Silo, et Emmaus, et Bethlehem et de turri Gregis

B54. Ierusalem sita est in montibus altissimis, ita quod in ea plane[a] uidetur Arabia, et terra Moab et Ammon et montes Phegor et Nebo et Phasga et tota terra usque ad Petram[b] deserti. Cum[c] insuper montana, que sunt circa campestria Ierícho, sunt alta supra modum, et paulatim ascendant usque ad montem Oliueti, diligentius considerabam omnes montes descendere paulatim[d] usque in Ierícho et Iordanem. Attamen[e] Mons Silo,[142] qui distat a Ierusalem quattuor leucis, altior est ciuitate Ierusalem et[f] omnibus montibus terre sancte. De Ierusalem ad tres leucas uel plus contra occidentem est ciuitas[g] Emaus,[h] [143] ubi Dominus[i] agnitus fuit in fractione panis. De Ierusalem[j] usque ad Ramatha,[144] ubi natus Samuel fuit, quae etiam Arimathia[145] dicitur unde fuit Ioseph nobilis decurio.[k]

B55. De Ierusalem ad duas leucas [a]contra austrum[a] Bethleem[146] sita est; in sinistra parte uie,[b] que ducit Ebron, ad iactum arcus prius tamen occurrit seplchrum Rachelis[147] ad dextram uenientibus[c] [d]de Ierusalem[d] in Bethleem. Ad orientem[e] Bethleem ad iactum quinque uel sex arcuum est turris gregis,[148] ubi angeli apparuerunt pastoribus.[149] Bethleem sita est in monte longo sed[f] arco[150] ab oriente [g]se extendens[g] in occidentem, in cuius fine orientali, sub rupe quadam, que erat in quodam diuersorio, illuxit nobis[h] Oriens Sol iustitiae, Christus Deus noster.[i] Iuxta rupem autem illam contra[j] occidentem ad quattuor uel quinque pedes dependet rupes alta[k] capacior, sub qua erat praesepe iumentorum, in quo fuerat dulcis ille Iesus[l] reclinatus. Non uidi ego alium nec audiui, qui dixerit se uidisse ecclesiam in toto orbe terrarum ita deuotam[m]

[c–c] *om. UWb* [d] totam *add. BeLoMWa* [e] *om. BeLoMWa* [f] *om. BeLoWa*
[g–g] *om. BeWa* [h] missas *BeWa*

B54 [a] *om. Wa* [b] terram *M* [c] *Be+; om. W* [d] debent *add. Wb*
[e] *Be+; om. W* [f] locis et *add. Be+* [g] castellum *M* [h] *om. BeMWa*
[i] *om. UWa* [j] est una dieta *add. Wb* [k] luce *add. BeLoM*

B55 [a–a] *om. U* [b] *Lo+; om. BeW* [c] *om. M* [d–d] *om. U* [e] de *add. Wb* [f] licet *BeMWaWb* [g–g] *om. Wb* [h] nobilis *U* [i] Ihesus *LoUWa*
[j] ad *U* [k] alia *BeM* [l] Christus *add. M* [m] deuotissimam *M*

by the faithful, where she stood with the other woman. I worshipped from the ninth hour of day through the night to the third hour of the following day in Golgotha—I did not give up—and I celebrated there, where good Jesus offered himself in sacrifice to God the Father, and I said the Mass of the Passion, and I read the passion according to John, where the passion itself was itself celebrated.

About the site of Jerusalem and Mount Shiloh, and Emmaus, and Bethlehem, and about the Tower of the Flock

B54. Jerusalem is set on the highest mountains, in such a way that on it Arabia, and the land of Moab, and Ammon, the mountains of Peor, Nebo, and Pisgah, and the whole region as far as Petra Deserti are clearly seen. In addition, although the mountains round the plains of Jericho are unusually high, and ascend gradually to the Mount of Olives, I was reflecting more carefully that all the mountains were descending gradually as far as Jericho and the Jordan. But Mount Shiloh,[142] 4 leagues distant from Jerusalem, is higher than the city of Jerusalem and all the mountains of the Holy Land. Three or more leagues west of Jerusalem is the city of Emmaus,[143] where the Lord was recognized in the breaking of bread. From Jerusalem to Ramathaim,[144] where Samuel was born, also called Arimathea,[145] the birthplace of Joseph, the noble decurion, [*conjecture*, is 18 leagues].

B55. Two leagues south of Jerusalem lies Bethlehem;[146] a bowshot before that, however, on the left side of the road to Hebron, those travelling from Jerusalem to Bethlehem meet the tomb of Rachel[147] on the right. Five or 6 bowshots east of Bethlehem is the Tower of the Flock,[148] where the angels appeared to the shepherds.[149] Bethlehem is set on a long, though narrow, mountain[150] extending from east to west; at its eastern end, under a certain rock, in some niche, there shone out upon us the Rising Sun of Justice, Christ our God. Alongside that rock, 4 or 5 feet (1.5 m) to the west, there hangs a high, wider rock, beneath which was an animals' feeding trough, in which the sweet Jesus had been laid. I have not seen, nor have I heard anyone else claim to have seen, in the whole earth a church so devout as that at Bethlehem. There

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[142] LV, nn. 512, 550.
[143] LV, n. 556.
[144] LV, n. 564.
[145] LV, n. 565.
[146] LV, n. 570.
[147] LV, n. 571.
[148] LV, n. 572.
[149] LV, n. 573.
[150] LV, n. 574.

sicut Bethleemitanam. Sunt enim in ea columpne marmoree nobilissimae pulchritudine[n] multitudine et magnitudine stupendae. Praeterea structura ecclesiae[o] desuper columnas usque ad tectum[p] [q]tota est facta[q] opere musiuo[151] et nobilissimo et pulcherrimo. Totum pauimentum ecclesiae stratum est marmore [r]diuersorum colorum[r] et generum,[s] parietes ex omni parte tecti sunt tabulis marmoreis, quarum pretium secundum opinionem meam non[t] potest estimari. Incredibilia possent dici et scribi de ecclesia ista. Capella etiam in qua est praesepe,[u] tota facta est opere musiuo et strata marmore. Saraceni in magna ueneratione habent ecclesiam istam pre ceteris ecclesiis Beate[v] Virginis. Omnes tamen ecclesias eius multum uenerantur. Vidi in ista[w] ecclesia signum, quod ad laudem Virginis mihi uidetur et merito memorie commendandum.

Nota Miraculum

B56. Soldanus enim, nunc mortuus, uidens ornatum huius ecclesiae et tabulas parietum pretiosas, mandauit eas deponi et duci in Egyptum, ut inde pallatium suum in Babylonia[152] decoraret. Mira res,[a][153] artificibus [b]cum instrumentis accedentibus,[b] adhuc ipso soldano adstante et uidente, de sano et integro[c] pariete, quem nec acus uidebatur posse[d] penetrare,[e] serpens immanis[f] exiuit, et prime tabule marmoree [g]que occurrit,[g] morsum unum dedit in medio, et tabula per medium latitudinis per transuersum[h] confracta est. Secundam[i] adiit et tertiam quartam quintam[j] et sic per ordinem ad altitudinem duodecim pedum a terra usque ad octauam[k] decimam tabulam, et tunc stupentibus omnibus qui aderant et ipso soldano territo, et animum[l] quantotius reuocante,[m] serpens omnino disparuit. Remansit igitur[n] et manet[o] usque hodie ecclesia sicut prius. Tabulas ipsas uidi et numeraui decem et octo sic diuisas. Vestigia igitur[p] tractus corporis serpentis in singulis[q] apparent notabiliter quasi combustio quedam igne facta. Et super omne mirabile uidetur quomodo serpens ille sic procedere potuerit per transuersum in pariete, qui erat planissimus et politissimus sicut uitrum.

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[n] et pulcherrime *BeM* [o] ecclesia *Be* [p] ecclesie *add. Wb* [q–q] omnia hec facta *Wb*; totum factum *U* [r–r] *Be+*; diuersi coloris *UW* [s] generum *BeM*; generis *W* [t] aliquis *add. Be* [u] iumentorum *add. M* [v] sancte *U* [w] *Be+*; *om. W*

B56 [a] accidit *add. UWb* [b–b] *om. M* [c] magno *M* [d] *om. UWb* [e] intrare seu penetrare *M* [f] magnus *Wb* [g–g] *om. UWb* [h] pertransiuit siue *Be* [i] serpens tabulam secundam *Wb*; serpens secundam *U* [j] *Be+*; quartam, quintam *om. W* [k] nonam *add. Wb* [l] animo *Wb* [m] reuocato *Wb* [n] *Lo+*; *om. BeW* [o] remanet *LoUWaWb* [p] *Be+*; uero *W*; et *add. Be* [q] tabulis *add. BeU*

are in it most noble marble columns, to be wondered at for their beauty and number and great size. Further, the upper structure of the church above the columns to the roof is worked throughout with mosaic[151] of the noblest and most beautiful quality. The whole pavement of the church is laid with marble of various colours and kinds, the walls throughout are covered with marble panels whose value in my opinion cannot be estimated. Incredible things could be said and written about this church. The chapel also in which the manger lies is totally worked with mosaic and paved with marble. The Saracens venerate this church beyond all other churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. However, they greatly venerate all her churches. In that church I have seen a sign, which it seems to me, rightly, should be committed to the memory in honour of the Virgin.

Note a miracle

B56. The sultan, now dead, seeing the ornamentation of this church and the precious panels of the walls, ordered them to be taken down and removed to Egypt, that he might decorate his palace in Cairo[152] with them. A miracle![153] When the workmen approached with their tools, the sultan himself standing by and looking on, there came out from its sound and solid wall, which not even a nail could penetrate, a huge snake, which offered its bite to the middle of the first marble panel it reached. The panel was cracked transversely across its width. The snake approached the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, and so on in sequence to a height of some 12 feet above the floor as far as the eighteenth panel, and then, with all present astonished and the sultan himself terrified, revoking his intention with utmost haste, the serpent completely disappeared. The church remained and remains there to this day as before. I saw the panels themselves and counted eighteen thus divided. The traces of the passing of the snake's body on the individual panels appear distinctly as if burnt by fire. And above all it seemed miraculous how the snake was able to proceed transversely on the wall, which was as totally flat and polished as glass.

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[151] LV, n. 577.
[152] Cairo; LV, nn. 578, 711, 717.
[153] LV, n. 579.

De cella Sancti Hieronymi

B57. Vidi ibi cellam sancti Hieronymi, lectum[a] eius[b] et sepulchrum, et claustrum[c] monachorum;[154] locum interfectionis Innocentium,[155] ecclesiam beate Paule et Eustochii,[156] cisternam, in quam stella, dux magorum, dicitur cecidisse.[d]

De Engaddi et de Achile et Ceyla et Zyph casa et de deserto Maon, de Tecua et deserto Tecua et de Seyr

B58. De Bethlehem contra orientem ad sex leucas, sunt montes Engaddi[157] et loca tutissima latibula Dauid, super mare mortuum, ubi erant uinee balsami. Inde ad tres leucas contra austrum Achyle,[158] ubi etiam latitauit[a] Dauid. De Engaddi ad tres leucas, de Achyle ad duas[b] Ceyla, quam conseruauit Dauid a Philistaeis; de Ceila[159] ad sex[c] leucas contra austrum est Ziph casale[d][160] ubi habitabant proditores[e] Dauid; cui adiacet desertum Maon,[161] in quo habitabat Nabal Carmelus. Inter Ceila et Bethleem medio loco Tecua,[162] ubi dormiuit Amos Propheta. Cui adiacet ad occidentem desertum Tecue. Postea sequitur mons Seir et desertum magnum, in quo morati sunt filii Israel quadraginta annis. De Bethleem contra occidentem quattuor[f] leucis Bethgar,[163] uilla in loco [g]eminenti sita,[g] iuxta quam stans cum sociis duodecim uidi ab oriente Arabiam totam, et mare mortuum usque ad montem Seyr, et omnia loca latibulorum Dauid, ab occidente uero[h] mare magnum usque Ioppe et Ramatha, omnes quinque ciuitates Philistinorum usque ad ultimam Gazaram et Bersabee et Blanchegardam, que site sunt contra desertum Sur in uia Aegypti. De Bethgar[i] ad tres leucas contra austrum Ebron illa antiquissima[164] in qua primus homo est conditus et sepultus cum coniuge sua,[165] et tres[j] magni patriarche cum coniugibus suis; apud sepulchra eorum fui.[166]

B57 [a] *om. M* [b] *om. MUWb* [c] castrum *M* [d] *om. M*

B58 [a] latitebat *Wb* [b] leucas *add. Wb* [c] tres *Wb* [d] *Be*+; casa *W*
[e] *Be*+; socii *W* [f] decem*MU* [g-g] eminentissimo *M* [h] uidi *add. Wb*
[i] uilla *add. Wb* [j] *om. Be*

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[154] LV, n. 580.
[155] Matt. 2: 16–17.
[156] LV, n. 582.

About the cell of St Jerome

B57. I saw also there the cell of St Jerome, his bed, and his tomb, and the monks' cloister;[154] the place of the murder of the Innocents;[155] the Church of St Paula and Eustochium;[156] the cistern, into which the star which led the Magi is said to have fallen.

About En-gedi, Achila, Keilah, the village of Ziph, the desert of Maon, Tekoa, the desert of Tekoa, and Seir

B58. Six leagues east of Bethlehem are the mountains of En-gedi[157] and the places of great safety, the hiding places of David, above the Dead Sea, where were the groves of balsam. Three leagues south of here is Achila,[158] where also David hid. Three leagues from En-gedi, and 2 from Achila, is Keilah,[159] which David saved from the Philistines. Six leagues south of Keilah is Ziph,[160] a village where lived those who betrayed David. Close to this lies the desert of Maon,[161] where Nabal the Carmelite lived. Half way between Keilah and Bethlehem lies Tekoa, where Amos the Prophet died. The desert of Tekoa[162] lies west of this. After this follows Mount Seir and the great wilderness, where the sons of Israel remained for forty years. Four leagues west of Bethlehem is Beth-gar,[163] a village set on a high place; standing near here with twelve friends I saw the whole of Arabia in the east, and the Dead Sea as far as Mount Seir, and all the hiding places of David. But in the west I saw the Mediterranean as far as Joppa and Ramathaim, all the five cities of the Philistines as far as Gaza in the distance, and Beersheba and Blanchegarde, which are sited towards the Desert of Sur in the road to Egypt. Three leagues south of Beth-gar is that most ancient city of Hebron,[164] where the first man was formed and buried with his wife,[165] and three great patriarchs with their wives; I was present at their tombs.[166]

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[157] LV, n. 381.
[158] LV, n. 587.
[159] LV, n. 587.
[160] LV, n. 593.
[161] LV, n. 594.
[162] LV, n. 408.
[163] Bethgar for Beth-hac-cherem; LV, n. 600.
[164] LV, n. 603.
[165] LV, n. 604.
[166] LV, n. 605.

De agro Damasceno, de spelunca Adae, et de monte Ebron, et de duplici spelunca, de fonte Abrahae, de Terebintho, de domo Zachariae, de Eliscolis, et riuo in quo Philippus baptisauit Eunuchum

B59. Ager Damascenus[167] distat de spelunca duplici ad magnum iactum arcus, ubi in rei ueritate formatus fuit Adam de rubra[a] terra,[168] de qua tuli mecum, et multi Christianorum et Sarracenorum idem faciunt, et tamen modica apparet fossio in eodem loco. Inde supra montem ad[b] occidentem ad iactum duarum sagitarum spelunca in quadam rupe, in qua Adam et Eua interfecto [c]filio suo[c] Abel luxerunt[d] centum annis. Inde ad iactum sagitte[e] mons, in quo sita fuit Ebron, nunc omnino dirutus et euersus. Circa autem speluncam duplicem, quae fuerat tempore Christianorum sedes kathedralis, nunc edificauerunt Saraceni[f] castrum munitissimum, et illum locum plus uenerantur quam aliquem locum sub celo. Inde redeundo Bethleem ad dimidiam[g] leucam est fons Abrahae in conualle Mambre, et terebinthus sub quo comedit Dominus,[169] Abraam ministrante. Verum est, quod antiqua terebinthus uetustate consumpta est, sed de radicibus eius alia nata est,[h] de cuius fructu et ligno tuli mecum et non est quercus sicut quidam opinantur, folia habens modica sicut lentiscus,[170] sed[i] fructum sicut quercus. De Ierusalem ad duas leucas domus Zacharie,[171] in qua beata[j] uirgo[k] salutauit Elisabeth. Inde ad quattuor leucas in uia que ducit Ebron, Eliscolis et uallis botri,[172] unde tulerunt exploratores palmitem cum uua sua. Ad dextram eius descendit riuus, in quo Philippus baptisauit eunuchum Ethiopem.[l] [173]

De portis Ierusalem

B60. Notandum quod iste erant et sunt hodie porte in Ierusalem: Prima fuit porta Dauid,[174] et erat in latere montis Sion in angulo occidentis et aquilonis, sic autem dicta fuit pro eo quod turris Dauid ei imminebat. Dicta fuit etiam porta Piscium, [a]quia per eam fuit uia de Ioppe et Dispoli et mari: dicta fuit etiam porta[a] Negotiatorum, quia per eam ueniebant negotiatores de Ethiopia et Egypto et Philistim et

B59 [a] rupta *BeUWaWb* [b] contra *UWaWb* [c–c] *om. U* [d] lugierunt *BeM* [e] lapidis *U* [f] ibi *add. BeUWaWb* [g] *Lo+*; mediam *BeW* [h] *LoUWaWb*; excrescit *M*; excreuit *W*; *om. Be* [i] habet *add. M* [j] sancta *Be* [k] *Be+*; Maria *W* [l] *Be+*; *om. W*

B60 [a–a] *om. Be*

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[167] LV, n. 606.

[168] LV, n. 607.

[169] LV, n. 602.

About the field of Damascus; about the cave of Adam, and about Mount Hebron: and about the double cave; about the Fountain of Abraham; about the Terebinth and about the home of Zechariah; about Eshcol, and the river in which Philip baptized the eunuch

B59. The Field of Damascus[167] is a long bowshot from the double cave, where Adam in very truth was formed of the red earth.[168] I carried away some of this with me, and many Christians and Saracens do the same, with the result that a small ditch appears at the same spot. From here 2 bowshots beyond the hill to the west is a cave in a certain rock, in which Adam and Eve after their son Abel had been killed mourned him for a hundred years. A bowshot from there is a mountain on which lay Hebron, now totally destroyed and overthrown. But around the double cave, which in Christian times had been a cathedral seat, the Saracens have now built a well-fortified castle, and venerate that place more than any other place below heaven. Half a league from there as one returns to Bethlehem is the fountain of Abraham in the valley of Mamre, and the terebinth beneath which the Lord ate,[169] with Abraham serving him. It is true that the ancient terebinth is eaten up by old age, but from its roots another has sprung, some of whose fruit and wood I carried away with me. It is not an oak as some think; it has small leaves like a pistachio tree,[170] but the fruit is like that of the oak. From Jerusalem it is 2 leagues to the home of Zechariah,[171] in which the Blessed Virgin greeted Elizabeth. From there, 4 leagues along the road which leads to Hebron, is Eshcol and the Valley of the Cluster of Grapes,[172] from which the scouts bore away the palm branch with its grapes. To its right descends the river in which Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch.[173]

About the gates of Jerusalem

B60. One must observe that these were, and are today, the gates of Jerusalem: First was the Gate of David;[174] it lay on the flank of Mount Sion in the north-west corner. It was thus called because the tower of David loomed over it. It was also called the Fish Gate, because through it lay the route from Jaffa and Lod and the sea. It was also called the Gate of the Merchants, because through it came the merchants from

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[170] Burchard seems to be referring to the *pistacia lentiscus*, which is closely related to the terebinth (*pistacia terebinthus*). See Polunin, *Trees and Bushes of Britain and Europe*, p. 120.

[171] LV, n. 612.

[172] LV, nn. 585, 610.

[173] Acts 8: 36.

[174] LV, n. 518.

maritima diuersas merces adducentes, et de ea procedebat uia in tres partes[b] diuisa, una super agrum fullonis, et una, quae erat sinistra, ducebat in Bethleem et Ebron, et reliquam terram Iuda. Alia descendebat ad dextram per uallem Raphaim sub castro Bethsura, quod est quinque stadiis ab Ierusalem. Haec porta fuit in antiquo muro et adhuc est, et coniungitur[c] ei hodie[d] murus partis illius ciuitatis, que apposita fuit propter sepulchrum Domini includendum.

B61. Secunda[175] dicebatur porta Vetus, et erat ab ista contra aquilonem in muro ueteri et manserat a tempore Iebusaeorum: dicta etiam fuit porta iudiciaria, quia ibi iudicia exercebantur, [a]et quae iudicata fuissent[a] per sententiam ibi executioni mandabantur. Non longe extra portam hanc fuit Dominus crucifixus. Locus etiam ubi sedit Pylatus pro tribunali erat iuxta,[b] huius uestigia adhuc[c] sunt manifesta. In muro uero nouo, qui sepulchrum Domini includit,[d] appellatur adhuc[e] eodem nomine, et ducit in Sylo, [f]Bethoron, Lachis, Gabaon, Kariathiarim, et deinceps usque[f] Galileam.

B62. Tertia erat porta Effraim[176] [a]a superiori contra aquilonem. Per hanc erat uia in montem Effraym[a] et Samariam et Galilaeam: in ista porta[b] concurrebat murus qui a turri Dauid usque ad hanc portam erat factus ad sepulchrum Domini includendum cum muro ueteri. Ista porta nunc dicitur sancti Stephani.

B63. Quarta erat porta Anguli,[177] et erat a superiori parte[a] orientalis, in angulo muri[b] super torrentem Cedron, unde legitur in libro[c] Regum, quod Ioas[d] Rex Israel interrupit murum Ierusalem a porta Effraim usque ad portam Anguli quadringentis cubitis. Dicta est etiam porta Beniamin: quia in Anathot et ceteras urbes huius tribus ducebat.

B64. Quinta erat porta Sterquilinii[178] a superiori[a] contra austrum; per istam portam tempore pluuie[b] descendebant[c] sordes ciuitatis in torrentem Cedron, et sic ultra[d] per torrentem pellebantur.[e] Per istam erat uia in desertum, quod est inter Ierusalem et Iericho, et[f] nunc[g] dicitur[h] desertum Quarentene.

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[b] *om. Be* [c] adiungitur *U* [d] *om. Be*

B61 [a–a] *om. Be* [b] eam *add. UWaWb* [c] hodie *Wb* [d] porta *add. UWaWb* [e] *om. M* [f–f] *om. Be*

B62 [a–a] *Be+*; *om. W* [b] *LoUWaWb*; *om. BeMW*

B63 [a] *om. BeLoM* [b] et muro *M* [c] *Be+*; libris *W* [d] Ionathas *U*

B64 [a] parte *add. UWaWb* [b] diluuie *Wb* [c] pluuie et *Wb* [d] *Be+*; ulterius *W* [e] propellebantur *Wb* [f] quod *Be+* [g] *om. Be* [h] *Be+*; in *W*

Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Philistines, and the marine world bringing various merchandise. From it the road went on, divided into three parts, one above the Fuller's Field; one, to the left, led to Bethlehem and Hebron, and the rest of the land of Judah. Another went down to the right through the valley of Rephaim below the castle of Beth-zur, which is 5 stades from Jerusalem. This gate has been, and is to this day, in the ancient wall, and is joined today by the wall of that part of the city which is built against it on account of the need to include the tomb of the Lord.

B61. The second gate[175] was called the Old Gate, and lay north of the first one in the old wall; it had remained since the time of Jebusites. It was called also the Gate of Judgement, because there judicial proceedings were held, and what had been decided by sentence was there committed for execution. The Lord was crucified not far outside this gate. Near here too was the place where Pilate sat for the tribunal; its remains are visible to this day. In the new wall which includes the Lord's tomb, it is called today by the same name, and leads to Shiloh, Beth-horon, Lachish, Gibeon, Kiriath-jearim, and finally to Galilee.

B62. The third gate was the Gate of Ephraim,[176] to the north of the above gate. Through it went the road to Mount Ephraim and to Samaria and Galilee; at this gate the wall which had been built from the Tower of David to include the Lord's tomb joined with the old wall. This gate is now called the Gate of St Stephen.

B63. The fourth gate was the Gate of the Corner;[177] it was on the east side of the above, in the corner of the wall above the Kidron valley, of which it is said in the Book of Kings that Joash the king of Israel broke through the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim to the Gate of the Corner, 400 cubits. It is also called the Benjamin Gate, because it led to Anathoth and other cities of this tribe.

B64. Fifth was the Dung Gate,[178] to the south of the above gate; through it in the rainy season the city's sewage went down into the Kidron valley, and so eventually was dispersed by the torrent. Through it went the road to the wilderness between Jerusalem and Jericho, now called the desert of the Mount of Temptation.

[175] LV, n. 521.
[176] LV, n. 524.
[177] LV, n. 526.
[178] LV, nn. 527, 535.

B65. Sexta erat porta Vallis,[179] que ducebat et ducit[a] hodie[b] in uallem Iosaphat, et est a superiori parte[c] contra austrum, et ad iactum lapidis a sepulchro[d] Virginis gloriose:[e] dicta est etiam porta Gregis, quia per eam inducebantur greges immolandi[f] ad templum, cui[g] adiungebatur,[h] et quasi[i] adhaeret[j] probatica piscina, in qua hostie lauabantur. Huic porte adhaeret turris Ananeel, que etiam Nebulosa uel Aphel dicebatur: Vnde est illud: 'Edificabitur Domino ciuitas a turre Ananehel usque ad portam anguli',[180] [k]que est porta Beniamin;[k] [l]hanc turrem[l] magnam[m] Herodes instaurauit et appellauit Anthoninam[181] ad honorem Anthonii, haec ducit ad montem Olиueti et Bethaniam et Iordanem.

B66. Septima est porta Aurea,[182] haec est australis, haec non ducebat in ciuitatem in mediate, [a]sed ad templum per compendium de monte Olyueti per quandam testudinem[a] factam ultra uallem Iosaphat, et inter hanc erat porta Templi speciosa.

B67. Octaua erat porta Aquarum,[183] quia per eam aquae importabantur de fonte Syloe et etiam natatoriis Syloe:[a] dicta etiam fuit porta Fontis, quia sub ipsa[b] erat fons Syloe. Erat autem sita in angulo ciuitatis ubi mons Syon et mons Moria conueniunt, in angulo duorum murorum, scilicet montis Syon et murum,[c] qui cingebat domum regis;[d] ducebat autem, ut dictum est, ad fontem[e] et natatoria Syloe, ad uallem filiorum[f] Ennon,[g] [h]fontem Rogel[h] et ad [i]hortum regis[i] et Acheldemach: nec credo quod plures fuerint porte[184] in Ierusalem, quia secundum situm ciuitatis non erant necessarie; sed forte alique ex istis poterant [j]aliis nominibus[j] appellari. Per totum circuitum montis Sion a porta aquarum, quae est isti ab aquilone respeciens [k]orientem, usque ad portam Dauid, quae est eidem monti Sion similiter[l] aquilonaris respiciens[k] occidentem, nulla omnino porta erat, nec esse poterat, quia uorago, qua mons cingitur per circuitum, impediuit.

B65 [a] *om. WaWb* [b] adhuc *WaWb* [c] *om. BeLoM* [d] uenerande *add. Wa* [e] Marie *UWaWb* [f] immolande *BeLoWb*; immolandum *M* [g] hec *add. UWb*; hoc *Wa* [h] coniungebatur *Lo* [i] *om. M* [j] ei *add. UWaWb* [k–k] *Be+*; *om. W* [l–l] *om. M* [m] magnus *LoWaWb*

B66 [a–a] quandam *Be*

B67 [a] *Be+*; *om. W* [b] in ualle *add. UWaWb* [c] muro *LoMUWaWb* [d] sita *add. Lo* [e] Syloe *add. WaWb* [f] filii *LoMUWa*; *om. BeWb* [g] Gehennon *Wb* [h–h] *om. Be* [i–i] fontem gregis *Be* [j–j] alio nomine *BeUWaWb* [k–k] *om. M* [l] super *Be*

B65. The sixth gate was the Valley Gate,[179] which led and leads today to the Valley of Jehoshaphat; it is south of the above section, and lies a stone's throw from the tomb of the glorious Virgin; it is also called the Sheep Gate, because through it flocks for sacrifice were led to the Temple, which adjoined it. The Sheep Pool is close to it, in which the consecrated victims were washed. Near this gate is the Tower of Hananel, which was also called Nebulosa or Aphel (whence the words, 'The city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hanameel even to the gate of the corner').[180] This is the Benjamin Gate. Herod renewed this great tower and called it Antonia[181] in honour of Antony; this gate led to the Mount of Olives and Bethany and Jordan.

B66. Seventh is the Golden Gate.[182] This is on the south; it did not lead directly into the middle of the city, but into the Temple by way of a short cut from the Mount of Olives through a vault made above the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and between this was an extremely beautiful gate of the Temple.

B67. Eighth was the Water Gate,[183] so named because through it were brought the waters from the fountain of Siloam and also its pools; it was also called the Fountain Gate, because beneath it in the valley was the spring of Siloam. It was situated in the corner of the city where Mount Sion and Mount Moriah come together, in the angle of two walls, namely the wall of Mount Sion and the wall which surrounded the king's palace. It led, as has been said, to the Fountain and Pools of Siloam, to the valley of the children of Hinnom, to the spring of Rogel, and to the King's garden, and to Akeldama. I do not believe that there were any more gates[184] in Jerusalem, because the city's layout made them unnecessary; but perhaps some of them might have been called by other names. Round the whole circuit of Mount Sion from the Water Gate, which from the north side looks east, as far as the Gate of David, which is similarly on the north side of the same Mount Sion but looking west, there is no other gate, nor could there be, because the deep valley which surrounds the mountain made it impossible.

[179] LV, n. 528.
[180] Jer. 31: 38.
[181] LV, n. 516.
[182] LV, n. 534.
[183] LV, n. 535.
[184] LV, n. 536.

De terra Ierosolymitana

B68. Terra Ierosolymitana in centro mundi posita est, ex maiori parte montuosa, ubere glebe fertilis; cui ab oriente adiacet Arabia, a meridie Egyptus, ab occidente mare magnum, a septentrione Syria et etiam mare Cyprum. Hae antiquis temporibus fuit communis patria nationum, quae ad loca causa colendi, illuc de quibuslibet partibus conuenerunt, sicut in Actibus Apostolorum legitur in missione Spiritus sancti: 'Parthi et Medi', &c.[185] Nunc autem iste sunt gentes, que in ea habent domicilia et oratoria. Cristianorum uarie sunt gentes et[a] in uarias sectas sunt diuisi: quorum primi sunt Franci, qui Latini[186] uerius appellantur, homines bellicosi, armis exercitati, nudi capite, qui soli[b] inter omnes nationes Latina lingua utuntur, Romanae ecclesiae subsunt, catholici sunt.

B69. Item sunt alii Graeci,[187] ab Ecclesia Romana diuisi, homines astuti, armis parum exercitati, pilleos obliquos[a] portantes, et errantes in fide praecipue in eo quod dicunt Spiritum sanctum [b]non a Patre et filio sed a Patre solo[b] procedere, non solum fermentatum sacrificant, sed in multis aliis errant. Propriam habent litteram.

B70. Alii sunt Suriani,[188] armis inutiles ex parte maiori,[a] barbam sicut Graeci nutrientes, sed ipsam aliquantulum castigantes. Inter Latinorum et Graecorum cultum[b] medii, ubique tributarii, Graecis in fide et sacramentis per omnia concordantes, litteram habent Saracenicam in temporalibus et spiritualibus.

B71. Alii sunt Armenii,[189] armis aliquantulum exercitati, a Latinis et Graecis in multis[a] discordantes: ieiunantes tempore natiuitatis[b] suam Quadragesimam, in die apparitionis Christi natiuitatem celebrantes, et multa alia contra ecclesiastica[c] instituta facientes; propriam habent litteram. Inter Armenios et Graecos odium implacibile[d] est. Armeni nuper ecclesiae obedire promiserunt, dum rex eorum a Moguntino episcopo archiepiscopo Romanae sedis legato, coronam accepit.[190]

B68 [a] *Be+* et; *W* que [b] *om. Be*

B69 [a] *LoUWaWb*; aliquos *W* [b-b] *Be+*; a Patre solo non a filio *W*

B70 [a] barbaricum *add. M* [b] *om. Be*

B71 [a] in multis *Be+*; multo *M* [b] sue *add. Wa* [c] sacramenta et *add. Be*
[d] multiplicabile *Wa*

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[185] Acts 2: 9.

[186] LV, n. 672.

[187] LV, n. 679.

About the region of Jerusalem

B68. The region of Jerusalem, for the most part mountainous, with fertile soil, is placed at the centre of the world. Next to it on the east lies Arabia, on the south Egypt, on the west the Mediterranean, and on the north Syria and also the sea of Cyprus. In ancient times this land was the common fatherland of the nations, who came from every other part to these places for the sake of worship, as is told in the Acts of the Apostles at the sending of the Holy Spirit: 'Parthians and Medes, etc.'[185] But now these are the people who have their hostels and oratories in Jerusalem. There are various Christian peoples, divided into various sects, of whom the first are the Franks, more correctly called Latins,[186] warlike men, trained in arms, bare-headed, who alone among all the nations use the Latin tongue; Catholics, they belong to the Roman church.

B69. The Greeks[187] are another group, separated from the Roman church. They are clever people, not too well trained in arms, wearing slanted hats, and going astray in the faith, especially in that they say that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father and the Son but from the Father alone. They not only offer leavened bread in the mass, but err in many other ways. They have their own script.

B70. The Syrians[188] are another group. They are for the most part useless at arms; they grow a beard like the Greeks, but trim it a little. In terms of religious practice they are in between the Latins and the Greeks, everywhere tributary, agreeing in all things with the Greeks in matters of faith and sacraments. They have the Saracenic script for both temporal and spiritual affairs.

B71. The Armenians[189] are another group. They are only a little trained in arms, and in much discord with the Latins and the Greeks. They keep their Lent at the time of the nativity, celebrate the nativity at the Epiphany of Christ, and do many other things contrary to the church's rules. They have their own script. Between the Armenians and the Greeks there is implacable hatred. The Armenians have recently promised to obey the church, while their king has accepted his crown from the bishop archbishop of Mainz as Legate of the Roman throne.[190]

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[188] LV, n. 678.

[189] LV, n. 682.

[190] 'On 6 January 1198 in the presence of the Imperial chancellor, Conrad of Hildesheim, and the papal legate, Conrad of Mainz, Leon was crowned king by the Armenian Catholicus, Gregory Abirad, in the cathedral at Tarsus.' (Boase, *Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, p. 19).

B72. Alii sunt Georgiani,[191] solempni pompa sanctum Georgium clementer colentes, armis plurimum exercitati, barbam et comam nutrientes, gestantes unius cubiti pilleos. Isti tam clerici quam laici coronas habent[a] [b]ad instar clericorum,[b] clerici rotundas, laici uero quadratas, fermentatum sacrificant, fere in omnibus Graecos imitantur. Propriam habent litteram.

B73. Alii sunt Iacobini siue Iacobitae,[192] a quodam Iacobo dicto in Nestorianam haeresim deprauati, pessime credentes, litteram habent Caldeam.

B74. Alii sunt Nestoriani[193] in fide haeretici, dicentes beatam[a] Mariam tantum hominis esse matrem, et in multis aliis errantes,[b] litteram habent Chaldaeam.

De patriarcha et episcopis transmarinis et terre sancte

B75. Preterea[a] ipsa[b] terra Ierosolimitana habet patriarcham, qui est Pater fidei Christianorum, et uicarius Iesu Christi. Qui uidelicet Patriarcha quattuor habet archiepiscopos, unum in prouincia Palaestina, scilicet Caesariensem; alium autem[c] in prouincia Phenicia, scilicet Thyrensem; tertium in prouincia Galilaea scilicet Nazarensem; quartum in prouincia Moabitarum, scilicet Patracensem, id est, de Mondrea. Cesariensis archiepiscopus habet unum suffraganeum, scilicet Sebastenum, ubi sepultus fuit Ioannes Baptista, Heliseus et Abdias Prophete. Thyrensis Archiepiscopus habet quattuor suffraganeos, Acconensem,[d] Sydoniensem, Beritensem,[e] et illum[f] de Bellinas, que est Cesarea Philippi. Nazarensis archiepiscopus[g] habet unum suffaganeum Latinum, [h]et unum[h] Graecum in monte Synai. Habet etiam illos[i] episcopos nullo mediante,[j] Bethlehemitanum et Iudensem, et illum[k] de Ebron, ubi sepultus est Adam et Eua, et tres Patriarche,[l] Abraam, Ysaac et Iacob.

De religiosis locorum sanctorum in Ierusalem

B76. In ecclesia dominici sepulchri sunt canonici sancti Augustini, qui habent priorem, sed soli Patriarche obedientiam promittunt. In

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B72 [a] et gestantes id *add. M* [b-b] *om. Be*

B74 [a] uirginem *add. UWaWb* [b] errant *MWaWb*

B75 [a] *Lo*+; propterea *Be*; et *W* [b] *BeLoUWaWb*; *om. W* [c] *Be*+; *om. W* [d] Akaroniensem *Wb* [e] *om. Be* [f] alium *Wb* [g] *om. M*; episcopus *U* [h-h] habet *BeLoM*; unum *om. Wb* [i] alios *M* [j] scilicet *add. UWaWb* [k] unum *Wb* [l] scilicet *add. UWaWb*

B72. The Georgians[191] are another group, who gently honour St George with solemn ceremony. They are very well trained in arms, grow their beards and their hair, and wear caps of one cubit length. Clergy and lay people alike have their tonsures in the manner of clergy, the clergy round but the laity square. They offer leavened bread, and in almost everything imitate the Greeks. They have their own script.

B73. The Jacobins or Jacobites[192] are another group, corrupted by a certain man named Jacob into the Nestorian heresy. Their belief is the worst possible. They have the Chaldaean script.

B74. The Nestorians,[193] heretical in faith, are another group. They say that the blessed Mary is the mother of a man only, and err in many other ways. They have the Chaldaean script.

About the Patriarch and the bishops across the seas, and of the Holy Land

B75. The Jerusalem region has a patriarch, who is the father in faith of the Christians, and the vicar of Jesus Christ. This patriarch apparently has four archbishops: one in the province of Palestine (that is, Caesarea); another in the province of Phoenicia (that is, Tyre); a third in the province of Galilee (that is, of Nazareth); and a fourth in the province of the Moabites (that is, of Petra, or of Monreal). The archbishop of Caesarea has one suffragan, that is, of Sebaste, where John the Baptist was buried, and Elisha and Obadiah the Prophet. The archbishop of Tyre has four suffragans, of Acre, Sidon, Beirut, and the suffragan of Banias, which is Caesarea Philippi. The archbishop of Nazareth has one Latin suffragan, and a Greek suffragan in Mount Sinai. He has also those bishops, a Bethlehemite and a Judaean, without any intermediary, and one from Hebron, where Adam and Eve and the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are buried.

About the Religious of the holy places in Jerusalem

B76. In the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre there are Augustinian canons, who have a prior, but promise obedience to the patriarch alone. In the Temple of the Lord there is an abbot and canons regular. It must be understood that the Temple of the Lord and the Temple of the Knights are different. The one has clergy, the other soldiers. In the Church of Mount Sion there is an abbot and canons regular. In the Church of

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[191] LV, n. 683.
[192] LV, n. 685.
[193] LV, n. 684.

templo Domini[a] est abbas et [b]canonici regulares.[b] [c]Et est sciendum, quod aliud est Templum Domini; aliud Templum militiae. Isti clerici[d] sunt, isti milites. In ecclesia montis Sion est abbas et canonici regulares.[c] In ecclesia montis Olyueti est abbas et monachi nigri. Isti omnes[e] [f]mitrati sunt et[f] cum[g] praedictis episcopis[h] patriarchae assistant.[i] Preterea iste sunt ciuitates que episcopos non habent, sed sunt sub Bethlehem,[j] Ioppen sub canonicis dominici sepulchri. Neapolis sub abbate templi; Cayphas sub Caesariensi episcopo.

B76 [a] *om. UWaWb* [b-b] clerici fratres *U* [c-c] *om. Be* [d] W; dei *Be*+ [e] *om. UWaWb* [f-f] B+; *om. W* [g] tamen *UWaWb* [h] *Wb* archiepiscopis; *om. M* [i] et monasterio *add. Be*+; in monsterio *Wb* [j] *Be*+; Bethlehemiano *W*

Mount Olivet there is an abbot and the black monks [i.e. Dominicans]. They are all mitred, and with the aforementioned bishops assist the patriarch. In addition, there are those cities which do not have bishops but are under Bethlehem. Joppa is under the canons of the Lord's Sepulchre. Neapolis is under the Abbot of the Temple; Haifa is under the bishop of Caesarea.

APPENDIX

Toponyms In Burchard's *Descriptio*

The spelling of Burchard's place names is fraught with difficulty. In the thirteenth century he was reproducing biblical place names which had been known in Greek and Hebrew versions from the Scriptures, and might be known to him and the scribes who copied his work in the Latin version of the Vulgate. He was also reproducing names known to him from daily Arabic usage in the Holy Land. Inevitably, scribal spellings of these names can and do vary; hence the need here for a consistent and intelligible list. Some places Burchard could identify accurately enough; other places he could not, with the result that he could link some biblical sites with the wrong contemporary names. Burchard's identification of biblical sites (as in the case of Dan and Beersheba) does not always coincide with the identifications offered by today's scholars, who have the advantage of the last two centuries of biblical scholarship and archaeology.

This list gives places in the Holy Land and surrounding countries mentioned in the *Descriptio*. The first column gives the place name as found in the Latin text (y is alphabetized as i). The second column gives modern English names, with the biblical names as spelled in the modern scholarly translation of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. Where Burchard's spelling or identification is markedly different, this is shown. The references in the third column are to the paragraphs of the longer and shorter versions as numbered in the text, and to the appropriate note. The fourth column shows the sites as they appear in the historical maps of the *Atlas of Israel* (second edition, 1970), and the fifth column gives the grid coordinates which enable the reader to locate the site precisely on modern 1:250,000 Survey of Israel maps.

Oxford Medieval Texts' style sheet requires the use of the modern English form of historical place names, but in deference to common usage among medieval historians Acre is used for the city known to Burchard and his contemporaries as Accon, and to biblical writers and modern atlases alike as 'Akko.

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Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Abarim, mons	Mount Abarim	36 n. 224		
Abdela (Egypt)		128 n. 714		
Abelmehola	Abel-meholah	38 n. 232	Tall abû Sûs (*Burchard* = Kh. Arbel)	208197 196248
Ac(c)aron	Ekron	89 n. 562; 101 n. 635	Kh. al-Muqanna/Tall Miqneh	136133
Acceda	Azekah	101 n. 639	Tall Zakariya	144123
Acco, Ac(c)on	Acco (Acre)	9 n. 28; B5	‘Akko	158258
Acheldemach	Akeldama	75 nn. 483, 484; B51		
Achile, collis	Keilah	94 n. 587; B58	? Kh. Qila (*Burchard* = Massada)	150113 183080
Achor, uallis	Achor, valley of	54 n. 367	? al-Buqeiah	
Acra (Jerusalem)		67 n. 439	(*Burchard*: at north-west angle of city)	
Ader turris	Eder, tower of	90 n. 572	Kh. Siyar al-Ganam	171123
Adomin	Adummim	62 n. 415; B41	Tal’at ad-Damm	184136
Affech, *see* Aphek				
Ager damascenus	Field of Damascus	97 n. 606; B59		
Aylon, *see* Macheronta				
Alexandria (Egypt)	Alexandria	132 n. 727		
Amalech, terra	Amalek(ites), land of	94 n. 596		
Ammon	Ammon, Ammonites	36 n. 227; B40, B54		
Anathot(h)	Anathoth	60 n. 407; B41	‘Anātā/Ras al-Kharrūta	175135
Anglia	England	111		
Antaradus/Tortosa	Tartus	18 n. 81	Tartus	
Antilibanus	Anti-Lebanon	14, 18; B11		
Antiochia (Syria)	Antioch	20 n. 93	Antakya	

Antipatris	Aphek (1)	49 n. 324; B36	Ras al-Ain/Tel Afeq	143168
Apamia	Apamea	6	Qalat al-Mudiq	
Aphek	Aphek	43 n. 282; 44 n. 286	(*Burchard*: near 'Afula)	
Apollonia; *see* Arsuf				
Aquae Maron	Waters of Merom	23 n. 112; B19		
Ar; *see* Areopolis				
Arabia	Arabia	8; B39, B54		
Arachas	'Arqa (Lebanon)	18 n. 77	Tall 'Arqa	
Aradus/Aradium/Radium	Arvad	19 n. 83	Ruad	
Aram	Syria	6, 7		
Areopolis/Petra metropolis totius Arabie secunde, Ar/Rababatora/Rabbath Moab		56 n. 377	(*Burchard* = ar-Rabba)	221075
Arimathia	Arimathea	89 n. 565; B54	(*Burchard* = Ramula)	136148
			Rantis	153159
Armenia	Armenia	B3, B16		
Arnon torrens	River Arnon	24 n. 119; 56 n. 378	Wadi Mojib	
Arsuf/Arsur/Assur	Apollonia	100 n. 627	Tel Arsûf	132178
Ascalona	Ashkelon	36 n. 216; 102 n. 649	Ashqelon	107119
Asor	Hazor	21 n. 96	Tall al-Qadaḥ	203269
Assur, *see* Arsuf				
Atharbe, *see* Ebron, illa vetus civitas				
Azotus	Ashdod	36 n. 215; 101 n. 636	Ashdod	117129
Baal-gad	Baal-gad	24 n. 120	? Banias	211295
Babylon	Babylon	B3		

(*continued*)

Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Babylonia (Egypt)	Cairo	130 n. 717; **B56**	Cairo	
Bachurim	Bahurim	62 n. 416; **B42**	Ras at-Tmim	174133
Bakar uallis	valley of Lebanon	39 n. 245	Beka'a	
Balenas, *see* Belenas				
Basan/Basam	Bashan	33 n. 189		
Belenas/Cesarea Philippi	Caesarea Philippi	21 n. 97; 50 n. 329; **B18**	Banias (*Burchard* = Dan, Laish, Lesem, Paneas)	215295
Beloford, Belfort	Beaufort (castle)	13 n. 56	Qalaat ech-Chaqif	200303
Belveir/Belvoir (castle)	Belvoir	41 n. 261	Kokhav ha-Yarden	199222
Benedictionis uallis	valley of blessing	94 n. 591		
Beon, lapis	stone of Bohan	62 n. 418		
Berit(h)us (Lebanon)	Beirut	15 n. 65; **B13**	Beirut	
Beronice (Egypt)		131 n. 722	Medinat al-Haras	
Bersabee	Beersheba	21 n. 101; 102 n. 651	Tall as-Seba' (*Burchard* = Bet Guvrin)	134072 140113
Berstra, *see* Bostra				
Bethagla	Beth-hoglah	55 n. 373	Deir Hajla	197136
Bet(h)ania	Bethany	62 n. 419; **B39**	al-'Ezariya	174131
Bethel/Luza	Bethel, Luz	59 n. 393, 394, 402; **B41**	Baytin	173147
Bethel, Mons	Mount Bethel	50 n. 327; **B37**	(*Burchard* = Mt Ebal)	176182
Bethenopolis, *see* Nobe				
Bethfage/Bethphage	Beth-phage	63 n. 423; **B42**	at-Tur	174132
Beth-gar, see Beth(h) accarem		95 n. 600; **B58**		
Beth(h)accarem	Beth-haccherem	95 n. 600	'Ain Karim *or* Ramat Rahel (*Burchard*: near Migdal 'Oz)	165132 171127 164115?

Bethleem	Bethlehem	90 n. 570; B55	Bayt Lahm/Bethlehem	169123
Bethoron inferior	Beth-horon, Lower	88 n. 557	Bayt 'Ur al-Tahtā	158144
Bethoron superior	Beth-horon Upper	B42 n. 557; B42	Bayt 'Ur al-Foqa	161143
Bethsaida	Beth-saida	31 n. 175; 32 n. 182; B25	at-Tall	208255
Bethsam/Bethshan/ Scitopolis	Beth-she'an/Scythopolis	36 n. 221; 45 n. 291; B33	Beisan/Bet She'an	197211
Bethsames Iude	Beth-shemesh of Judah	89 n. 561	Tall ar-Rumeilah/Bet Shemesh	147128
Bethsames Neptalim	Beth-shemesh of Naphtali	89		
Bethsura	Beth-zur	102 n. 647; B60	Kh. at-Tubeiqah or possibly Belmont/Sūba	159110 162132
Bet(h)ulia, mons	Mount Bethulia	30 n. 174; 38 n. 234; B29	?Horns of Hattin	193244
Bezek, Bethsek		93 n. 583	? near Bayt Jālā	167126
Biblium/Gib(e)leth	Byblos/Gebal	16 n. 67; B14	Jebail	210391
Bira	Beeroth	52 n. 345	Bira (*Burchard* = Michmash)	170146
Blanchegarda	Blanchegarde	B58	Tall as-Safi	135123
Bostra/Bostron/Bosra	Bosra (Syria)	8 n. 22	Busra esh-Sham	
Botrun (Lebanon)	Botrun	16 n. 68	Batroun	
Bulgaria		111		
Cabul/Zabul	Kabul	25 n. 132	?Kabul (*Burchard* = ?Kh. Zabud)	170253 190264?
Cades barne	Kadesh-barnea	34 n. 196; 94 n. 598	'Ain al-Qudeirat/Qadesh-barnea	096006
Caiphas	Haifa	10 n. 29; 99 n. 615; B76	Haifa	150247
Caldea	Chaldaea	6, B3		
Camela, *see* Cedar civitas				
Campus Sennaar	Plain of Shinar	B3 n. 2		
Cana, *see* Chana				
Capharnaum	Capernaum	22 n. 103; 27 n.150	Tall Hum/Kafr Nahum	204254

(*continued*)

Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Capharnaum (2)		7 n. 20; B27	Kh. al-Kanīsa	146241
Cap(p)adocia	Cappadocia	126 n. 698		
Cariath(i)arim	Kiriath-jearim	88 n. 559; B61	(*Burchard*: between Nicopolis and Beth-shemesh) Tall al-Azhar	157136
Carith torrens	brook Cherith	53 n. 352	? Wadi ll-Jabis	
Carmelus	Carmel	94 n. 595	Kh. Karmel	162092
Carmelus mons	Mount Carmel	99 n. 617; B32	Har ha-Karmel	148248
Carmeleon, plain	Carmelion	37 n. 229	al-Battawf	
Carram	Haran	B3		
Casale Lamperti	village of Imbert	11 n. 34	Tel Akhzib	160274
Castellum regium	Kings' castle	25 n. 129	Mi'iliya	175270
Castrum peregrinorum	Pilgrims' Castle	7 n. 19	Athlit	144234
Cedar ciuitas	Kedar	22 n. 111; 28 n. 153, 162; B27	(*Burchard* = Josephus' Camela, perhaps Jamla)	229246
Cedes Neptalim	Kedesh Naphtali	25 n. 136; B20	Kh. Qedîsh?	202237
			(*Burchard* =Tel Qadesh, Upper Galilee)	199279
Cedron torrens	Kidron valley	65 n. 429; 84 n. 527; B51	Nahal Qidron	
Celesyria	Coele-Syria	6; B16		
Cenereth (= Gennesaret?)	Chinnereth	39; B29	Tall al-'Oreimeh	200252
Ces(s)area Palestinae/ Maritima	Caesarea	99 n. 622; B36, B75	Qisariye/Caesarea	140212
Ces(s)area Philippi; *see* Belenas				
Ceila, *see* Achile, collis	Keilah	B58		
Chaco, *see* Manetat				

Chana	Cana	37 n. 228; B28	Kh.Qânā	178248
Chanaan	Canaan	B3		
Cilicia	Cilicia	109, 118; B16		
Cison torrens	River Kishon	41 n. 260; 42 n. 268; B31	Wadi al-Muqatta	
Constantinopolis	Istanbul			
Conuallis illustris	famous valley	46 n. 304; B40		
Cor(r)ozaim/Corrosaim	Chorazin	22 n. 110; 27 n. 152; B27	Kh. Karâzeh (*Burchard* = al-Koursi)	203257 210248
Cyprus	Cyprus	126; B68		
Dabir/Cariathsepher	Debir/Kiriath-sepher	98 n. 609	Kh. Rabûd	151093
Dalmanutha, see Medan				
Damascus	Damascus	7	Ash-Sham	
Damiata (Egypt)	Damietta	129 n. 708	Damietta	
Dan/Lesendan	Dan	21 n. 99	Dan (*Burchard* = Banias)	215295
Dan, Mons	Mount Dan	50 n. 328; B37	*Burchard*: opposite Mt Bethel; Har Kabbir?	183183
Dan (with Jor, as source of Jordan)		22 n. 103		
Decapolis	Decapolis	29 n. 163; 39 n. 238		
Delta (Egypt)		128, 129		
Diospolis/Lidda	Lydda	88 n. 558	Al-Lydd/Lod	140151
Doch castrum	Dok	53 n. 353	Duyūk	192143
Dora	Dor	99 n. 622	Kh. al-Burj/Tel Dor	142224
Dot(h)aym	Dothan	30 n. 173; B24	Tall Dotan (*Burchard*: near Mount Bethulia)	172202
Ebal, mons	Mount Ebal	51 n. 334	Jebel Ebal/Har 'Eval	176182

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Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Ebron	Hebron	96 n. 604; B59	Al-Khalil/Hebron	160104
Ebron, illa uetus civitas	Hebron (ancient)	95 n. 603; B58	Jabal ar-Rumaidah	159103
Edissa	Urfa	6 n. 14		
Edom (Jordan)	Edom	34 n. 193		
Effraym, mons	Mount Ephraim	84 n. 524; 104 n. 659; B32, B62	between Bethel and Shechem	
Egyptus	Egypt	126–34; B60		
Eleut(h)erus, fluvius	River Eleutherus	13 n. 52	Nahr al-Kebir (*Burchard* = River Litani)	
Eliopolis (Egypt)	Heliopolis, On	129 n. 716	Mataria, near Cairo	
Eliscolis, *see* Neelleshcol		B59		
Emath (Syria)	Hamath	39 n. 242	Hama	
Em(m)aus/Nicopolis	Emmaus	88 n. 556; B54	(*Burchard* = 'Imwas)	149138
			? Qubeiba	163138
			or ? Abu Ghosh	161134
Emon	Chephar-ammoni	53 n. 350	? Kh. Kafr 'Ana	173153
Endor	En-dor	41 n. 262; B31	Kh. Safsafeh/'En Dor	187227
Engadi	En-gedi	56 n. 381; 60 n. 410; B58	Tall al-Jurn/'En Gedi	187097
En(n)on	Aenon	47 n. 306; 53 n. 350	eastern slope of Mt Gerizim?	
Esdrelon campus	Esdraelon, valley of Jezreel	43 n. 280; B32	'Emeq Yizre'el	
Esebon (Jordan)	Heshbon	53 n. 355	Tall Hesbân	226134
Estaol	Eshtaol	87	Kh. Deir Shubeib	148134
Ethiopia/Nubia	Ethiopia	128 n. 712; B3, B60		
Euffrates fluvius	River Euphrates			
Faba (castle)	La Fève	43 n. 281	'Afula	179223
Fiala, *see* Phyala				

Francia	Franconia	111		
Gabaa Saulis	Gibeah of Saul	52 n. 346; 88 n. 551	Jaba'	175141
Gabaon	Gibeon	88 n. 554; B61	al-Jib	167140
Gaber, ascensus	Gur, Ascent of	43 n. 276	near Kh. an-Najjar	178205
Gadara/Gadera	(Jordan) Gadara	32 n. 185	Umm Qeis	214229
Galaad, mons (Jordan)	Gilead, Mount	36 n. 219	(between Amman and Bashan in Transjordan)	
Galgala	Gilgal	54 n. 361; B38	? Kh. al -Mafjir	193143
Galilea	Galilee	13 n. 54; B28		
Garizim, mons	Mount Gerizim	51 n. 333; B38	Jebel at-Tur/Har/ Garizim	176178
Gaza/Gazara	Gaza	102 n. 650; B58	(*Burchard* = ? Tall Jezer) Ghazzah/Gaza	142141 099101
Ge(h)ennon/Gehennom vallis	Gehenna	86 n. 543; B42	Gê-Hinnōm	
Gelboe, mons	Mount Gilboa	36 n. 220; 45 n. 292; B33, B34	Jebel Fuqu'ah/Har Gilboa	189210
Generoth, *see* Cenereth		B29, *see* 39 n. 237		
Genesareth	Gennesaret	105		
Georgia	Georgia	3		
Gerara	Gerar	3		
Gerasa (Jordan)	Gerasa	32 n. 184	Jerash	235188
Geth	Gath	100 n. 631	? Tall as-Safit/Tel Zafit	136123
Gethsemani	Gethsemane			
Gibeleth, *see* Biblium		B14		
Giblin		21 n. 102	Bayt Jibrin/Bet Guvrin (*Burchard* = Beersheba)	140114
Gilim/Gynnim	En-gannim	47 n. 310	Jenin	178206

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Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Golgotha	Golgotha, Calvary	76, 78 n. 495; B52		
Gomora	Gomorrah	46 n. 305		
Hahy/Haiy	Ai	59 n. 392	at-Tall	174147
Haman	Hamath(?)	28		
Haram	Aram (= Syria)	28		
Helim, *see* En(n)on		B39		
Helisaei fons	Elisha's spring	54 n. 365; B38	'Ain as-Sultan	192142
Herodium	Herodium	94 n. 592	Jebel. al-Fureidis	173119
Hermon, mons (Anti-Lebanon)	Mount Hermon	46 n. 303	Mt Hermon/Jebel at-Thalj	
Hermon minor	Little hill of Hermon	41 n. 263; B31, B34	Jebel al-Dahi/Giv'at Hamore	183225
Hermonium/Hermonim		41 n. 263	('quasi tumor' between Har Tavor and Giv'at Hamore)	
Horma	Hormah	13 n. 55		
Hus	Uz, land of	29 n. 166		
Iaboch torrens (Jordan)	Jabbok, river	35 n. 200	Wadi Zerqa	
Iamnia	Jamnia	89 n. 569	Yavneh	126141
Ybilin	Ibelin	100 n. 632	Yavneh	126141
Ydumea	Idumaea	36 n. 217		
I(h)ericho	Jericho	55 n. 369; B38	Jericho	193140
I(h)erusalem	Jerusalem	64–87; B43–54	Al Quds/Jerusalem	170132
I(h)esrahel/Zaraein	Jezreel	43 n. 275; 45 n. 295; B34	Zer'in/Yizre'el	181218
Iesrahel, fons	fountain of Jezreel	45 n. 294	'Ain Jalud	187219
Iessem (Egypt)	Goshen	126 n. 705	eastern Delta of Egypt	
India	India	3, 97; B3		
Iop(p)e	Jaffa	89 n. 567; B36	Jaffa/Yafo	126162

Ior et Dan (fontes Iordanis)	sources of the Jordan	22 n. 103		
Iordanis fluvius	River Jordan	22; B19, B40		
Iosaphat uallis	valley of Jehoshaphat			
Iotapata	Jotapata	31 n. 181; B17	Kh. Yif'at/Yotvata	176249
Ispania	Spain	111		
Yturea	Ituraea	13 n. 54; 39 n. 241		
Iuda	Judah, Judaea			
Iudin (castle)	Jiddin	25 n. 128	Qal'at Jiddin/Mezudat Gadin	171266
Iulia, *see* Capharnaum		39 n. 240		
Kairum (Egypt)	Cairo	130 n. 717		
Karith, *see* Carith				
Krac/Krach/Krak	Karak	8 n. 26	Karak	216066
Krak (castle) (= Krak des Chevaliers)		18 n. 80	Qala'at al-Hosn	
Lachis	Lachish	88 n. 560; B61	(*Burchard* =? T. Batash) Lakhish/ Tall ad-Duwayr	142133 135108
Laish, *see* Belenas				
Laris (Egypt)		132 n. 727	el-'Arish	936060
Leodicia (Syria)	Laodicea	6 n. 6; B16	Latakya	
Leopardorum, mons	Leopards' Mountain	17 n. 74	(Lebanon) Jebal Tourbol	
Lepna casale	Lebonah	52 n. 342	al-Lubban	173164
Lepna (2)	Libnah	52 n. 343	? Tel Bornat or Tall Judeideh	138115 141115
Lesem, *see* Belenas				
Libanus	Lebanon			

(*continued*)

Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Lycaonia	Lycaonia (Turkey)	B16		
Licia	Lycia (Turkey)	B16		
Lidda; *see* Diospolis				
Lombardia	Lombardy (Italy)	5, 24		
Luza, *see* Bethel	Luz			
Maceda	Makkedah	101 n. 640	Kh. al-Qôm ?	146104
Macheronta/Aylon (Jordan)	Machaerus	48 n. 320, 321; B35	Tall Muqawer	209108
Machon, *see* Maon				
Magdala/Magdallum	Magdala	32 n. 183; B25	Migdal	198247
Magedan, *see* Medan				
Magedo	Megiddo	43 n. 273; B32	(*Burchard* = Subube)	170217
Magmas	Michmash	52 n. 344	Mukhmas (*Burchard* = Bira)	176142
Mambre	Mamre	95 n. 602; B59	ar-Ramat al-Khalil	160107
Manaym (Jordan)	Mahanaim	35 n. 210	Tulul adh-Dhahab al-Gharbi	214177
Manetat/Machmethath	Michmethath	100 n. 628	(*Burchard* = Qaqun/Chaco)	149196
Mansora (Egypt)	Mansoura	128 n. 714		
Maon	Maon	94 n. 594; B58	Ma'in, Ma'on	16209
Mare Galilee	Sea of Galilee	22; B19		
Mare magnum	Mediterranean	4; B58		
Mare mortuum/Lacus asphalti, Mare salis, salinarum	Dead Sea	57; B40	Dead Sea	
Mare rubrum	Red Sea	6		
Margad/Margath/Margatum (Syria)	Margat	6 n. 17; 20 n. 91	al-Marqab	

Maron aque	Waters of Merom	23 n. 112	Lake Hula	
Masrepha aque	Misrephoth-maim	23 n. 114	?near Kh. Musheirefeh	
Massada	Masada	94 n. 588	Masada	183080
			(*Burchard* = Achile collis)	150113
Meccha (Arabia)	Mecca		Mecca	
Medan/Magedan/ Dalmanutha	Magedan/Dalmanutha	22 n. 106	(*Burchard* = Phiala)	
Memphis (Egypt)		127 n. 707	(*Burchard* = Damiata)	
Mensa Domini	Lord's Table	27 n. 142	Tabīgha	201252
Meroe (Sudan)		130 n. 720		
Mesopotamia (Iraq)	Mesopotamia	6, 35		
Mesrha casale	Mizra‘	44 n. 284	Mizra‘	177228
Moab (Jordan)	Moab	8, n. 26; 36 n. 223; B40		
Modin	Modein	101 n. 634	near Ras al-Medieh	150148
Mons Caim/Cain	Caymont	43 n. 271; B32	Tall Qaimun/Tel Yoqne'am	160230
Mons Chanum, *see* Mons Caim		B32		
Mons fortis (castle)	Montfort	21 n. 94	Qal'at al-Qurayn	171272
Mons Gyon	Mount Gion	65 n. 428; 87		
Mons Moriah	Mount Moriah	59 n. 398; 69 n. 448; B47, B67		
Mons Nebo (Jordan)	Mount Nebo	53 n. 358; B54	Jebel an-Nebu	220130
Mons offensionis	Mount of Offence	75 n. 491; B42	Jebel Batn al-Hawa	174131
Mons Olіueti	Mount of Olives	63 n. 422; B49, B54	Jabal al-Tur	174132
Mons Phasga (Jordan)	Mount Pisgah	53 n. 357; B54	Ras es-Siyaghah	218130
Mons regalis (Jordan)	Monreal	8 n. 26; 56 n. 375; B75	Shawbak	203993
Mons Seyr (Jordan)	Mount Seir near Mount Gilead	24 n. 122; 33 n. 180		

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Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Mons Seyr (2)	Mount Seir by Paran	34 nn. 193, 197; B58		
Mons Seyr (3)	Mount Seir near Ashdod	36 n. 214		
Mons Synai	Mount Sinai	36	Jebel Mûsā	
Mons Syon	Mount Sion	65 n. 427; 66 n. 431; B45, B67		
Naason		30 n. 172; B24		
Nabenia	Nabataea (?)	3		
Naym	Nain	41 n. 266; B31	Na'im	183226
Nazareth	Nazareth	40 n. 248; B30	Al Nassera/Nazareth	178234
Neapolis, *see* Sichem	Shechem	51 n. 240, 59	(*Burchard* = Shechem and Thebez)	
Neelleshcol/Neescol	valley of Eshcol	93 n. 585; B59	Nahal Eshkol	
Nephin/Nephim	Nephin	16 n. 69	Enfeh (Lebanon)	
Neptalim civitas	city of Naphtali	31 n. 180; B25	(*Burchard* = Jotapata/Syrin)	
Nic(h)opolis, *see* Emmaus		98 n. 613		
Nilus fluvius (Egypt)	River Nile	27 n. 144		
Nobe/Bethenopolis	Nob	98 n. 613; 101 n. 643	(*Burchard* = Bait Nūbā)	153140
			el-Isâwīyeh or Ras el Mešaref, Mount Scopus	173134
Nubia, *see* Ethiopia		B3		
Orma (Josh. 19: 29, Vulg.)	Hormah	13 n. 55	in Galilee	?
Paneas, *see* Belenas				
P(h)aram/P(h)aran desertum	wilderness of Paran	55 n. 360; B40	region around Kadesh-barnea	
Passus canis	Dog's Pass (Lebanon)	39 n. 244	Nahr al-Kelb	
Pella (Jordan)	Pella	32 n. 186	Tabaqat Fahl	208206
Pelusium		126 n. 702	Tall al-Faramâ	
Petra ciuitas, olim Rabath	Petra	8 n. 25	Rabba?	221075

Petra Deserti, now called Krak		8 n. 26; B54	Shobak	204994
Petra Incisa	(Le Destroit)	7 n. 19	Kh. Dustray/Bab al-Ajal	145235?
Phanuel (Jordan)	Penuel	35 n. 201	Tulul edh-Dhagab esh-Sharqiyya	215176
Pharamia (Egypt)	Pelusium	126 n. 702; 128 n. 714	Tall al-Faramâ	
Phaselis/Phaselum/ Phesech	Phasael	53 n. 351	Kh. al-Fasāyil	192159
Phatures (Egypt)	Pathros	128 n. 714		
Phegor (Jordan)	Peor	53 n. 359; B54	?Kh. al-Mehatta	220131
Phenicia	Phoenicia	10; B75		
Phesech; *see* Phaselis				
Phyala/Fiala	Phiala	22 n. 105	Birkat ar-Ram	222293
Phyton (Egypt)	Pithom	128 n. 714	Tall ar-Retâbeh	
Pyrgus Stratonis	Strato's Tower	99 n. 622	Caesarea	140213
Ptholomais/Tholomais	Ptolemais	9 n. 28	Akko/Tall al Fukhkhar	158258
Puteus aquarum viventium	Well of Living Waters	11 n. 38	Ras al-'Ain, Tyre	
Puteus Iacob	Jacob's Well	51 n. 332; B38	Bir Ya'aqub	177179
Quarentena mons	Quruntul/Mount of Temptation	54 n. 362; B38	Jebel Quruntul	190142
Rababatora, *see* Areopolis				
Rabbath Moab (Jordan)	Rabbath Moab	8 n. 25	ar-Rabba 221075	
Radium, *see* Aradus				
Rages, Rase	Edessa	6 n. 15	Urfa	
Rama (1)	Ramah	52 n. 347	al-Ram	172140
Rama Neptalim (2)	Ramah in Naphtali	52 n. 349	?al-Rameh	184261
Rama non longe a Sepheth (3)	Ramah	52 n. 349	?Kh. Zeitun al-Râmeh	187259

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Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Rama iuxta Tecuam (4)	Ramah	52 n. 349; 95 n. 601	?Ramat al-Khalil	160108
Rama = Silo (5); *see* Silo	Ramah	60 n. 405		
Ramatha Sophim	Ramathaim-zophim	31 n. 176; 89 n. 564; B36	Ramla	137148
Ramesses (Egypt)	Rameses	128 n. 714	Qantir	
Ramoth Galaad	Ramoth-gilead	47 n. 307	Tall al-Husn	232210
Ramula	Ramla	89 n. 566	Ramla	137148
Raphaim vallis	Rephaim, valley of	93 n. 584	Nahal Soreg	
Rehob/Rob/Roab/ Rohob/Roob	Rehob	13 n. 55; 21 n. 98; 39 n. 242	between Huleh and Beka'a valleys	
Rinocorura (Egypt)	Rhinocorura	129	Al-'Arish	
Robeth	?	B3		
Rogel, fons	En-Rogel	75 n. 489; B52	Bit 'Ayyub at junction of Hinnom and Kidron valleys	
Ruma	Ruma	38 n. 231	Kh. er-Ruma	179243
Sayr; *see* Seyr				
Salamina (Cyprus)	Salamis	126 n. 700	Salamis	
Sal(l)im	Salim	47 n. 306; B39	Tall Sheikh Salim	199201
Saltus Domini/Christi	Lord's Leap	40 n. 254	Har Qedumim	178232
Samaria/Sebaste	Samaria	48 n. 312; B35	Sebastiyeh	168187
Sandalion, *see* Scandalium				
Sangeor	St George's Valley	29 n. 164; 30 n. 170	? al-Ba'ina	176258
			or Sajur	182262
Sanir, mons	Mount Senir	23 n. 116; 46 n. 303		
Saracha	Zorah	89	Sar'ah	148131
Sarepta (Lebanon)	Zarephath	13 n. 57; B9	Sarafand	
Saron mons	Mount Sharon	11 n. 35	Rekhes Sullam/Ras an-Naqura	160278

Sarona opidum	Sharon	100 n. 629	a plain between Mount Carmel and Lydda	
Scandalium (castle)	Scandalion	11 n. 36	Iskanderuna	165285
Scitopolis/Scythopolis; *see* Beth-shean				
Sebaste; *see* Samaria				
Segor (Jordan)	Zoar	56 n. 380; B39	es-Sâfi?	194049
Seleucia maritima	Seleucia, port for Antakya	126 n. 699		
Semenuth (Egypt)	Semenuth	128 n. 714	Sammenud	
Sennaar campus	plain of Shinar	B3		
Sennim vallis	Zaanannim	25 n. 130	perhaps in region of Mount Tabor (*Burchard*, near Hazor)	
Sephet	Safad	30 n. 168; B23	Safad/Zefat	196263
Sephorum	Sepphoris	37 n. 230; 40 n. 246; B30	Zippori	177239
Sepulchrum Iob	tomb of Job	22 n. 107	Dair 'Ayyub near Sheikh Sa'd	
Sepulchrum Rachelis	tomb of Rachel	90 n. 571; B55		169125
Sepulchrum sancti Karitoth	Kariton, tomb of	98 n. 614	Kh. Kureitûn	172117
Settim (Jordan)	Shittim	36 n. 225	? Tall al-Hammam	214138
Sycaminum		99	Shiqmona	146248
Sicelech	Ziklag	98	Tall al-Khuweleifeh/Tel Halif	137087
			or Tall esh-Shari'a/Tel Sera'	119088
Sichem/Neapolis	Shechem	51 n. 331; B37	Nablûs	176180
Sichem antiqua	Shechem	51 n. 339	Tall Balâtah	177179
			(*Burchard* = Sychar; 'Askar)	179181
Sydon (Lebanon)	Sidon	14 n. 58; B10	Saidā	
Syene (Egypt)	Syene	128 n. 711	Aswan	

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Latin name	English name	Reference	*Atlas of Israel* (1970)	Coordinates
Silo, mons	Shiloh	60 n. 405; 80 n. 512; 88 n. 550; B42, B54	Tall Seilûn (*Burchard* = Nabi Samwīl)	178162 167137
Sina/Sinochim	?	18 n. 79		
Sochat (Jordan)	Succoth	35 n. 203	Tall Deir ʻAllā	208178
Sochot/Socoth Iude	Socoh of Judah	101 n. 641	Kh. ʻAbbad	147121
Sodoma	Sodom	46 n. 305; B40		
Sturion (Egypt)	Sturion	128		
Subube; *see* Magedo				
Suannir/Suuanir; *see* Sanir				
Suet(h)a (Syria)	Suetha	22 n. 107; 28 n. 157	? as-Suweida	
Sunam ciuitas	Shunem	44 n. 288; B33	Sulem	181223
Sur desertum	Desert of Sur	95		
Syloe fons	spring of Siloam	75 n. 479; B51		
Syon gaber	Ezion-geber	8	Syon gaber	Ezion-geber
Syria	Syria	B3		
Syria Celes, *see* Celesyria				
Syria Fenicis/Phenicis		7		
Syria Sobal, *see* Moab				
Syrin, *see* Neptalim ciuitas				
Tampnathsare	Timnath-heres	17 n. 76	Kh. Tibnah	160157
Taphue	Tappuah	47 n. 311; 50 n. 326	Sheikh abu Zarad	172168
Taphnis/Thapnis	Tanis	126 n. 703	San al-Hagar	
Tarshis	Tarshish	89 n. 568	Tharsis, Spain	
Tecua	Tekoa	60 n. 408; 94; B58	Tuqāʻ	170115
Terebinthi, uallis	the valley of Elah	101 n. 642	Wadi es-Sant/valley of Elah	
T(h)ersa	Tirzah	50 n. 325; B37	Tall al-Farʻah	182188

Thabor, mons	Mount Tabor	41 n. 256; B30	Jebel at-Tor/Har Tevor	187232
Tharsis (Turkey)	Tarsus	B16		
Thebes (Egypt)	Thebes	130 n. 719	Luxor	
Thebes oppidum	Thebez	51 n. 340	Tubas	185192
Theman (Jordan)	Teman	32 n. 188		
Theut(h)onia	Germany	111		
T(h)yberias	Tiberias	39 n. 237; B29	Tabariya	201243
Tholomais, *see* Ptolemais				
Thoron	Toron	21 n. 95	Tibnin	188289
Tophet (Jerusalem)	Topheth	75 n. 488; B52		
Tortosa, *see* Antaradus				
Trac(h)onitis (Syria)	Trachonitis	8 n. 23; B22		
Tripolis (Lebanon)	Tripoli	16 n. 70	Tripoli	
Tirus (Lebanon)	Tyre	12 n. 41; B7	as-Sûr	168297
Turris gregis, *see* Ader turri	Tower of the Flock	90 n. 572; B55		
Ungaria	Hungary	109, 111		
Usitidis regio	land of Uz	29 n. 166		
Valania (Syria)	Baniyas	6 n. 16	Baniyas	
Vallis Iosaphat	valley of Jehoshaphat	65 n. 429; B48	Jerusalem	
Via maris	Way of the Sea	28 n. 155		
Zacharie domus	house of Zechariah	98 n. 612; B59	ʻAin Karim	165131
Zamachim, *see* Iezrahel				
Zaraein, *see* Iezrahel				
Zareth torrens	Wadi Zered	58 n. 388	Wadi al-Hasa	
Zeeleth, lapis	Stone of Zoheleth	75 n. 489		
Zyph	Ziph	94 n. 593; B58	Zif	164048

CONCORDANCE

The following is a concordance between the section numbers of the present edition and the chapters and paragraph numbers in the edition by J. C. M. Laurent, 'Burchardi de Monte Sion Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, pp. 19–93.

Present edition	Laurent
1	—
2	Prologus 1–7
3	Prologus 8–16
4	Prologus 17–22
	Prima diuisio
5	I. 1
6	I. 2 (Ad hoc autem . . . Apamia et aliis multis.)
7	I. 2 (Tertia est Syria . . . preclarus habetur); I. 3
8	I. 4
9	I. 5
10	II. 1
11	II. 2–4
12	II. 5
13	II. 6–9
14	II. 10–12
15	II. 13–14
16	II. 15–18
17	II. 19–20
18	II. 21–4
19	II. 25–6
20	II. 27–30
	Secunda distinctio
21	III. 1–4
22	III. 5–6
23	III. 7
24	III. 8–12
	Tertia distinctio
25	IV. 1–6
26	IV. 7
27	IV. 8–13
28	IV. 14–18
29	IV. 19
	Quarta diuisio
30	V. 1–4
31	V. 5–7
32	V. 8–12
33	V. 13
34	V. 14, 15 (Alius autem mons . . . Esau pro eis.)
35	V. 15 (In isto autem monte Seir . . . supra mare Galilee.)
36	V. 16

Present edition	Laurent
	Secunda diuisio quarte orientalis
37	VI. 1
38	VI. 2–4
39	VI. 5
40	VI. 6–8
41	VI. 9–11
	Tertia diuisio quarte orientalis
42	VII. 1
43	VII. 2–4
44	VII. 5–7
45	VII. 8–11 (De fonte isto... montis Hermon)
46	VII. 11 (Isti duo montes... cum Saracenis.); VII. 12, 13
47	VII. 14–16
48	VII. 17 (De Gylim... est sepultum.)
49	VII. 17 (Tales autem ruinas... mundus iste.)
50	VII. 18–21
51	VII. 22–6
52	VII. 27–30
53	VII. 31–3
54	VII. 34–7
55	VII. 38–41
56	VII. 42–5
57	VII. 46 (Habet autem mare... uento impellente.)
58	VII. 46 (Dicunt quidam... dicta sufficiant.)
59	VII. 47–8
60	VII. 49–52
61	VII. 53–5
62	VII. 56–9
63	VII. 60–1
	Jerusalem
64	VIII. 1 (Ierusalem... He sunt contra austrum.)
65	VIII. 1 (Est autem in decliui latere... indagaui.)
66	VIII. 1 (Erat quidem antiquitus... deprehendi.)
67	VIII. 1 (Secunda uorago... in torrentem Cedron.)
68	VIII. 1 (Extra uoraginem... dependebat.)
69	VIII. 1 (Mons Moria... amplius uiginti.)
70	VIII. 1 (Non longe... tamquam inferior.)
71	VIII. 1 (Et nota de diuersitate... mentio in scriptura.)
72	VIII. 1 (Vallis enim Iosaphat... lux diei.)
73	VIII. 1 (Non longe ab hostio... rupes ipsa.)
74	VIII. 1 (De Gethsemani... ualde pulchram.)
75	VIII. 1 (Sub monte Syon... accedamus.)
76	VIII. 2 (Nota igitur... ualde et parum.)
77	VIII. 2 (Tumba uero... ibidem uidi.)
78	VIII. 2 (Mons Caluarie... posui caput meum.)
79	VIII. 2 (De caluaria... posita et ornata.)
80	VIII. 2 (Ante hostium... partim extra.); VIII. 3
81	VIII. 4
82	VIII. 5 (Ceterum de portis... desuper imminebant.)
83	VIII. 5 (Secunda porta... continetur.)
84	VIII. 5 (Tertia porta... barbare habitationis.)

Present edition	Laurent
85	VIII. 5 (Sexta porta . . . preruptus erat.)
86	VIII. 6 (Montes autem . . . Tophet siue Gehennon.)
87	VIII. 6 (Inter orientem . . . redeamus.)
88	IX. 1–5
89	IX. 6–9
90	IX. 10 (De Ierusalem . . . talis loci.)
91	IX. 10 (Iuxta predictam . . . in Bethleem.)
92	IX. 10 (Vidi ego . . . sicut uitrum.)
93	IX. 10 (In exitu . . . earundem.); XIII. 11, 12
94	IX. 13–19
95	IX. 20–2
96	IX. 23
97	IX. 24–5
98	IX. 26–30
	Prima Diuisio Quarte Australis
99	X. 1–4
100	X. 5–10
101	X. 11–15
102	X. 16–19; XI. 1 (Ceterum . . . subiungam.)
103	XI. 1 (Sciendum igitur . . . sic describit:)
104	XI. 2–6
105	XI. 7–11
106	XI. 12
	De fructibus et animalibus terre sancte
107	XII. 1–2
108	XII. 3–5
109	XII. 6
110	XII. 7
	De habitatoribus Terre Sancte
111	XIII. 1
112	XIII. 2
113	XIII. 3
114	XIII. 4
115	XIII. 5
116	XIII. 6 (Sunt insuper . . . ad edendum.)
117	XIII. 6 (Nestoriani . . . pugnatorum.); XIII. 7
	De descriptione Egypti et moribus habitatorum
118	XIII. 8 (Notandum autem . . . caret stultis.)
119	XIII. 8 (Sunt etiam multi . . . sicut nostri.)
120	XIII. 9 (Armeniorum . . . linguam similiter.)
121	XIII. 9 (Catholicus ipse . . . id est monachi.)
122	XIII. 9 (Sacerdotes omnes . . . capiti suo.)
123	XIII. 10
124	XIII. 11 (Reges et principes . . . cuiusque nationis.)
125	XIII. 11 (Officium misse . . . crederentur.)
126	XIII. 12

(Sections 127–134 do not appear in Laurent's text.)

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